HISTORY
OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR
OF ALBANIA

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HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

Second edition

THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES
AT THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

THE «8 NËNTORI» PUBLISHING HOUSE
TIRANA 1982

THE HISTORY OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA IS PREPARED BY THE INSTITUTE OF MARXIST-LENINIST STUDIES AND ITS PUBLICATION IS AUTHORIZED BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA

INTRODUCTION

The period since the founding of the Party of Labour of Albania (PLA) is the most brilliant period in the age-long history of the Albanian people. During this period deep revolutionary changes have been brought about in the political, economic, social and cultural life of the country, major achievements of vital importance have been attained, putting an end to oppression and exploitation of the broad working masses and ensuring a rapid and uninterrupted development of the country on the road of socialism.

These achievements have been attained by the Albanian people under the leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania. With the formation of the Party, the working class, the labouring masses brought forth from their ranks, in the heat of battle against the fascist invaders and traitors to the country, a revolutionary national leadership absolutely determined to defend the interests of the people, capable of ensuring their national liberation and social emancipation.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always had Marxism-Leninism as its only and reliable guide. It has always held aloft the militant banner of the immortal ideas of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. Loyalty to Marxism-Leninism is the source of its inexhaustible strength, its wisdom and foresight, its courage and determination to surmount difficulties and obstacles in order to forge ahead with unshakeable confidence toward attaining its objective and fulfilling its programmatic tasks to the letter.

The Party of Labour of Albania has succeeded in carrying out the major tasks it faced, because it has relied firmly on the peo-

ple. From the people it inherited marvellous patriotic and revolutionary traditions. In their struggle against foreign yoke and social oppression, the Albanian people have forcefully demonstrated their boundless love for their country, their deep hatred of bondage and oppression, their ardent aspirations and indomitable will for progress, their unshakeable confidence in victory, their matchless valour in battle against enemies superior in numbers and means, their sincere love and generosity toward their friends and comrades and their irreconcilable stand toward enemies and traitors. They have had to fight against many and savage enemies in order to protect their lives and future and to ward off the danger of their extinction as a people and nation. The stand the Albanians have maintained and the wars they have waged against their enemies have always had a people's liberation character; theirs have been just wars. The progressive patriotic traditions and rich historical experience of the people have served as a very sound support for the activity of the Party. Inheriting these traditions, the Party elaborated this age-long experience in the light of Marxist-Leninist teachings and embodied it in its revolutionary activity. The leadership of the Party of Labour of Albania brought to the fore in all their splendour the lofty virtues of our people; their vitality as a nation was raised to a higher level and their patriotic and revolutionary traditions became a major driving force in the struggle for the liberation of the country and the construction of socialism.

The Party linked its struggle for freedom and independence with the struggle against the exploiting classes in order to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat, to do away with all forms of exploitation and to build socialism. Under the guidance of the Party, the patriotism of the people was raised to a higher level, turning into socialist patriotism. Their love for the Homeland was linked indissolubly with their love for and loyalty to the people's state power and socialism.

Enlightened by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, based on the experience of the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the people, relying firmly on the people who gave birth to it and raised it, and guided by the lofty ideals of loyally serving the people and socialism, the Party of Labour of Albania has always been able to work out and implement a correct general line and has gained the maturity to find its bearings in any situation. It has always honourably done its duty toward

its own working class and people as well as toward the international communist and workers' movement.

The Party succeeded in becoming the sole leading force of the Albanian people in their struggle for national independence, freedom, democracy and socialism. It organized and led the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the most glorious war the Albanian people have ever waged, to victory. It organized and led the reconstruction of the country devastated by the war, and the social, economic and cultural development of Albania on the road of socialism.

The History of the PLA is the history of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party which has solved problems vital to the people:

the elimination of any political and economic dependence on foreign imperialist powers and securing full national independence;

the uninterrupted development of the people's revolution from the anti-imperialist democratic stage to the socialist stage;

forging the alliance of the working class with the labouring peasantry and with the other popular masses of the country, uniting these masses into a common front around the Party and under its sole leadership;

the establishment, strengthening and continuous improvement of the state of people's democracy as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

the elimination of the age-old economic, social, cultural and technological backwardness of the country, and its transition from a backward semi-feudal state to socialism, by-passing the phase of advanced capitalism;

the building and development of socialist industry as the leading force of the people's economy;

the collectivization, development and mechanization of agriculture;

the elimination of the landlords and bourgeoisie as classes and the exploitation of man by man, the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside;

the training of new cadres for the various branches of economy and culture, the creation of the socialist intelligentsia;

the revolutionary education of the working people, inculcating in them the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook; the uninterrupted development of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture;

the defence of our socialist Homeland from the hostile intentions and activities of imperialists, revisionists, and their stooges;

the establishment of new relations of the Albanian state with other countries on the basis of equality, respect for national independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage;

the preservation of a monolithic ideological and organizational unity in the ranks of the Party;

the establishment and consistent maintenance of fraternal relations between the PLA and other Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism; protecting the independence of the Party from the great-state chauvinist intentions and attempts of the Yugoslav, Khrushchevite and Chinese revisionists.

The Party of Labour of Albania is leading the Albanian people with determination and unshakeable confidence on the road of socialism, solving major complicated problems connected with carrying the socialist revolution through to the end in all fields — political, socio-economic, ideological and cultural — with the struggle to defend Marxism-Leninism against the bourgeois ideology and all currents of modern revisionism.

The History of the PLA portrays the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of Albania and the concrete international circumstances. The study of this History is an integral and important part of the study of Marxism-Leninism by the members of the Party and all the working people of the country.

*Comrade Enver Hoxha has described the «History of the PLA» as a «sharp and powerful ideological and political weapon for the revolutionary tempering of the communists, the working class and the entire people and for the solution of major problems facing us today. The great deed of the Party is not the deed of the communists alone, but also of the working class, the working peasantry and the patriotic intellectuals. All have contributed with their blood and sweat to the writing of the history of the Party.»**

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech on the occasion of the first edition of the «History of the PLA», November 4, 1968. «Zëri i popullit», November 5, 1968.

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The History of the Party of Labour of Albania covers three main periods.

The first period starts with the beginnings of the workers' movement and the organized communist movement up to the founding of the Communist Party of Albania (November 1941).

The second period covers the activity of the Party to organize and lead the National Liberation War of the Albanian people against the fascist invaders and traitors and to bring about the triumph of the people's revolution (November 1941-November 1944).

The third period is that of the struggle of the Party, as a party in power, for the building and development of socialist society.

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The second edition *of the «History of the PLA» covers the activity of the Party up to 1980. Apart from this, the first edition has been re-edited, making a number of minor alterations which do not affect its structure or general content. The changes comprise some abridgments and corrections made on the basis of documents.*

CHAPTER I

THE STRUGGLE TO FOUND THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

(1929-1941)

1. THE BEGINNINGS OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT. THE GROWTH OF THE DEMOCRATIC AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST MOVEMENT DURING THE FIRST QUARTER OF THE 20th CENTURY

Ottoman domination in Albania lasted nearly five centuries. This was the period of the military-feudal regime, of ruthless national oppression, of unbearable feudal exploitation, of frequent devastating wars and of great backwardness in the field of education and culture. But, at the same time, this was also the period of the indomitable struggle of the Albanian people for freedom and national independence, for material and spiritual progress, for social justice. This struggle became the decisive factor which led to the proclamation of independence on November 28, 1912.

The proclamation of independence and the creation of the national state were events of great historic importance for the Albanians. However, the landlords and the bourgeoisie placed themselves at the head of this state, while the people who had fought and shed their blood, did not escape from the oppression and exploitation of the ruling classes. Apart from this, the imperialist powers together with the neighbouring bourgeois states which followed a chauvinist policy toward Albania, not only dismembered it by amputating from its trunk

limbs amounting to half its territories in 1913, but also did not give up their intentions of wiping it completely off the political map of the Balkans or placing it under their control.

Albania — a Semi-feudal Agricultural Country

The proclamation of independence found Albania a backward agricultural country. Although capitalist relations had begun to develop in the towns and, less so in the countryside, in general they were only at the initial stage. The system of landlordism had spread in the lowlands and in parts of the highlands, while patriarchal survivals still pervaded the social life in the highlands, especially in the North.

The peasantry made up about 90 per cent of the population, and 77 per cent of it were poor peasants. The unjust division of the land, the merciless exploitation by the landlords, merchants and usurers, by the religious institutions and the state, as well as the use of primitive implements and methods in agriculture, were the cause of the impoverishment and misery of the peasant masses. Great numbers of the poor peasants were relentlessly ruined and turned into landless field hands and wage labourers, while some of them emigrated abroad.

The towns, in general, were small and undeveloped from the economic and social point of view. In their inner life, they still retained the vestiges of mediaeval times. Small-scale handicraft production prevailed in them, although in larger towns like Shkodra, Berat, Elbasan, Korça, etc., capitalist handicraft factories had sprung up as early as in the 19th century. With the growth of commodity production and the extension of market relations, the merchant bourgeoisie had accumulated considerable capital. In general, however, it did not make investments in industry. Thus, in the newly set up Albanian state, there were only 25 minor factories and workshops. These were primitive concerns employing a small number of workers — about 150 at the most.

During the first decade following the proclamation of independence, the rate of industrial development was extremely low. Few new factories and workshops were set up. Even the largest factories employed no more than 30 work hands each. The salt pans, the saw-mills, the building concerns, as well as the Selenica (Vlora) bitumen mine run by foreign concession holders, were the enterprises employing the largest numbers of workers.

The majority of workers employed by capitalist concerns were seasonal workers. When the seasonal work was over, they would return to their native villages to engage in agricultural pursuits. The factory workers and miners were also of artisan or peasant origin. They still did not constitute a class with political class consciousness.

The workers were ruthlessly exploited by the capitalist owners. The working day was 10 and, in many cases, 14 hours long, while the wages were very low, barely enough to feed the workers and their families. But even such as they were the wages were not guaranteed. The free labour force which grew continuously, enabled the capitalist proprietors to reduce wages or arbitrarily delay payment for months on end. There was no labour protection law, and the proprietors took no measures for the safety of workers.

Alongside the factory workers stood the broad masses of apprentices bonded to artisans and traders. Their exploitation was even more brutal, because it was interwoven with mediaeval forms and methods. In addition to working in handicraft or trade shops, they performed a series of other services for their masters.

Since the early years of the 20th century, the apprentices had begun to struggle in a more or less organized way against the exploitation to which they were subjected by the proprietors of artisan workshops and merchants. But this movement, which developed mainly in Shkodra, was of a local and spontaneous character. In general, the socialist ideas that spread here were distorted and, in some cases, degenerated into petty-bourgeois «socialism». The first workers' organizations had the character of mutual aid societies and did little to promote the struggle against exploitation. Membership in these organizations was extended to individual handicraftsmen who needed the support of apprentices in the struggle against the merchant bourgeoisie and factory owners in order to protect small-scale production, but these organizations were short-lived.

In the conditions of foreign domination, the workers' movement also assumed a pronounced patriotic character.

The events immediately after the proclamation of independence in 1912 made it impossible for the Albanian state to develop along normal lines. The internal political struggle during 1913-1914 and the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914 created a favourable situation for the imperialist

powers and the neighbouring chauvinist states to attain their objectives toward Albania. Albania was turned into a battlefield on which the political and military interests of the belligerent states clashed. In the Secret Agreement of April 1915, the imperialist powers of the Entente decided to deprive Albania of its independence and partition its territory. The armies of the imperialist powers occupied the whole territory of our country up to the end of the war.

The foreign occupations and military operations caused the Albanian people innumerable misfortunes. The economy of the country was wrecked. Whole villages were ransacked and burned. The whole country was famine-stricken, while epidemics exterminated part of the population.

The Impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on Albania

At this time, when the oppressed and disdained Albanian people were suffering and their rights had been cruelly violated by the imperialists, a major event shook the world, the triumph of the Great Socialist Revolution in Russia.

On November 7 (October 25, old style), 1917, the working class and poor peasantry of Russia, led by the Party of Bolsheviks headed by V.I. Lenin, overthrew the state power of capitalists and landlords and established the dictatorship of the proletariat. The banner of socialism was raised over one-sixth of the world.

The Socialist Revolution in Russia ushered in a new epoch in world history, the epoch of the overthrow of capitalism and of the triumph of the socialist order, the epoch of proletarian revolutions in capitalist countries and of national liberation revolutions in colonial and dependent countries, the epoch of the creation of a single revolutionary front of the proletariat and oppressed peoples of all countries against imperialism.

The triumph of the Great October Revolution was the triumph of Marxism-Leninism.

The October Revolution had repercussions in Albania, too. Its ideas and the policy pursued by the Soviet government exerted their influence on the upsurge of the movement for national liberation, for the preservation of the territorial integrity of the Homeland, and the expansion of the revolutionary democratic movement.

Of special significance was the disclosure by the Soviet government of the secret treaties of the imperialist powers. Among these treaties published by decision of the 2nd Congress of the Soviets was the April 1915 Secret Treaty of London according to which Albania was to be divided up among Italy, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece. The content of this treaty was made known at once to Albania. A great wave of indignation swept the Albanian people. The anti-imperialist liberation movement to safeguard their freedom, independence and territorial integrity against the Treaty of London assumed broad proportions. The anti-imperialist National Congress of Lushnja in January 1920 and the heroic Battle of Vlora in the summer of that year, which ended with the expulsion of the Italian imperialist occupiers from Albania, bear witness to the lofty patriotism of the Albanian people as well as to the influence exerted by the Leninist anti-imperialist policy.

Following the triumph of the October Revolution, the news about the victories of the Russian Bolsheviks began to spread widely among the Albanian workers, artisans and intellectuals. The name of Lenin became a symbol of the «lofty principles of mankind», of the new society without exploited and exploiters. The first pamphlets about the Soviet Union and communism began to come from abroad. They were read in close circles of intellectuals and workers. The ideas of the October Revolution spread among the masses of the city poor in particular.

The 1924 June Revolution Following the expulsion of the forces of foreign imperialists and neighbouring chauvinists, the struggle to establish the democratic order and, especially to solve the agrarian question, came to the forefront in political and social life. The peasant masses and the ordinary townspeople, including the workers, took part in this struggle.

The working class had not yet reached a sufficient level of ideological and political maturity to set up its trade-unions, let alone its own party. Consequently, the workers' movement in general could not overcome its initial weaknesses. The new associations formed during the years 1920-1923 by artisans and workers retained their character as mutual aid societies and never lasted long. Along with the apprentices, the workers of an occasional factory or mine began to move. But their strikes were always spontaneous and their demands purely economic.

Meanwhile, the counter-revolutionary activity of the ruling classes assumed still larger proportions after the October Revolution.

The workers' movement merged into the broad popular movement which spread throughout the country. Its main strength lay in the peasantry and the strata of the urban poor, who bore the brunt of the ruthless landlord-bourgeois oppression and exploitation. The masses protested against the anti-popular policy of the government, demanded guaranteed supplies of bread, the removal of the high customs duty on grain imports and the opening of speculators' depots. In some cases they broke into the depots, took the grain and distributed it free of charge.

The struggle for land assumed a particularly acute character, and in many cases it came to open attacks by the peasants to seize it from the landlords and the state by force. The solution of the agrarian question in Soviet Russia also exerted its influence on intensifying the anti-feudal struggle. In a backward agricultural country like Albania, Bolshevism was understood, first of all, as the expropriation of the landlords without compensation and distribution of their lands to the peasants free of charge. But these radical demands of our peasants were not supported by the bourgeois political groups which led the democratic movement. These groups gave the agrarian reform a narrow meaning, aimed only at reconciling the interests of the peasants with those of the landlords and at «improving» the peasants' situation without affecting the landlord class.

Only the «Bashkimi» association supported the peasants' radical demands for land. This association rallied the revolutionary democrats most of whom were intellectuals of petty-bourgeois origin. The «Bashkimi» association put forward the most urgent political and social problems which had to be solved.

In the spring of 1924 the upsurge of the movement led to the creation of a revolutionary situation. The murder by the landowning reactionaries of Avni Rustemi, one of the leaders of the democratic movement, served as the signal for the armed uprising.

The uprising, which broke out in May, ended with the victory of the revolutionary forces on June 10, 1924.

The program proclaimed by the new government contained a number of tasks and reforms which aimed at setting the country on the road of bourgeois-democratic development. In

the political field, it envisaged the establishment of democracy through free, direct elections, and the transformation of the civil and military state apparatus. In the social and economic field, it envisaged eradication of feudalism, emancipation of farmers from landlord exploitation, modification of the tax system in favour of the people, attracting foreign capital, encouragement and protection for local capital. It sought to set up an educational system on national and modern foundations. In foreign affairs, the government would pursue a policy of friendly relations with all states, especially the neighbouring ones.

This program was supported by the broad masses of the people who demanded that it be carried out to the letter. On the other hand, it came up against the frenzied opposition of the local landlords and imperialist reaction. At the same time, the revolutionary drive of the masses scared the chiefs of the local bourgeoisie who made common cause with the landlords and imperialists and fought together against implementation of this program, exerting great pressure on the government.

Under these circumstances, the bourgeois democratic government wavered badly, pursued a policy of class conciliation, and proved incapable of carrying the revolution through to the end. It did not rely on the masses, nor did it strive to carry out its declared program. This led to its alienation from the popular masses who had brought it to power.

Of positive significance was the government's anti-imperialist stand which stemmed from the democratic nature of its program. It rejected the servile submission of the country to fascist Italy as well as the chauvinist pretensions of the Yugoslavs and Greeks to Albanian territory. It established diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. But in foreign affairs, too, it wavered in the face of British and US imperialist pressure.

The imperialists and the reactionary governments of the neighbouring states launched a wide-ranging campaign against the democratic movement in Albania.

With their support and the direct backing of reactionary Serb and White Guard troops, the Albanian counter-revolutionary forces, led by Ahmet Zog, mostly from Yugoslavia, entered Tirana on December 24, 1924 and overthrew the Fan Noli government. The regime of Zog was established in Albania.

The June Revolution represented the first attempt on a

national scale to make a radical change of a democratic anti-imperialist character in the socio-political order in Albania. This attempt failed because of the intervention of international imperialist reaction, the incapacity of the new national bourgeoisie and the lack of a sound leadership of the democratic revolutionary forces.

The June Revolution was an integral part and active element of the powerful revolutionary movement of peoples, which had begun following the triumph of the October Revolution. But it triumphed at a time when the forces of reaction and fascism in Europe had gone on the offensive and the revolutionary movement had begun to ebb. It was precisely at this time that Albania became a revolutionary hotbed in the Balkans. The significance of the triumph of the June Revolution transcended the borders of our country. European communist and democratic circles showed particular interest in it, for they properly appreciated its revolutionary, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist nature. George Dimitrov described the suppression of this revolution as the loss of one of the bases of the revolutionary movement in the Balkans and as an expansion of the front of Balkan reaction.

2. THE BIRTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

In January 1925, the Zogite clique proclaimed Albania a republic with Ahmet Zog as its president. In September 1928, the republic was turned into a monarchy and Zog proclaimed himself King of the Albanians.

The Economic and Social Plight of the Country under the Zogite Regime

The Zogite regime remained from beginning to end a ruthless anti-democratic dictatorship of the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The internal support of the Zogite regime came from the landlords, the big merchant bourgeoisie, the rural gentry and the chieftains of the highlands. These forces served as a social basis during the whole 15-year existence of this regime.

Zog pursued to the end an anti-popular and anti-national internal and external policy. The Zog dictatorship kept the

survivals of feudal relations intact, strengthened the landlord and capitalist exploitation, set up a whole system of plundering the masses of the people. It hindered economic and cultural development, leaving the country in backwardness and ignorance.

Zog abolished all democratic institutions and freedoms, banned the formation of political parties and organizations, and suppressed all attempts at freedom of expression of opinion or organization. He ruled by methods of terror and combated any progressive idea under the banner of anti-communism.

The oppressive apparatus of the regime was corrupt from top to bottom. It relied especially on the gendarmerie and the police. The army had a thoroughly anti-popular character and was maintained exclusively to protect the bourgeois-landlord political regime from the revolt of the working masses. All the armed forces were trained and led by foreigners, agents of imperialism.

Feeling insecure in its power, the Zogite clique sought the aid of imperialist states. At first it rewarded the Yugoslav government for its aid by giving it part of the territory of Albania. Later it linked up with Italy and Britain, two of the big imperialist powers most interested in the Balkans, in general, and in exploiting the underground riches of Albania, in particular.

Toward foreign capitalist powers, Zog pursued the «open door» policy. This policy was gradually concentrated on close economic and political relations with fascist Italy which made every effort to make Albania completely dependent on it. These relations paved the way for fascist colonization. Italian financial groups took over the most important mines, most of the public works, the customs houses and nearly all the foreign trade of the country. The high interest loans the Rome government made to the Zogite clique which were used, first and foremost, for the personal enrichment of Zog and his retinue, also served their plundering aims. Thus, Italian capital became the real master of the national economy of Albania. It turned the country into a market for the sale of industrial goods and a source of raw materials.

The economic agreements which paved the way for the infiltration of Italian capital were accompanied by political pacts like the Tirana pacts of the years 1926 and 1927. These hitched Zog's clique to the chariot of fascist Italy. In this way

Albania was being turned into a semi-colony of Italian imperialism.

The penetration of foreign capital into Albania gave the economy of the country a one-sided character. The Italian colonialist policy, the pronounced survivals of feudalism and the failure to encourage a national economic policy caused the country to remain virtually without industry. In 1938 Albania had about 300 small factories and workshops. Nearly half of them employed fewer than 10 workers each. These factories, workshops and mines employed about 7,500 workers all told. By now the working class had increased to about 15,000 but it remained scattered and bound to primitive forms of production. Apprentices in handicrafts and trade made up a good part of this number. Mass unemployment and the lack of any labour code enabled the capitalist concerns and owners, backed by the state apparatus, to exploit the workers mercilessly. In enterprises employing Albanian and foreign workers, the Albanians were subjected to savage discrimination. The Albanian worker was paid several times less than an Italian worker for equal work.

Capitalist relations were further developed in agriculture as well. But the rich peasantry, although strengthened, did not succeed in becoming a developed agrarian bourgeoisie. The capitalist relations extended mainly to the state agricultural farms as well as the farms set up by the Italian capitalist companies. Several thousand labourers worked on these farms.

During the Zogite regime Albania remained the most backward agrarian country in Europe. In 1938, of the population engaged in material production about 87 per cent worked in agriculture, while only 13 per cent were engaged in industry and the other branches of the national economy; industrial and handicraft production made up only 9.8 per cent of total production, while income derived from industry represented 4.5 per cent of all the national income. The capitalist form of the economy, which was mainly in the field of trade, did not succeed in becoming the dominant form in the Albanian national economy. Taxes were heavy and brought ruin to the broad masses of: the people. Want and misery prevailed throughout the country.

The economic backwardness also brought with it a pronounced cultural backwardness. More than 80 per cent of the population were illiterate. The number of schools was very

limited, while higher education and cultural and scientific institutions were entirely lacking. No concern was shown for public health. The people were continuously threatened with grave endemic diseases.

The Formation of the Korça Communist Group

The anti-popular and anti-national policy of the Zogite regime aroused general dissatisfaction among the popular masses. The struggle to carry out anti-imperialist democratic tasks figured again on the order of the day. Despite the very difficult conditions and the Zogite terror which reigned over the whole of the country, this struggle did not cease. The anti-Zogite democratic forces, the workers and peasants, continued it in different forms.

The peasants of many districts rose against the violence of landlords who wanted to evict them from the big estates or to appropriate the peasants' lands, as well as against the heavy taxes. In certain cases, this conflict developed into bloody clashes with Zog's gendarmes.

The working class began to play an increasingly important role. Savagely exploited by the foreign and local companies that employed them, the workers rose against injustices, protested and went on strike time and again, demanding that they be paid their wages on time instead of one or more months late. The intervention of Zog's gendarmerie often forced them to return to work without achieving their rights.

Some workers' organizations were set up during this period. Such were: The Workers' League in Gjirokastra (1925), the «Përparimi» (Progress) Association of Tailors in Tirana (1927), the League of Tailors in Korça (1927). These were associations of apprentices whose objective was to develop solidarity and organize mutual aid among workers, to limit the power of what was left of the merchant guilds, to settle conflicts between apprentices and employers, etc. Such associations could not and did not play a significant role in organizing the workers' movement.

Right from the start the struggle of the peasants and workers assumed an anti-Zogite character. But this struggle was unorganized and developed sporadically, because it lacked a revolutionary leadership.

The movement of the democratic forces, the enlivenment of

the workers' movement and the general dissatisfaction towards the regime had at last created the necessary terrain for an organized communist movement. A significant role in this was played by the Marxist literature which circulated among workers, handicraftsmen and intellectuals. This literature was brought by Albanians who studied or worked abroad and who had embraced communist ideas and tried to propagate them.

In 1928 advanced elements among workers and handicraftsmen set up the first communist cell in Korça. The cell members were not well trained theoretically and politically, but they recognized the need for the organization of the communist movement as an essential condition for the successful development of the workers' movement and the fight of the popular masses against the landlord-bourgeois regime.

Soon other cells had been formed within a short time in Korça. This made a reorganization of the work necessary. In June 1929 a meeting of the representatives of the communist cells was called for this purpose. At this meeting a leading committee, headed by craftsman Mihal Lako, was set up. A decision was taken at the meeting to work to form new cells. The cells would spread communist ideas through educational groups. The meeting decided also that they should link themselves with the masses and the workers' movement through legal workers' associations. To this end the task of establishing revolutionary workers' associations to demand economic and political rights was laid down.

The June 1929 meeting marks the creation of the Communist Group of Korça, which has gone down in history as «Puna of Korça», **and the beginning of the organized communist movement.** Under the direction of the committee the communist movement in Korça got well under way. Within a short time there were 8 cells, totalling 40 members, operating in the city. Each of them directed from 3 to 4 educational groups.

The Korça Communist Group was the first revolutionary political organization of the Albanian working class.

The formation of the Korça Communist Group coincided with the beginning of the economic crisis of world capitalism, which had ruinous economic consequences in Albania as well. The landlords and capitalist proprietors tried to throw the whole burden of the crisis on to the shoulders of the peasants and workers. Reduced prices for agricultural products aggravat-

ed the plight of the peasantry. This compelled many peasants to abandon the land and to look for means of subsistence in the towns. Many artisans and small merchants were ruined, because they could not find markets for their commodities. At the same time, many workshops and factories suspended or restricted production. All this brought about a tremendous increase in the number of unemployed and a lowering of wages. Therefore, the workers' movement of strikes in defence of their rights assumed wider proportions. In 1929 and 1930 the workers employed on building roads and bridges in Librazhd, Kruja-Burrel, Shëngjin, Tirana, Vau i Dejës (Shkodra), Rubik, Sinanaj (Tepelena) and the irrigation canal at Kavaja, those employed on copper prospecting at Puka, fishing and sea transport, etc., went on strike.

The general worsening of the economic situation and the famine which affected the poor strata of the people deepened the discontent against the regime even further.

The growth of the workers' movement gave the Korça Communist Group a good opportunity to extend its activity and link itself with the masses. However, because it was not well organized, lacked experience and had pronounced ideological weaknesses, it remained isolated from this movement. Not all the literature on communism the members of the Group studied was Marxist-Leninist. There were Trotskyite, anarchist and especially archeo-Marxist materials from the organization of a group of Greek Trotskyite intellectuals among them.

The group was to make an important change for the better in its work with the aid of the outstanding communist militant, Ali Kelmendi.

The Albanian Communist Movement and the Comintern

Efforts to organize the Albanian communist movement were made outside the country also. The Third Communist International (Comintern) rendered valuable aid through the Balkan Communist Federation in organizing the Albanian revolutionary democrats who had been obliged to emigrate after the suppression of the June Revolution and the establishment of the Zogite dictatorship.

The lessons they drew from the 1924 events enabled the Albanian revolutionary democrats to take a generally correct political orientation on the international arena where two

antagonistic world forces — imperialism and socialism — were in action. They turned to the Soviet Union, which they called «the natural protector of all oppressed peoples» and to the world communist movement. In March 1925, they formed in Vienna (Austria) the democratic organization known as the «Komiteti Nacional Revolutionary (KONARE) (The Revolutionary National Committee), while a group of young revolutionaries, former members of the «Bashkimi» Association, went to the Soviet Union. Some of them who had embraced communist ideas, enrolled in the schools and political courses of the Comintern to acquire Marxist-Leninist knowledge. In August 1928 they formed the Albanian Communist Group in the Soviet Union centred in Moscow. The 8th Balkan Communist Conference, which was held that same year, instructed the Albanian communists to do long and careful preparatory work for setting up communist groups in Albania «to organize and unite the most advanced elements among workers and peasants» so that they might eventually form the Communist Party of Albania.[1]

The Albanian Communist Group in the Soviet Union drew up its own Constitution which was approved by the Comintern. According to this Constitution, the group's principal task was to work for the founding of the Communist Party of Albania as the Albanian section of the Comintern.

In the «Committee for National Liberations (KONARE's new name after April 1927) the group set up at once its own communist faction which strove to keep alive the revolutionary spirit of the organization and its organ «Liria Kombëtare» (National Freedom).

In line with the Constitution the primary task of the Albanian communist group in the Soviet Union was to develop concrete revolutionary work inside Albania and to help the communist movement there. Among the communists who returned home for this purpose in 1930, the most prominent was Ali Kelmendi who tried to implement the line of the Comintern.

Ali Kelmendi set to work to create new underground communist groups in Albania. He formed a communist cell in Tirana and organized the communist faction in the «Përparimi»

1 George Dimitrov's letter addressed to the EC of the Comintern, September 12, 1929. Central Party Archives (CPA).

Association of Tailors. On his initiative, communist cells were set up also in Vlora, Kruja and Elbasan. In general, these cells were small and unstable. Their members were mainly elements of petty-bourgeois origin: teachers, office workers, armymen, and handicraftsmen, lacking sound ideological and political training.

Ali Kelmendi established connections with the Korça Communist Group which had isolated itself. He helped it to emerge from this situation. He instructed it to combine illegal with legal work, to take an active part in the legal associations of workers, to extend its activity to other cities and, especially to work centres, to translate Marxist literature which would help raise the ideological level of communists. Although banished to different cities by the Zogite authorities, Ali Kelmendi tried to maintain connections with the communist organizations and give them all his aid. His banishment to Korça in 1932 enabled him to collaborate directly with the communist group there. The enlarged meeting of the leading committee held in July 1932, in which Ali Kelmendi took part, opened up clearer perspectives to the group. The Korça Group now adopted a sounder political and organizational platform. Consequently, its activity also entered a new phase of development.

The First Workers' Organizations Led by the Communists

The communists set about to carry out as fruitful work with the masses as possible. The economic crisis created favourable conditions for this kind of work. Strikes by workers followed one after another. The building workers remained in the forefront of this strike movement. Therefore, it was natural for the Korça Communist Group to direct its attention, first and foremost, toward this category of workers. On its initiative, the «Puna» (Labour) Association was formed in Korça in September 1933. Not only workers but also master craftsmen of various categories engaged in building work, who were exploited by the capitalist entrepreneurs, were members of this association. The «Puna» Association was led by the communist faction. Its chairman was the member of the Committee of the Korça Communist Group, Pilo Peristeri. Quickly the membership of this association rose to about 500. To avoid persecution by the gendarmerie, in its Constitution approved by the government, the «Puna» Association was presented as a non-political mutual aid society. But its real program was

approved at a semi-legal meeting organized by the communists. According to this program, «Puna» was a revolutionary organization to protect the rights of workers which would, at the same time, fight against the Zogite regime for freedom and democracy.

This initial achievement encouraged the communists of the Korça Communist Group to extend their activity. Following the example set by «Puna» and on the initiative of communists, trade-unions of shoemakers, tailors, motor vehicle drivers, etc were set up during 1934.

The Korça Communist Group exerted its influence also among the secondary school students of the city who were outstanding for their progressive patriotic sentiments. The most revolutionary elements even formed a communist cell.

But the group continued to confine itself within the city of Korça. Its links with other communist organizations were either weak or non-existent. At the August 1934 meeting, it decided to extend its communist activity to other towns of the country. However, no perceptible achievements were made.

The extension of the revolutionary activity of the Korça Communist Group was accompanied by a sharpening of the ideological struggle within its ranks. The Trotskyite elements launched a furious attack against Ali Kelmendi's line and against the sound elements of the group. They did their uttermost to hinder the extension of the influence of communists among the masses. Their chief representative Niko Xoxi aimed to seize the leadership of the group and to compel it to adopt Trotskyite views. In order to justify his hostile work, he propagated far and wide the «theory of cadres» borrowed from the Greek archeo-Marxists. According to this «theory», the communists should not act, should not link up with the masses and organize them, but should shut themselves up in their cells and engage only in theoretical education.

The Korça Communist Group could not successfully develop its activity without dealing severely with the Trotskyite Niko Xoxi. Therefore, the enlarged meeting of the leading committee decided to expel him from its ranks, but did not deprive him of his membership in the group. This half-measure allowed him and the other archeo-Marxist elements to intensify their divisive hostile activity within the group and among the members of workers' associations. It was only through the

great explanatory work of the sounder communists that Niko Xoxi was almost completely isolated.

Participation of Communists in the Democratic Anti-Zogite Movement

The communist movement had already spread to a number of cities in Albania. New communist organizations were set up during the years 1934-1935 in Tirana, Shkodra, Fier, Vlora, Elbasan and Gjirokastra. But these organizations, too, were not made up of workers. They were small and, in general, operated in isolation from one another. They spread communist ideas but their propaganda work was limited, sporadic and divorced from the political and economic problems facing the country. The ranks of the new organizations, especially in Tirana, contained also a few communist army officers.

There was very suitable ground for the development of the communist movement in Albania due, as Ali Kelmendi wrote at the time, «to the spirited and irreconcilable nature of the struggle of the Albanian people against the regime, on the one hand, and to the treachery, irresoluteness and inactivity of the politicians of other trends, on the other.»*

In these circumstances the strengthening of the communist movement could be brought about by establishing sound links among the various communist organizations and by organizing a broad, democratic, anti-Zogite and anti-imperialist movement among the workers, peasants, armymen and youth, who made up the overwhelming majority of the population and who had suffered deeply as a consequence of Zog's anti-popular and anti-national policy.

Although the Committee of National Liberation, which had set itself the aim of organizing the anti-feudal and anti-fascist movement, had done good propaganda work through the press and leaflets, it had remained an organization of political exiles and had not established a foothold within Albania itself. Illegal work under Zog's oppressive regime demanded great sacrifices which the leaders of the organization had proved reluctant to make. On the other hand, because of their restricted ideological outlook, the communists inside Albania, in general, did not understand the urgent need to set up a broad democratic

* A. Kelmendi, report to the Comintern, December 14, 1936, CPA.

and anti-imperialist movement. But their hatred of the regime of Zog, their progressive and revolutionary feelings and their patriotism made the communists take part actively in the anti-Zogite movement of the years 1934-1935.

In 1934 the relations between Albania and Italy became very tense as a result of the attempts Zog was making to link up with other imperialist powers, something which ran counter to the colonialist plans of Italy. Seeking to turn Albania into a colony of its own as quickly as possible and to exert pressure on Zog to capitulate, the government in Rome dispatched its navy to Durrës. Zog's surrender to the pressure of Italy gave impetus to the anti-Zogite movement. As far back as April 1934, a group of former officers and bourgeois intellectuals had formed a secret organization whose aim was to overthrow the Zogite monarchy, to establish a republican regime and to eliminate Italian intervention in Albania. This organization confined its activity to military circles and bourgeois intellectuals. The Tirana communist organization and a number of communist officers known as anti-Zogite militants also joined this secret organization.

The Korça Communist Group also took up the question of participating in this secret organization at its 1934 August meeting. It decided to utilize this opportunity in favour of the anti-Zogite democratic movement and, if the uprising broke out, to take part in it as an independent force with its own program. This program envisaged: the proclamation of the people's democratic republic; the abrogation of all enslaving agreements with fascist Italy; the abolition of monopolies and concessions; an amnesty for political prisoners. But the Korça Communist Group did not set to work to broaden the anti-Zogite movement and exert its influence on it. It maintained a wait-and-see attitude.

Zog's government scented the movement and began to take measures. The chiefs of the movement were compelled to start the uprising prematurely, on August 14, 1935 in Fier. However, it was soon suppressed by the government forces. Lack of organization and the premature start of the uprising gravely damaged the plan of operations. Even the forces led by the communist Riza Cerova (back from the Soviet Union in March 1935) failed to attain their objective. Riza Cerova fell fighting against Zog's gendarmes, convinced, as he had

written to his family, that the people would be free only when the exploiting classes were overthrown.

The Fier uprising failed. It was foredoomed to failure, because it lacked a sound revolutionary leadership, lacked organization and it was detached from the masses of the people in town and countryside who had not been prepared for an uprising. The anti-Zogite bourgeois opposition proved itself utterly incapable of organizing and leading a broad popular movement. Moreover, reactionary fascist elements had infiltrated the movement and tried to utilize it as a means to carry out fascist Italy's plans towards Albania. The communists who took part in the movement, although determined to carry it through to the end, did not manage to emerge as the leadership of the movement, to make all-round preparations for it or to give it a clear-cut political program. As a result of all these factors the uprising turned into a mere putsch. Nevertheless, it was a manifestation of the indignation and dissatisfaction against the oppressive landlord-bourgeois regime. It had political importance and repercussions that went beyond the borders of Albania. Democratic public opinion inside Albania and abroad was aroused against the terrorist measures of reprisal that Zog undertook after the suppression of the uprising. The uprising, as Ali Kelmendi wrote, was the «baptism of fire and the touchstone» for the Albanian communists. «They passed this test with honour and proved themselves worthy brothers of the communists of other lands.»*

3. GROWTH OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE FASCIST DANGER DURING THE PERIOD 1935-1939

In the thirties, the struggle of the Soviet peoples, guided by the Bolshevik Party with J.V. Stalin at the head, for the construction of the socialist society was crowned with success. The Soviet Union was transformed into a major industrial power with an advanced socialist agriculture.

Meanwhile the deep economic crisis of the years 1929 — 1933 had shaken the capitalist world to its very foundations and had greatly exacerbated its contradictions. To overcome this difficult situation the imperialist bourgeoisie of many countries came out in support of fascism, of the most

* A. Kelmendi, report to the Comintern, December 14, 1936. CPA.

reactionary, terrorist and chauvinist dictatorship of finance capital. The advent to power of the nazis in 1933 created a very dangerous hotbed of war in Germany. The fascists launched a frenzied attack on the workers' communist and democratic movements, and made feverish preparations for aggressive wars. The danger of another world war became greater with the attack of militarist Japan on China in 1931, and that of fascist Italy on Ethiopia in 1935.

The world was threatened by the fascist danger, by the danger of a new world war. The so-called «democratic» Western powers like Britain, France and the USA took no effective measures to ward off this danger but aided the militarization of the fascist countries and, through their ill-famed «non-intervention» policy, encouraged fascist aggression with the aim of directing it against the Soviet Union.

Only the Soviet government and the communist parties of the different countries struggled with all their might to restrain the aggressors.

The 7th Congress of the Communist International

The international situation faced communist parties throughout the world with new tasks. The 7th Congress of the Communist International meeting in Moscow in July 1935 stressed the need to extend the struggle against the onslaught of capital and fascism. In connection with this, the congress set the task of striving to set up a united front of the working class against fascism, by securing the unity of action of the workers and, on this basis, forming a broad anti-fascist people's front. In order to accomplish these tasks the communist parties had to surmount a series of weaknesses, such as the manifestations of sectarian work with the masses, had to improve their methods of agitation and propaganda, and hurl themselves into bold revolutionary actions. The congress called on all the peoples to mobilize their forces to aid the countries fighting for their independence against the imperialist yoke.

The resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern marked a new stage in the further development of the international communist and workers' movement. Creative implementation of them in the specific conditions of each country paved the way for the communists to place themselves at the head of the broad masses of the people and to become the

main leading force of the democratic anti-imperialist workers' movement.

These resolutions were of major importance to all countries and, especially, to those countries like Albania which were directly menaced by fascism.

The Communists at the Head of the Growing Revolutionary Movement

The pressure of fascist Italy on Albania and Zog's surrender to it led, in March 1936, to the conclusion of the Italian-Albanian Agreements which marked a big step towards the complete submission of Albania to fascist Italy.

In these circumstances, in Albania, in addition to the fight against capitalist exploitation and the Zogite regime, the struggle against the fascist enslavers assumed ever greater importance. The Albanian bourgeoisie was closely linked with the Zogite regime and could not lead the struggle to safeguard the freedom and independence of the country. After the failure of the Fier uprising, even those bourgeois democratic forces which continued their struggle against the Zogite regime and against subjugation to Italy, were no longer capable of leading the anti-Zogite and anti-fascist movement because of their lack of determination and organization.

Now the only revolutionary force in the struggle to attain democratic rights and safeguard the freedom and independence of the Homeland was the communists, who placed themselves at the head not only of the workers' movement, but also of the anti-Zogite and anti-fascist people's movement.

The Fier uprising had shaken the Zogite regime and discredited its policy. As Ali Kelmendi wrote, the King was compelled «to resort to a demagogical manoeuvre to gain time, to recuperate from the blow he had received and to prepare a second attack against the people.» In October 1935, he appointed a new «liberal» government which made high-flown promises of reforms.

The freedoms it proclaimed, although very limited, were used by the communists to extend their organizing of the working class and to spread their influence among the broad masses of the people. In the autumn of 1935 the most important work centre of the country, Kuçova (now Stalin City), run by the Italian oil company (AIPA), began to move. About 1,600 Albanian workers were employed in extracting oil and

in the auxiliary sectors. As far back as the middle of 1934, a clandestine nucleus to organize a union of oil workers had been formed at Kuçova on the initiative of the communists. In October 1935 it formed the «Puna» Association which was recognized by the government. Although in order to avoid any obstruction from the government the Constitution stipulated that «Puna» was established to «safeguard the dignity and the interests of its members and give them moral and material aid», it was immediately turned into a revolutionary anti-Zogite and anti-fascist workers' organization.

Within one year it numbered more than 1,500 members.

The «Puna» Association of Kuçova presented to the government and Parliament a petition requesting the establishment of the 8-hour workday, measures to improve conditions of lodging, food and hygiene, as well as certain measures of social insurance. It also demanded that the workers should not be compelled by the foreign proprietors to give the fascist salute. When the representative of the government sent to Kuçova rejected the demands of the workers, they protested by launching a short strike and a demonstration against him. With the government's support AIPA sacked the leaders and other activists of the association. As an open anti-Albanian reprisal, AIPA declared November 28, 1935, the Day of Independence, a workday. On this day the «Puna» Association organized a powerful demonstration directed mainly against the Italian fascists.

In January 1936, it decided to take strike action to win its demands. On February 11, the action became a general strike. To suppress the strike the government dispatched large forces of gendarmes headed by the minister of the interior himself. These forces arrested 60 of the most progressive workers and deported 300 others from Kuçova to various other citites. The «Puna» Association practically ceased to exist.

Although it failed, this general strike had a major significance. It was a revolutionary school for the workers. On the other hand, it compelled the government to request the employers, albeit formally, to create more suitable working conditions.

Parallel with the strike movement, a powerful popular movement against the shortage of food and against the Zogite regime was spreading in the other regions of the country. In autumn of 1935 the food shortage had reached its peak. Thous-

ands of people were threatened with death from starvation. The army of the unemployed had increased by leaps and bounds. Discontent and indignation was rife among the various social strata, especially the poor of the city and the countryside.

An active role in the movement was played by the handicraftsmen who were being ruined by the competition of industrial production. Their struggle was fostered by petty-bourgeois illusions of perpetuating small-scale production and putting a stop to factory production. Although these demands were utopian, the struggle in essence was directed against the misery prevailing in the country.

The Korça Communist Group was able to take advantage of the situation created, to place itself at the head of the popular masses and to impart a political character to their struggle. The communist factions of the building workers' «Puna» Association, the associations of shoemakers, tailors, and the «League of Private Employees» — a new trade-union organization created in December 1935, etc., began to act vigorously to organize the movement, to make it a more compact movement of the masses and to direct it against the Zogite regime. On February 21, 1936, the anti-Zogite mass demonstration, which has gone down in history as the «Demonstration for bread», erupted in Korça. Bloody clashes with the gendarmerie did not prevent the workers and handicraftsmen, who were joined by the secondary school students, from staging another demonstration in the afternoon. The clashes with the gendarmes became even fiercer.

The demonstration for bread in Korça was a great popular anti-Zogite action organized and led by the communists. It caused a big sensation throughout the country. It aroused panic among the authorities and the ruling classes and inspired the masses of the people in other districts by its example. Demonstrations against the shortage of food took place also in Gjirokastra, Saranda, Leskovik, Bilisht, Pogradec and Berat. Other anti-Zogite popular demonstrations took place in Vlora and Elbasan.

In September 1936 Ali Kelmendi was expelled from the country by the Zogite government. Before his departure, he met Enver Hoxha in Gjirokastra who had just returned to Albania and was outstanding as an active communist militant.

The Communist-led Press

The events of 1936 testified to the increase of the influence of the communists among the masses, but on a national level the successes were still very limited. The press had to play a special role in spreading the influence of the communists. However, the rigorous Zogite censorship prevented them from expressing their views openly through this medium. The articles of a progressive nature, which they managed to publish in the organs of the bourgeois press, were very few.

«Liria Kombëtare» and two pamphlets of the communist faction of the Committee for National Liberation, published in 1934 and 1935, which presented a revolutionary program for the overthrow of the Zogite regime and the establishment of a people's republic, as well as the newspapers «Populli» (The People) and «Sazani», organs of the Albanian communist groups in Lyons (France), had a very limited circulation in Albania, mainly within a narrow circle of intellectuals.

The need to develop democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist ideas widely within the country made it necessary for the communists to use new forms of work. They had begun to make successful use of the cultural and artistic associations. The «Besa Shqiptare» (Albanian Fidelity) Association, founded by the students of the Shkodra Gymnasium in 1929, and the drama group of the «Puna» Association in Korça, won great popularity through their performances of plays of a patriotic and progressive spirit. Meanwhile the communist organizations of Tirana and Korça immediately took advantage of the circumstances created after the advent to power of the «liberal» government, to publish their organs which found a wide circulation all over the country.

Of these organs, «Bota e Re» (The New World), which was first published in Korça in April 1936, was the most important. Although it was written in Aesopian language to escape the censorship, it served as a powerful weapon for criticizing the regime in power and the ills of Albanian society. It waged a stern struggle against the reactionary fascist ideology and dealt with the basic social and political problems facing the people in a revolutionary democratic spirit, calling on Albanian democratic public opinion to strive to solve them. «Bota e Re» became the organ dearest to the progressive workers and craftsmen, the youth and democratic intellectuals.

The Spread of Communist Organizations. The Shkodra Communist Group

The revolutionary events of the years 1935 and 1936 were an important success for the communist movement, but, at the same time, they had revealed a series of shortcomings in the organization of the workers' and anti-Zogite movement. In these circumstances, the first task was to spread the communist movement all over the country, to establish sounder relations among the organizations and to coordinate their activities.

For this purpose in December 1936, the Korça Communist Group set up a new leading committee charged with the task of developing activities in all the districts of the country. This committee's aim was to become the guiding centre of the Albanian communist movement. But it did not attain this objective. New organizations of the Korça Communist Group were set up only in Berat and Tirana, where the association of printing workers was formed as well. The work accomplished by the committee in the various districts of the country was of a superficial and sporadic character. Recruitment of new elements was not done on the basis of a thorough acquaintance with them. This was how anti-Marxist elements entered the ranks of the organization and caused damage to the communist movement.

Meanwhile, a new important centre of the Albanian communist movement was forming in Shkodra. The first communist organization founded there as far back as 1934 had extended its field of operations. New cells and groups of sympathizers were set up. The **Shkodra Communist Group** extended its activity to Tirana, Elbasan, Gjirokastra, Korça and elsewhere. Regional committees were set up in 1937 in Shkodra and Tirana for the purpose of directing these organizations. The chairman of the group was Zef Mala, an intellectual with distorted theoretical views and seriously lacking in political clarity.

The activity of the group among the masses was confined to school and handicraft circles and to a few work centres. Its important achievements were the creation of the Youth Organization in Shkodra and Tirana, and the Carpenters' Association in Tirana.

The Shkodra Communist Group did not have a clear and defined political line, a definite organizational form, sound discipline and secrecy among its ranks. The cells, which generally com-

prised three members, engaged mainly in their own theoretical studies. The literature in use for this purpose, which included a number of the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, helped spread communist ideas. But Trotskyite and anarchist literature also circulated among the organizations of the Shkodra Communist Group, just as in other groups.

In the course of its development, the Albanian communist movement came up against serious obstacles caused by the Trotskyites. Coming from Athens to Albania at the beginning of 1937, Andrea Zisi (under the pseudonym «Zjarri» (Fire)) claimed that he was the chairman of the so-called «Albanian Communist Party» formed in Greece and allegedly recognized by the Comintern. In fact, he was the leader of a Trotskyite group set up in Athens in 1936 and known by the name «Zjarri». Zisi had undertaken the task of merging the Albanian communist groups with his «party» and forcing them to accept his anti-Marxist line. The Korça Communist Group gave no recognition to the «Zjarri» «party» and expressed its willingness to collaborate with him only provided he accepted the group's platform. Meanwhile, Zisi established links with the factionalist Niko Xoxi with whom he found a common language. The two co-ordinated their efforts to fight the Korça Communist Group.

For his part, Aristidh Qendro had begun to engage in hostile activity against the communist movement in Tirana. Formally he figured as a member of the Korça Communist Group. Lack of control by the leaders of the group had enabled him to act without being exposed. On behalf of the group he had recruited a number of members in Tirana whom he imbued with his own anti-Marxist views. By 1937 they had completely degenerated into a group of Trotskyites.

At this time the Shkodra Communist Group made the first attempt to link up with the Korça Communist Group. In a letter addressed to the Korça communists in 1937 it asked them, as the more experienced, to help in matters of organization. The readiness to help shown by the Korça Communist Group was sabotaged by Niko Xoxi. Posing as the representative of the Korça Comminunist Group, he had informed the Shkodra Communist Group of the creation of the «Albanian Communist Party» in Greece and of the imminent arrival of its «Central Committee» in Albania. Niko Xoxi accused the leaders of the Korça Communist Group and Ali Kelmendi of being nationalists and splitters of the communist movement. His views found

favourable soil among the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group among whom ideological unclarity prevailed. Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi became, in fact, the principal leaders of the group. The rapprochement and collaboration between the two main communist groups was undermined.

This split caused great harm to the communist movement and, consequently, to the whole revolutionary democratic movement which was in this plight when the frenzied anti-communist campaign broke out following the advent to power of the new reactionary government in November 1936. This government organized the brutal persecution of communists and all progressive elements. It dissolved the workers' associations, prohibited the formation of new associations and permitted only the formation of workers' corporations of the fascist type under the direct supervision of government authorities. Progressive publications were banned and strict censorship was imposed on all books and organs of the press published in the country or brought from abroad. In 1937, Zog arrested most of the communist officers in the army.

The Zogite government, on the other hand, had allowed the spread of fascism far and wide in Albania, Mussolini's special envoys set to work to organize the Albanian youth on the fascist pattern. In Korça, they set up a «committee of action» composed of Albanian fascist elements, and throughout the country they organized a wide network of agents whose duty it was to pave the way for the complete enslavement of the country by Italy. The reactionary Catholic clergy performed a special mission in achieving this end.

Zog unreservedly supported the counter-revolutionary insurrection which had broken out in Spain in 1936 and recognized Franco's fascist government.

Zog's profoundly reactionary, pro-fascist policy aroused great concern among the Albanian communists and patriots for the future of the country's independence. They were becoming more and more aware of the danger fascism presented to Albania and all the peoples of the world. In this direction, the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern had been of great direct assistance. The Albanian communists considered the just war of the Spanish people as a war in defence of the interests of Albania as well. Their hatred for fascism and their spirit of proletarian internationalism was expressed with special force by the Albanian communists and anti-fascists in

their willingness to go to Spain as volunteers. From 1936, the communist groups sent members there to fight side by side with the Spanish people. The Albanian volunteers, among whom were Asim Vokshi, Thimjo Gogozoto, Ramiz Varvarica, Zef Hoti, Musa Fratari and others, fought courageously against fascism in the ranks of the International Brigades. Many of them fell martyrs on the field of battle, while Teni Konomi, member of the leadership of the Korça Communist Group, was murdered by the fascists before he set foot on Spanish soil.

The New Line of the Albanian Communist Movement

In the circumstances of the increasing fascist danger to Albania, it became imperative for the communist groups not only to collaborate more closely, but also to reorganize all their work in the spirit of the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Communist International. The first attempts to carry out the new line of the Comintern were made by the Albanian communists abroad. On the initiative of the communist faction of the Committee for National Liberation in Paris, in March 1936 the «Democratic Front» of the political organizations of Albanians in exile was set up. But the conservative section of the anti-Zogite bourgeoisie in exile, represented in this front by the «Bashkimi Kombëtar» (National Union), had degenerated politically and was incapable of undertaking patriotic and revolutionary actions. As a result the «Democratic Front» was soon dissolved.

The communist groups within the country had not yet established regular contacts with the Comintern because there was no officially recognized party in Albania. Nevertheless, the Comintern had been informed from time to time of the activity of the communist groups in Albania by Ali Kelmendi and the Albanian communists residing in France.

In December 1936 Ali Kelmendi submitted a report at a meeting of the Albanian communist activists working abroad. This meeting was called together in Moscow on the initiative of the Balkan Section of the Comintern for the purpose of analysing the situation in the Albanian communist movement and of determining the tasks that lay before it in the light of the directives of the 7th Congress of the Comintern. Ali Kelmendi called for intensification of the work to organize and set up a communist party. To this end an organizational centre

based on the existing communist groups within the country and mainly on the Korça Group, should be set up in Albania. The duty of this centre would be «to strengthen and guide the existing communist groups, to organize the communist movement throughout Albania as well as to call a Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Albania.»* On the initiative and under the guidance of the communists, an underground and centralized organization of a democratic and anti-fascist character should be set up to fight against the Zogite regime and Italian imperialism, to establish a democratic republic, and to annul the enslaving agreements with fascist Italy. A popular front would be created on the basis of this organization.

After examining the report, the meeting took decisions which were also approved by the Comintern. In line with these decisions, a clandestine organization of a democratic and anti-fascist character was to be set up in Albania. It would be under the leadership of a Central Committee composed of communists and patriotic nationalists. The communist nucleus of this committee would be made up of five persons who would work within the country. This organization would serve as a basis for the establishment of the popular front. The Comintern observed that the old cells were isolated from the masses and shut in their own shell and, as such, they were incapable of carrying out the new line. Therefore, they and their leading forums should be temporarily dissolved and reorganized on the basis of the Party after sound foundations had been laid among the masses by means of activity in the legal associations. The links among communists should be individual. The functions of the communist organizing centre should be exercised by the communist nucleus of the Central Committee pending the formation of the party. The minimum program of the communists, which would also be the political platform of the new organization, consisted of two principal planks: a) the struggle in defence of national rights and b) the struggle in defence of democratic rights. For the defence of national independence, the new organization would collaborate with all classes, social strata and elements that were in favour of the struggle against fascist bondage. The propagation of the new line would be done

* A. Kelmendi, report to the Comintern, December 14, 1936. CPA.

by a clandestine paper which would be published by the communists.

All Kelmendi and Koço Tashko were charged with transmitting these instructions to Albania. Ali Kelmendi went to France to make arrangements to enter his Homeland. There, he had to do a lot of persuasive work among the Albanian communists and emigrants to carry out the new line. He devoted special attention to exposing the hostile activity of Llazar Fundo, a member of the communist faction of the Committee for National Liberation, who tried to wreck all the work done by the Albanian communists in France. Llazar Fundo sabotaged the work of sending Albanian volunteers to Spain to fight against fascism and, finally, came out openly against communism, in defence of the Bukharinites, Trotskyites, and other hostile elements condemned by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolshevik). He was condemned as a traitor to communism, as an agent provocateur of imperialism, and was expelled from the ranks of the Albanian communist movement.

Illness prevented Ali Kelmendi from returning to Albania to carry out the mission entrusted to him. He died in Paris on February 11, 1939.

Attempts to Apply the New Line in Albania

The Korça Communist Group first learned of the instructions of the Comintern in the autumn of 1937. After studying the new line, the leaders of this group accepted it as a platform for their further activity, although they had some reservations about the instruction to dissolve the communist cells and committees and hesitated at first to carry it out. The group appointed its representative to the communist nucleus of the Central Committee. It decided to put the new instructions into practice, by extending the work with the masses in the legal organizations like the artisans' associations, the precinct councils, the municipal council and the council of the chamber of commerce, among paramilitary groups, students' out-of-school associations, by means of the legal press organs, etc.

From the beginning, the spread of the new line to the other communist organizations of the country encountered the opposition of the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group. Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi rejected the new line, saying that, in principle, they were for the social revolution and not for national revolution; that they were opposed to imperialism,

but unwilling to collaborate with the nationalists; that they were in favour of direct action when the time came, and not of dilatory and roundabout actions, and so on!

The new line was opposed also by the Tirana Trotskyite organization headed by Aristidh Qendro who, like Zef Mala, described collaboration with the patriotic nationalists and the establishment of the popular front as betrayal of the working class.

The political and ideological enlightenment of the communists, exposure of Trotskyites, and the uniting of the sound communist forces in a single Albanian communist party required hard and persistent work. But those who undertook this task recoiled before difficulties. The communist nucleus in the Central Committee of the new organization which was to be formed, never acted as such at any time. Its members were not men of sacrifice. Koço Tashko himself, who had brought the new directives and had the main responsibility for applying them, proved to be quite incapable, from the political and organizational point of view, of carrying them out.

The Korça Communist Group, for its part, remained confined to that city. In March 1938, it dissolved the cells. This caused some confusion and disintegration among the communists who regarded the cell as the most suitable form in which to be educated with the Marxist ideology and to examine collectively the problems of the workers' movement. Nevertheless, both before the dissolution of cells and after, the communists of the group did their best to carry out the new line in Korça and scored important successes. They placed themselves at the head of the city's democratic movement and extended their influence among the masses of the people, who saw in the communists the most resolute champions of the people's interests. This became evident in the elections to precinct councils and the council of the Chamber of Commerce, especially in the work with the youth and in the municipal elections. The group greatly extended and deepened its influence among the worker, artisan and school youth, and became the leader of the out-of-school organization «Rinia Korçare» (Korça Youth), foiling every attempt of the Zogite government and fascist agents to give this organization a counter-revolutionary colour. In the elections for the new municipal council, in June 1938, the communists presented the list of candidates of the Democratic Bloc, which, apart from communists,

also included progressive bourgeois elements. In these elections, they scored a brilliant victory. The Democratic Bloc got 86 per cent of the votes, against the list sponsored by the capitalist group of the «General Electric Company», although the latter spent large sums of money for the election and had the powerful backing of the state organs. With their work the communists shook the masses of electors out of the political lethargy and indifference into which they had sunk and involved them actively in the political life of the city. The new municipal council of Korça led by the communists took a number of measures of a democratic nature which were unprecedented in the practice of the municipal councils of the country. It opened its meetings so that the electors could supervise its activity, rid the municipal administrative apparatus of reactionary employees and replaced them with communists and democrats. It used part of the municipal funds to give financial aid to the poor and to build streets, water supply systems, etc., in the city quarters of the poor. It took legal action against the «General Electric Company» with a view to annulling the concession it had obtained through bribery, etc.

The list of the Democratic Bloc put forward by the branch of the Korça Communist Group in Durrës also triumphed in the municipal elections held in July that year in that city There were similar successes in Gjirokastra and Peqin.

The Sharpening of Disagreements between the Communist Groups of Korça and Shkodra

The Korça Communist Group attached special importance to the struggle against fascism which was threatening the freedom and independence of the country. This struggle was a fundamental strategic task of the communists. The illegal organ «Përpara» (Forward) which the group started to publish in the autumn of 1937 for the purpose of educating its members and propagating the new line, denounced fascism as a regime of exploitation, oppression and war, laid bare the true features of the initiators of the fascist movement in Albania and of their supporters — the landlords, big merchants and usurers — and exposed them as enemies to the people. This periodical warned the communists against the fascist danger threatening the country and called on them to mobilize the people in struggle against it. The Korça Communist Group

did not confine itself to propaganda alone in order to create a broad anti-fascist movement, but resorted to direct action as well. In 1938 the communists clashed in the streets of the Korça city with the members of the «Fascist Committee» operating in Albania. They frustrated all attempts to organize our youth on Italian fascist lines.

The Korça Communist Group pursued a generally correct line toward the internal problems of the country. Basing itself on the resolutions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern, in its periodical «Përpara» it expounded in theory the necessity for the communists to establish close links with the broad masses, to lead the masses in their day-to-day struggle for the fulfilment of their most elementary political and economic rights, and to set up a people's front which would mobilize the masses for struggle against the fascist menace. On this basis the Korça Communist Group put forward its minimum program which envisaged struggle a) for the national rights of the people against imperialism; b) for the democratic rights of the people against violations of the national Constitution and attempts to implant fascism in Albania; c) for peace against war; and d) for the elementary economic rights of the people.

«Përpara» pointed out that in a semi-colonial country like Albania there existed not only a social problem, but also a national problem, that the latter had emerged as the primary problem and that the national movement in which the broad masses of the people were interested, must be linked closely with the social movement of the working class. This was the only class capable of leading the masses and loyally defending their interests, but to restrict the movement to the working class alone and to fight with its forces only, without mobilizing the national forces, was a dangerous adventure. «We are obliged to work wherever people come together, in state organizations, schools, clubs, religious congregations, women's associations and elsewhere . . . Our legally approved program and tactics facilitate our work in organizations authorized or set up by the state. Now we are obliged to work in a roundabout way only because we want to gather strength in order to act directly. Power lies with the people; without the masses we are but a handful of persons...»*

* «The National Movement and the Social Movement», «Përpara», September 1938, CPA.

The application of this line brought the Korça Group a number of successes, but only within the city. The group had a very narrow view of the base on which the popular front should be formed in a backward agricultural country like Albania at that time, where the peasantry made up the overwhelming majority of the population. While preaching the necessity of extending the work beyond the working class to the other strata of the people, it did almost nothing about the countryside; about the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, without which the popular front could not be set up.

The Shkodra Group, for its part, had not drawn the necessary lessons from the achievements of communists in the democratic and anti-fascist activities in Korça and elsewhere. Instead of striving to unite the communists of the country and to extend their contacts with the broad masses of the people, the top leaders of this group pursued the course of disruption and struggle against the group that had adopted the new line of action. «Buletini Jeshil» (The Green Bulletin), the illegal publication of the Shkodra Communist Group which appeared in the latter half of 1938, played an especially negative role in that struggle.

This bulletin published excerpts from the works of the classics of Marxism-Leninism, materials about the successes achieved by the Soviet Union in socialist construction, and the superiority of the socialist system over the capitalist system, articles which exposed the Zogite regime, fascism and Italy's enslaving policy toward Albania, and so on. These articles were an important contribution to the Albanian communist movement. On the other hand, however, through the «Buletini Jeshil», the Shkodra Communist Group tried to justify theoretically its mistaken line by maintaining an anti-Marxist stand imposed by Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi toward the basic problem of setting up an anti-fascist popular front.

The anti-Marxist views of the leaders of the Shkodra Group had their origin in their erroneous conception and assessment of the role of classes and social strata in the Albanian revolutionary movement and of the situation created in Albania as a result of the enslaving policy of Italian fascism. They said that in Albania there were no proletariat and bourgeoisie in the true meaning of the terms, that the artisans were the most revolutionary part of the population and that the peasantry would become the ally of the proletariat when the latter, as a

result of the further capitalist development of the country, would become capable of taking up the banner of socialist revolution. Since there was no proletariat and no bourgeoisie, no genuine class struggle could be waged and, as a consequence, the conditions for the revolution were not yet ripe! They also maintained that the communist movement had come into being in Albania not as an essential need of the working class in order to fight against the capitalists, but as a result of foreign influences! In these circumstances, since this movement was already afoot, the duty of the communists was to educate and train cadres who would eventually start agitation among the broad masses of people, would draw the proletariat behind them and would take the direction of the communist revolution into their own hands! It was with these cadres, theoretically educated and trained, that they intended to form an Albanian communist party.

Failing to grasp the political changes that had taken place in Albania and in the world, the leaders of the Shkodra Group were unable to work out a correct revolutionary line compatible with these conditions. They rejected the Comintern's directive to set up a popular front, saying in justification that Albania was a semi-colonial country without distinct classes, without a proletariat, without a communist party, without other political parties, beset with general ignorance, and so on. The leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group were not opposed to the establishment of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-fascist order, but they wanted to direct the main forces toward the establishment of a proletarian socialist democracy! These views increased the ideological confusion among the members of the group.

The ideological and political disagreements between the two groups regarding the application of Marxism under the concrete historical conditions of the country became more acute. This conflict was extended to the field of organization also and assumed an unprincipled character.

The Struggle against Fascist Aggression

Meanwhile, the danger of Italian fascist aggression against Albania became ever greater. In January 1939, the fascist dictator Benito Mussolini endorsed the plan of the military occupation of Albania. The leaders of the Korça Communist Group thought that favourable conditions for the

formation of a broad front against Italian imperialism had been created. They tried to convince the communists of the other groups and the patriotic nationalists of the need to unite and collaborate against the imminent fascist aggression. But these efforts were not persistent enough and therefore came to naught.

On the other hand, Zog had no intention whatsoever of organizing resistance against the Italian aggression and least of all, in collaboration with the communists. Up to the last moment he hoped to come to terms with the Italian fascists, by making new concessions to them in order to retain his royal throne. At the same time, he organized savage persecution of the communists. Zog's gendarmerie detected and arrested most of the members of the Shkodra Communist Group. Under interrogation and at their trial by the Zogites in January 1939, the leaders of this group, Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, broke down and betrayed the activity of the group, the names of their comrades and of some of the members of the Korça Communist Group. Seventy-five persons appeared before the court, accused of seeking to overthrow the regime by force. The eighteen-year old communist Qemal Stafa, like many of his comrades, maintained a manly stand in court. He declared that he was and would remain a dedicated communist and that communism would save the masses of oppressed workers. The court passed various sentences on 52 persons.

This was a heavy blow to the Albanian communist movement. It resulted mainly from defective security and the betrayal by the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group who did not consider it a grave blunder to betray their comrades to the police and in court. They pretended that this was a test of the resoluteness of their comrades under torture!

The international situation was worsening. The fascist states had greatly increased their war preparations. Hitlerite Germany had occupied Austria in 1938 and, after the Munich capitulation by the Western powers, occupied Czechoslovakia in March 1939, while the fascist troops in Spain crushed the Spanish republican forces.

On March 23, 1939 fascist Italy took the final decision on the military occupation of Albania. Zog tried his utmost to conceal the tension that had built up in Albanian-Italian relations. Nevertheless, the Albanian people learned of the sinister plans of fascism from the very first days of April. A wave of

indignation swept the whole country. The Albanian communists, though few in number, became the organizers of powerful anti-fascist demonstrations throughout the country. On the initiative of the communists and patriotic nationalists, centres were set up in Tirana and other cities to recruit volunteers for the war against the fascist aggression. The communists held in jail and internment asked the government to send them to the front line to resist the aggression. But the organization of popular resistance was sabotaged by Zog and his clique. The Albanian people, who were all up and ready to fight in defence of their freedom and independence, found themselves unarmed, betrayed by the ruling classes, the government and the king. At these decisive moments for the fate of the Homeland, the communist groups, split and at loggerheads with one another, were unable to set up a single leadership and mobilize the people for armed action against the aggressors.

On April 7, 1939 Italian fascist troops attacked Albania. Zog and his clique fled the country, leaving it to the mercy of fate. The Albanian army, paralyzed by the Italian military specialists and their own pro-fascist officers, disintegrated without offering any resistance. Meanwhile, groups of patriots fought heroically, rifle in hand, against the aggressors in Durrës, Saranda, Shëngjin, Shkodra, Vlora, etc., but the superior forces of the enemy crushed this resistance. In a few days the country was overrun by the fascists. But the Albanian people were not conquered. They openly manifested their deep hatred for the Italian invaders and never recognized the foreign occupation regime.

The occupation of Albania came as a logical consequence of the aggressive policy of Italian fascism, of the anti-national and anti-popular capitulationist policy pursued by the Zogite regime, and of the policy of «non-intervention» of the Western capitalist powers which hastened to recognize this occupation. Only the Soviet Union, loyal to its policy of defending the countries menaced by fascism, raised its voice against this aggression. A wave of indignation and protests broke out among the Albanian emigrants. Progressive opinion in general throughout the world also condemned the Italian aggression against Albania.

4. THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY — HISTORICALLY IMPERATIVE IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE WAR FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

The occupation of Albania was part of the general plan the fascist powers had begun to put into effect to establish their domination of the world. The policy of repeated concessions pursued by Britain, France and the USA had further incited the aggressive aims of fascism. The talks which Britain and France had begun in 1939 with the Soviet Union under pressure from public opinion were used by these powers as a smokescreen behind which to conceal their attempts to come to terms with Hitler. For this reason, in order to gain time, to strengthen its defences and to avoid becoming involved on its own in a war on two fronts — against Germany and Japan — the Soviet Union, in August 1939, signed the Non-aggression Pact with Germany. At the beginning of September, after the Hitlerites had attacked Poland, faced with fascist aggression which was being directed against them, too, Britain and France declared war on nazi Germany.

Thus, the Second World War started as a war between the two main imperialist blocs. It was a result of the inevitable contradictions of the capitalist system in the epoch of its general crisis. On the other hand, however, the peoples had risen against the fascist aggression and slavery. Their fight to defend freedom and independence and to rid themselves of foreign bondage was a just, anti-fascist war.

The Establishment of the Fascist Occupation Regime

With the occupation of Albania by Italy began a grim period of fascist enslavement for the Albanian people. The Italian invaders kept the landlord-bourgeois order intact. On the other hand, they took immediate steps to carry out a broad program of political, economic and administrative measures aimed at legalizing and enforcing the occupation regime.

The Italian fascists tried to achieve this aim through both demagogy and force. With a view to concealing the annexation, they summoned a «Constituent Assembly» in Tirana which proclaimed the «personal union» of Albania with Italy, offered the crown of Albania to the Italian King Victor Emmanuel III, and created a puppet Albanian government

headed by the big landowner Shefqet Vërlaci. In reality, Albania was turned into a province of the Italian empire under the fascist dictatorship. The Italian «Viceroy» (Luogotenente) exercised all state power on behalf and in the name of the king, carrying out to the letter the orders of the Rome government. The puppet Albanian government was simply an intermediary organ transmitting the will of fascist dictator Mussolini and the Viceroy. The Albanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs was closed. Its functions were turned over to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The other ministries were, in fact, directed by the Italian «advisers». The Albanian armed forces became part of the Imperial Army and took their orders from the Italian headquarters. The Convention on the «Equality of Civil and Political Rights» in Albania between Italian and Albanian citizens was accompanied with the influx of tens of thousands of Italian colonists (workers, farmers, specialists, teachers, entrepreneurs, merchants, officials, etc.). These, together with the occupation troops, made up the force which aimed, among other things, at the complete colonization and fascization of the country.

The Italian invaders officially proclaimed Italy and Albania a «single territory». There was an unimpeded inflow of Italian capital into Albania. The Italian capitalists became the absolute masters of the economy of the country, turning it wholly into a base for raw materials and a market for their goods only.

The Italian government also began feverish preparations to transform Albania into a military base for aggression against the neighbouring Balkan countries.

In its policy of occupying Albania and turning it into a province of Italy, Mussolini's government had the full support of the reactionary ruling classes of the country. Prior to 1939, fascist Italy had set up among these classes and among the ranks of the bourgeois political exiles a powerful agency which served it faithfully in the enslavement of the Albanian people.

The Albanian landed gentry had always maintained close relations with the foreign rulers who ensured them their class privileges, and had always tended to place their property interests above those of the nation. As traditional carriers of political corruption, they had no difficulty in abandoning Zog and linking up with the Italian invaders and giving their policy

in Albania unreserved support, since Italian fascism championed their class interests. Similar interests threw the tribal chieftains into the lap of fascism, too. The Italian invaders made them blind tools of fascism in Albania.

The Albanian reactionary bourgeoisie, the most important part of which consisted of the big merchant bourgeoisie, also betrayed the interests of the Homeland. It had long given up fighting in defence of the freedom and independence of the country, and had become a counter-revolutionary and anti-national force. The fascist invasion encouraged the development of trade. The big Albanian merchants, together with the landed gentry and the high fascist functionaries, became intermediaries and collaborators of the Italian monopolies in exploiting the Albanian people. Many of the local industrialists, whose factories closed down because of difficulties created by Italian competition, became traders and accumulated considerable wealth. Thus, the big bourgeoisie became an appendage of the occupiers. The reactionary clergy, too, became a tool in the hands of fascism.

The invaders appointed representatives of these classes and social strata, which comprised the Albanian reaction, to high posts in the fascist administration, hoping through them to ensure a quiet domination over Albania.

The consequences of the establishment of the fascist regime were soon felt by the Albanian people. They completely lost their freedom and national independence. Right from the start hundreds of patriots were confined in jails and deported to concentration camps in Italy. The fascists set up a powerful police apparatus in order to track down «suspects to the regime». Office workers were forced to swear allegiance to the king or lose their jobs. The fascist laws created an atmosphere of terror and insecurity throughout the land.

On the other hand, illusions about an improvement of the economic situation caused by the temporary elimination of unemployment through large construction schemes, mainly of a military character, and through dumping cheap Italian commodities on the market, very soon faded. The artisan workshops closed down one after another, because they could not compete with Italian industry. Ruin of the handicraftsmen became general. Albanian workers were forced to work ten hours a day for starvation wages in conditions of continually rising prices. After the occupation, the discrimination between Albanian and

Italian workers became even more blatant. There was no protection or labour insurance for Albanian workers. The Italian employers had the right to extend the work-day whenever they judged it necessary.

The systematic plunder by the invaders also gravely affected the interests of the peasantry. The compulsory delivery of agricultural products at very low prices, the expropriation of small farmers by the Italian banks, and the confiscation of thousands of hectares of land for military needs, deepened the process of impoverishment of the masses of the peasantry.

The Beginning of the National Liberation Movement. On the Order of the Day: Unity of the Communists

The loss of freedom and national independence deeply affected the traditional sentiments of ardent love of country and national pride of the Albanian people. Their hatred for the invaders grew from day to day. Their resentment was expressed in various ways: in sabotaging plans to Italianize and fascize the Albanian people, in refusing to enrol in the fascist party and other fascist organizations, in resisting the laws of the occupation regime, etc. The workers and school youth were especially prominent in this anti-fascist resistance.

In the conditions of the occupation, the workers' movement assumed a pronounced anti-fascist political character. Factories and large work-sites became hotbeds of struggle against the capitalist exploiters and the invaders. Frequent strikes took place in various cities. The workers went on strike not only for economic claims, but also to express their indignation and to sabotage production for the invaders.

The secondary schools became centres of a fiery movement against fascism. Even before the occupation, the school youth had stood out for their patriotic and democratic sentiments. Under the influence and guidance of the communist groups, they had become resolute fighters against the Zogite regime, against obscurantism and against fascism. In addition, they had become the bearers of communist and revolutionary democratic ideas among the masses. After the occupation, the school youth were among the first to express their hatred for the fascist invaders with great force. They opposed and sabotaged the spread of fascist culture, led demonstrations and protests against fascism and propagated the ideas of militant

patriotism and communism. In this way, the school youth served as a sound support for the communist and the anti-fascist movement in general.

The new situation created after the occupation raised the fundamental task of arousing all the people in struggle to frustrate the fascist plan of Italianizing and plundering the co-untry, to liberate Albania and to regain national independence.

The accomplishment of this task called for a revolutionary leadership to work out the political platform of the anti-fascist war, to mobilize and organize the people in this struggle.

A leadership of this kind was lacking. The communist groups were the only political organizations concerned about the destiny of the Homeland and people in those critical days. These groups maintained a resolute stand against the occupation regime. But discord prevented them from working out a common line for the liberation war, linking up with the popular masses and becoming their leadership.

The essential need to unite these groups and form a single communist party presented itself as a matter of urgency. The accomplishment of this task was not easy. Major obstacles had to be overcome in order to eliminate all disagreements and divisions, which were fostered especially by the leaders, although the need for unity was already felt by the majority of the communists.

To achieve the union of communist forces and organize the anti-fascist struggle, the old course of negotiations among the leaders was pursued. The two opposing lines regarding the character of the war again collided in these negotiations. The leaders of the Korça Group always favoured organizing the national liberation war with the participation of all classes and social strata that were willing to fight against the foreign invaders. The leaders of the Shkodra Group and other organiza-tions, who had not given up their sectarian stand, adapted their old views to the new situation. They were of the opinion that, as a result of the Italian occupation, Albania was embarking on the course of rapid capitalist development. Consequently, the growth of the working class would create the basis for a socialist revolution!

The negotiations between the leaders of the Korça and Shkodra Groups led to the formation, in the autumn of 1939, of a so-called joint «Central Committee» made up of an equal number of members, two from each group. This agree-

rnent was nothing but a «social democratic compromise».* It did not envisage the fusion of the two groups into a single organization. The groups remained divided, each retaining its own views and not purging its ranks of anti-Marxist elements. The leaders of the Shkodra Group agreed only to expel the Trotskyite Niko Xoxi. Built on such rotten foundations, this «union» from above remained altogether formal.

Meanwhile, the popular anti-fascist movement was growing all over the country. At the head of this movement stood the communists. After the occupation of the country, a radical change had taken place in their understanding. The rank-and-file members of the communist groups were becoming more and more aware that unity could not be achieved through sterile talks among chiefs but in the common struggle against the fascist invaders. This gradually pushed the political and ideological differences into the background. The authority and influence of the chiefs upon the rank-and-file of the groups had declined. The communists threw themselves into struggle against the foreign occupiers and became agitators for the liberation war. On Flag Day, November 28, 1939, they led anti-fascist mass demonstrations in the principal cities of the country. The demonstrations were conducted under the slogans: «Long live free Albania!», «Liberty or death!» The communists were the inspirers and leaders of the anti-fascist movement of the workers and the school youth. *«In* fights and clashes with the invaders and quislings, united for a single purpose — the liberation of the country from the invaders, the sound rank-and-file communists of the various groups were forging links with one another in blood, forgetting their squabbles and feuds. Now a correct communist line was being crystallized, and unity in a single party was required as a condition sine qua non for the organization and leadership of the war of liberation.»**

The successes scored by the communists in organizing the anti-fascist movement during the early months after the occupation of the country served as an encouragement for the Korça

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* Resolution of the Meeting of Communist Groups, November 1941. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, 1971, p. 17, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Report of the CC of the CPA to the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania, November 8, 1948, Works, vol. 5, p. 245, Alb. ed.

Communist Group to strengthen and extend its activity to the other districts of the country and to put an end to localism. At the beginning of 1940 it organized a branch in Tirana. Enver Hoxha was assigned to the leadership of this branch.

Enver Hoxha Enver Hoxha was born on October 16, 1908 in Gjirokastra. The early years of his life coincided with a very critical period for the country when successive foreign invaders burnt and laid waste whole districts, murdered the population en masse and spread misery everywhere. Life taught him to hate the enemies of the Homeland and, although still very young, he joined the 1924 democratic movement.

At the Korça Lyceum, from which he graduated in 1930, Enver Hoxha had his first experience of the brutality of the Zogite authorities and of their jail for having organized with his comrades a demonstration in protest against thefts perpetrated at the expense of the student body.

He went to France to pursue his higher studies. His pronounced democratic propensities made Enver Hoxha a sympathizer of the French communist movement. In Paris he established connections with the editorial board of «L'Humanite», organ of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party, to which he contributed materials denouncing the Zogite regime in Albania.

When his scholarship was discontinued, Enver Hoxha was obliged to go to Belgium where he worked for a period at the Albanian Consulate in Brussels and continued his studies at the same time. But Zog's agents abroad detected his anti-Zogite activity. He was dismissed from his job and was obliged to return to Albania in 1936.

By this time, Enver Hoxha had become a communist and, as such, devoted himself to the struggle for the liberation of the people. The oath he took, in 1936, at the grave of the patriot Bajo Topulli, in Gjirokastra, that he and all the youth would fight for «a better Albania», for «the welfare of the Homeland, for «the real unification of the nation» was a program of action for him.

Enver Hoxha began his revolutionary activity in his home country as a teacher, first at the Tirana Gymnasium and then at the Korça Lyceum. He joined the Korça Communist Group and became one of its most active members. He made skilful

use of the school platform in order to impart democratic and communist ideas to the students. He became, also, one of the principal educators of the «Rinia Korçare» (Korça Youth) out-of-school organization and an indefatigable militant for the unity of the Albanian communist movement.

On the eve of the fascist occupation Enver Hoxha, together with the other comrades of the group, worked with might and main to organize a popular resistance. He kept up these efforts also after the occupation of the country. His revolutionary activity brought him under the eye of the fascist invaders who dismissed him from his job as an «element opposed to the regime». The leadership of the Korça Communist Group decided to send him to Tirana, charging him with the task of extending the activity of the group on a sound basis, by organizing the anti-fascist movement in the capital and other districts of the country.

Appreciating the determination of the rank-and-file members of the communist groups to fight against fascism and their ardent desire for the unity of the communist movement and the founding of the Party, Enver Hoxha, who was uninfected with the group spirit, worked with them patiently and wisely, tirelessly explaining things to them and organizing them. At the same time he established connections with patriotic nationalists who hated the fascist invaders and were willing to fight them.

Further Difficulties on the Road to Unity. The Youth Group

Precisely at the time when the union of the groups and the creation of a single communist party had become imperative, further difficulties arose to hinder achievement of this purpose. A faction, which had begun to form in the ranks of the Korça Communist Group before the occupation of the country, emerged as a separate group in February 1940, Eventually it assumed the name the **Youth Group.** The emergence of this new group had been encouraged by the split and other shortcomings in the communist movement, factors which created favourable soil for the activity of anti-Marxist elements.

The group was headed by Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, elements with pronounced Trotskyite and anarchist tendencies. Taking advantage of the lack of sound connections between the Korça Communist Group and its organizations in Tirana,

Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte had succeeded in persuading some members whom they had recruited, that the leaders of the Korça Communist Group were incapable of guiding the communist movement and that their ideological views and political line were erroneous. They were soon able to extend the ranks of their faction with intellectual elements of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois origin among whom anti-Marxist views, borrowed partly from the leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group, struck root at once. The Youth Group set up branches in the principal cities of the country, including Korça, where it took advantage of the dissolution of the cells which had caused discontent and confusion among some communists.

The Youth Group began to violate the joint decisions of the «Central Committee» openly. Thinking that these factionalists were acting on instructions from the Korça Communist Group, with which they were formally associated, the leaders of the Shkodra Group accused the Korça Group of insincerity and disloyalty. They used this as a pretext to withdraw from the «Central Committee», thus bringing about its dissolution.

Thus the agreement of the autumn of 1939 came to naught. Instead of achieving closer contact and unity, the gap between these groups became deeper. The Youth Group declared open struggle against the Korça Communist Group and established connections with the Shkodra Communist Group. The minor communist organizations fused gradually into three principal communist groups.

The leadership of the Youth Group issued an anti-Marxist ideological and political platform of its own. It said that there was no proletariat, no class struggle in Albania and, therefore, no basis existed for the formation of a communist party, that the peasantry was conservative, reactionary and could not become the ally of the working class. It had adopted the Trotskyite theory about the education and preservation of cadres. They considered links and work with the masses harmful, for that would endanger the cadres! Like Zef Mala and Niko Xoxi, the chiefs of the Youth Group thought that the fascist invasion would bring about the development of capitalism, the growth of the proletariat and the strengthening of relations between the Albanian and Italian working class. Thus class struggle would develop, creating favourable conditions for founding a communist party which would lead the struggle for socialism!

The chiefs of the Youth Group and some of their followers degenerated into a sect of anarchists.

The simultaneous emergence of the «Zjarri» Group organizations in Albania added greatly to the confusion created by the formation of the Youth Group. The Trotskyite Andrea Zisi, having done his utmost to dissuade the Albanian anti-fascist youth residing in Athens from coming to their native land to fight the Italian aggressors, on behalf of the «Albanian Communist Party», returned to Albania, bent on sabotaging the communist and anti-fascist movement. In Korça he formed a «Central Committee» and in both Tirana and Vlora a «Regional Committee». Andrea Zisi had hatched up a new «theory» according to which the fascist stronghold should be taken from within and, therefore, instead of fighting the occupiers openly, the communist should merge with them in their political apparatus and in the administration. Bedri Spahiu incited a few communist officers to adopt these views, too.

The Stand of the Albanian Communists and People toward Fascist Aggression against the Neighbouring Peoples

In June 1940, when the sound communists of the various groups were fighting against fascism and the Trotskyites, for unification of the Albanian communist movement, Italy entered the war on the side of Hitlerite Germany. The Italian fascists tried to win the Albanians over to their side and use them as cannon fodder. Starting from Albania, the Italian troops attacked Greece on October 28, 1940. After a small advance, they were compelled to retreat under the blows of the Greek army, leaving Korça in November and Gjirokastra at the beginning of December 1940.

The Italian-Greek War brought further suffering and devastation to the Albanian people. Far from supporting the fascist aggression against Greece, the Albanian people did what they could to help the fraternal Greek people in their war for liberation. The work of communists and anti-fascist patriots completely frustrated the fascist plan of military and «civil» mobilization of the Albanians. The Albanian soldiers conscripted by the Italian fascists and sent to the Greek front, refused to fight and deserted en masse. Sabotage of the fascist military machine behind the lines took place more frequently. Since Italian fascism was a common enemy, the

population of the districts occupied by Greek forces gave the latter all the assistance they could. But the Greek government maintained an openly chauvinist attitude toward the Albanian people. It tried to carry out the old plans of the Greek chauvinist bourgeoisie to annex Korça and Gjirokastra.

The Korça communists, too, came up against this hostile attitude of the Greek occupation authorities. As soon as the Italian troops withdrew, the communists set up the «Committee for Defence of the City» and formed a small armed detachment of communists and sympathizers of the group to maintain law and order. At the first meeting between the committee and the Greek military authorities a conflict arose over the character of the Greek occupation. The committee rejected the demand from Athens that the coming of Greek troops should be considered as «the liberation of the Greek city of Korça.» The Greeks, on their part, rejected the committee's proposal to form a number of Albanian battalions to fight under their own national flag against the Italian invaders. They forced the committee to disband. On the Day of Independence, November 28, 1940, the communists organized a big demonstration in the city of Korça with a view to raising the morale of the population and to show the Greek government that the people of Korça, like all the Albanian people, hated the Italian fascists but did not accept the claims of the Greek chauvinists to Albanian territory, either.

The Greek occupation of the southern regions of Albania did not last long. The events that took place in the spring of 1941 totally changed the situation in the Balkans. Having occupied Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium and France, Hitlerite Germany marched its troops into Finland, Rumania and Bulgaria, and in April 1941 attacked Yugoslavia and Greece. Within a few days the German army occupied these countries and made it possible for the Italian troops to re-occupy Southern Albania and enter Greece.

The Italian-Greek War, during which Albania was turned into a battlefield, had considerable consequences here. The heavy losses in lives, the great material damage and the stepping up of the invaders' policy of colonialist plunder greatly aggravated the plight of the masses of the people. However, the defeats suffered by the Italians in this war clearly revealed the rottenness of Italian fascism and completely discredited it in the eyes of the Albanian people.

Italy extended its zone of occupation creating «Greater Albania» which included a piece of Albanian territory that had been given to Serbia by the Conference of Ambassadors of the imperialist powers held in London in 1913. In order to make their position secure in the Balkans, the German and Italian fascist invaders fomented the old national feuds and the chauvinism of the reactionary classes of the Balkan countries. But the communists and the people as a whole did not fall into the trap of fascist demagogy. Relying on the right of self-determination of the peoples, they exposed the provocative policy of «Greater Albania» and pursued the course of intensifying the war against the fascist invaders and of strengthening the collaboration with the neighbouring peoples in the liberation war against their common enemy.

The Unity of the Communists in the Fight against Fascism

The fascist regime in Albania had suffered a heavy blow. It was beset by a political crisis which became steadily deeper, one expression of which was its inability to suppress the popular anti-fascist movement. In the spring of 1941, the çeta[1] of freedom fighters led by the patriot Myslim Peza had begun to carry out armed operations against the fascist invaders. The latter retaliated against its actions carried out in March and May, by undertaking their first punitive operation in Peza, but mass desertions began from the ranks of the Albanian detachments. In May, popular resentment toward the foreign oppressors was expressed by a notable event. In the centre of Tirana, young Vasil Laçi fired a pistol at the King of Italy, Victor Emmanuel III, who had come on a visit to Albania.

The revolutionary situation was ripening in Albania. The fascist invaders increased their measures of repression. They arrested and jailed thousands of patriots. In order to escape police persecution or conscription for military service, some of them took to the mountains and harassed the enemy singly or in small armed groups.

Appreciating the importance of the patriotic freedom fighters of Peza, Enver Hoxha and his comrades decided to send communists to give this group an organized character and raise the political consciousness of its fighters. In talks conducted

1 Group of fighters.

between Enver Hoxha and Myslim Peza, the latter gladly accepted the proposal to have communists sent to his çeta.

The communists' taking to the mountains in order to organize and extend the national liberation movement marked the beginning of a new stage in their activity. The communists took the initiative and tried to organize the anti-fascist armed movement in the other regions of the country as well.

Their propaganda work among the masses was assuming wide proportions. In addition to individual agitation, an important role in the communication of the communists with the masses was played by the leaflets and appeals, distributed at first in the cities and later in the villages. Some of them, however, carried incorrect political slogans, like «For a Soviet Albania!», «For a Communist Albania!», «For the Organization of an Albanian Red Army!», which had their origin in a wrong assessment of the existing situation in Albania.

At this time, the development of the movement and the persistent demands of the communists for unity prompted the Korça and Shkodra Communist Groups to make a new attempt to establish collaboration. With a view to co-ordinating their anti-fascist activities, they set up a «Committee of Arbitration» as a first step towards complete union. But this attempt did not yield satisfactory results either.

The Tirana branch of the Korça Communist Group, on its part, had carried on a wide range of activities among the ranks of the communists and patriotic nationalists and had established sound connections with them. Inspired by his ardent desire to achieve the unity of the Albanian communists into a single party as soon as possible, Enver Hoxha had not recoiled before the new difficulties that had arisen from the factionalist work of the Youth and «Zjarri» groups. He found a common language with the outstanding activists of the Shkodra Group, Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa. Under Enver Hoxha's leadership, the Tirana branch gradually became the real organizing centre for the entire communist and anti-fascist movement in Albania. It emerged superior to the groups. Dedicated communists of the different groups united around it. Revolutionary action in the struggle against fascism had sorted out the communists, in the first place, the heads of the groups. Thus, the common struggle against the main enemy of the Albanian people and all the peoples of the world became a real base for the unity of the communists. Enver Hoxha's working out of the funda-

mental lines of the platform of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War on which this unity would be based, greatly assisted the cause of unity.

While the anti-fascist resistance of the Albanian people was mounting from day to day, an important event radically altered the international political situation. Hitlerite Germany treacherously attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. German imperialism had decided to annihilate the first socialist state.

Led by the Communist Party headed by J.V. Stalin, the Soviet people rose in a body to wage their Great Patriotic War in defence of the freedom and independence of their socialist homeland. This just war opened a new stage in the Second World War, strengthened the liberation anti-fascist character of the struggle of peoples against the fascist bloc and laid the foundations for the unification of all the anti-fascist forces of the world in a single front.

The exploited masses the world over were interested in the victory of the Soviet Union. The peoples of the enslaved countries rightly considered the Soviet Union the main guarantee that the anti-fascist war would be carried through to the end, to the liberation from fascist domination. Faced with a dangerous enemy like Hitlerite Germany and under the growing pressure of their peoples who demanded the formation of a powerful anti-fascist coalition, the governments of the two biggest capitalist countries — Britain and the USA — formed an anti-fascist alliance with the Soviet Union which became the main force in it.

The treacherous fascist assault on the Soviet people and the outbreak of the Great Patriotic War had profound repercussions in Albania. The Italian invaders, who had also declared war on the Soviet Union, and the home reactionaries, intoxicated by the initial successes of the nazis, launched a frenzied anti-Soviet and anti-communist campaign, while the broad masses of Albanian patriots were indignant at the Hitlerite aggression.

The love of the Albanian patriots for the Soviet Union had its own historical reasons. In their age-long struggle against foreign oppressors, the Albanian people almost always had been alone, without allies. The capitalist states had either maintained an openly hostile attitude toward them or had posed as «friends» for the purpose of stabbing them in the back and placing them under their control. Only the socialist Soviet

Union had defended the rights of Albania and had raised its voice against the injustices perpetrated against it. With the entry of the Soviet Union into the war against fascism, the Albanian people had, for the first time in their history, a powerful and sincere friend and ally and, like all the other oppressed peoples, a sure guarantee of the inevitable destruction of the fascist bloc. «Our struggle,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «did not begin after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war, but after the entry of the Soviet Union into the war our people felt that the blood they shed would not be shed in vain.»*

In the new circumstances created by the formation of the anti-fascist coalition of peoples with the Soviet Union, as its vanguard, a major historical responsibility devolved upon the Albanian communists, namely, to provide a political leadership for the Albanian people as soon as possible by forming a communist party, as the fundamental condition for organizing, directing and intensifying the anti-fascist national liberation war. There was no other course, and in the concrete historical conditions of the country, none but the communists were capable of undertaking such a task. The sound internationalist communists of the groups were fully aware of this. Regardless of the ideological differences existing among them, the Albanian communists were united by the boundless affection they all had for their Homeland, as well as by their love for the Soviet Union. This became a very important factor in their coming together and close collaboration with each other, and served as the final impulse for the amalgamation of groups into a single communist party. «...Now, more than ever before, the rank-and-file members especially became aware of the great harm the sterile squabbles between the groups had brought the communist movement and of the pressing need to put an end to these conflicts in order to achieve the necessary conditions for the unity of the movement in Albanian.»**

The fight against fascism, which was to unite the com-

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the session of the Presidium of the General National Liberation Council, April 15, 1944, minutes of the meeting. CPA.

** Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 18, Alb. ed.

munists, assumed wider proportions. After the Hitlerite aggression against the USSR, the desire of the rank-and-file communists to fight could not be opposed even by some leaders of the Shkodra Communist Group who had expressed the view that «the communists should fight when the Soviet Union entered the Second World War.» Now the main role in the Shkodra Communist Group was played by Vasil Shanto and Qemal Stafa, who had begun to collaborate with Enver Hoxha. The line of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War had become predominant in this group. The instructions issued to the group members at the time contained such calls as: «You who love your country, go among the masses, win their sympathy, reach agreement with them and prepare them for an armed national movement.»*

All these things made possible the conclusion, in August 1941, of the agreement between the Korça Communist Group and the Shkodra Communist Group on their merging into a single party, which would be preceded by the joint organization and carrying out of a series of anti-fascist actions. Later the Youth Group, too, joined this agreement, while the «Zjarri» Group did not respond to the call for collaboration. Among the most important of the joint anti-fascist operations of the groups was the big anti-fascist demonstration in Tirana on October 28, 1941, the anniversary of the fascist operations of the «March on Rome». Broad masses of the people of the Capital took part in it. The main organizer of this demonstration was Enver Hoxha. The fascists retaliated fiercely. Hunted by them, Enver Hoxha went underground. The fascist authorities condemned him to death *in absentia.* The Tirana demonstration was the touchstone for the unity of the Albanian communists. It showed the strength of this unity in the heat of battle against fascism, as well as its great importance in mobilizing the popular masses for the National Liberation Movement.

The Tirana demonstration was followed by another big demonstration in Korça on November 8, 1941, also organized by the communist groups to protest against the mass arrests the fascists had made in the Capital. It resulted in a bloody clash with the carabinieri and fascist police. In it Koci Bako,

* Instruction issued by the Shkodra Communist Group to its members. CPA.

a veteran member of the Korça Communist Group, was killed.

The political success of these demonstrations exerted a great influence on public opinion in the country. They further enhanced the name of the communists among the people. Their success, on the other hand, greatly embarrassed the fascist occupation authorities. They realized that they were dealing with an opponent who was growing, becoming stronger and ever more of a menace to them.

The struggle of the Albanian communists themselves at last created all the conditions for founding their party. From the ranks of the communist groups had emerged professional revolutionary cadres, who had been able to rise above the disputes among the groups, had resolutely embraced the line of uncompromising war against the fascist invaders and local traitors and had striven to unite the Albanian communist movement on this basis. It was these cadres who, through their tireless efforts, made the ideological and organizational preparation for the formation of the Communist Party of Albania.

The anti-fascist struggle waged by the communists of the various, groups had shaken the very foundations of sectarianism and the group spirit which had prevailed up to that time. This common struggle became the decisive factor which led to the agreement to organize a meeting of representatives of all the main communist groups which would settle the question of amalgamating these groups to found the Communist Party of Albania.

5. THE FOUNDING OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA

The Meeting of the Communist Groups to found the Party was held in secrecy in Tirana from 8th to 14th November, 1941. It was attended by 15 persons. Among them were Enver Hoxha, Qemal Stafa, Vasil Shanto, Pilo Peristeri and others.

The main problem for which the meeting had been called was solved in principle right at the start. On November 8 the historic decision was taken to merge the groups and found the **Communist Party of Albania (CPA)**.

The meeting heard the reports on the activity of each group, pointed out the successes and shortcomings of the communist movement in Albania and discussed the vital problems which faced the Party.

The majority of the representatives expressed their determination to put an end to the divisions and build a single Marxist-Leninist party with sound organizational and ideological unity and a militant political line.

Only Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte, the principal leaders and representatives of the Youth Group, tried to obstruct the attainment of this objective. They did not dare express open opposition to the union of the communist groups, for a union of this kind was persistently demanded by the rank-and-file. But they advanced and defended the familiar Trotskyite views of their group and of the other traitors to Marxism-Leninism. They tried to prove especially the «lack of a proletariat», the «reactionary and conservative nature of the peasantry», the «lack of trained cadres», the «danger to which the cadres were exposed by open propaganda and agitation against fascism», the «vain hope of relying on the aid and support of the Soviet Union»! With these arguments they aimed to create the belief that the formation of a single communist party would be only a formal thing and that this party would never succeed in becoming the leader of the Albanian people in their struggle for national liberation.

A principled struggle led by Enver Hoxha, supported by Qemal Stafa and others present at the meeting who stood on Marxist-Leninist positions, was waged against these liquidatory theses. When they saw themselves overwhelmed, Anastas Lula and Sadik Premte agreed in a formal way to submit to the majority and pledged their word that they would abide by the decisions of the meeting.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups defined the ideological and organizational bases of the Party and worked out the fundamental questions of its general line for the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

A Central Committee (Provisional) composed of seven members was elected to lead the Party. Enver Hoxha was charged with heading it, though no secretary was appointed.

A stipulation approved was that none of the former principal leaders (chairmen and deputy chairmen) of the groups

would **be** elected to the leadership. This was not the result of a simple agreement but an essential requirement by the development of the communist and revolutionary movement. Imbued with a pronounced group spirit, the group leaders had long been a stumbling-block to the union of the Albanian communists into a single party and had shown themselves incapable of leading the communists and revolutionary masses.

The Ideological and Organizational Bases of the Party

The meeting denounced the social-democratic views on the party of the working class which Llazar Fundo, in particular, had tried to disseminate in Albania; it exposed the entirely Trotskyite line and activity of the «Zjarri» Group, which tried to legalize itself as «the Albanian Communist Party», and took the explicit decision that the Communist Party of Albania would be organized and consolidated as a party of the new type. «The party should not be a party of the old type, a party similar to that of the Social-democrat Second International infested with decay, inactivity, nepotism, factionalism and betrayal of the interests of the working class. We want a party... capable of leading the working class in struggle to victory...»*

The meeting denounced all the erroneous views alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology which had existed among the ranks of the communist groups. The «theory of cadres», in particular, was stigmatized as defeatist and opportunist, for it isolated the communists from the masses, kept them as a sect trailing behind the masses, and would finally lead to the annihilation of the party.

Marxism-Leninism was adopted as the vanguard theory which would guide the party in working out its program and in all its activity. In this connection the task was set: «We must strive energetically to raise the cadres ideologically, theoretically and politically by teaching them the Marxist-Leninist theory...»**

The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of purging all the literature of the communist groups of anti-Marxist, Trotskyite, anarchist materials and of organ-

* Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 23, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 24.

izing the publication in Albanian, distribution and study of the «History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolshevik), Short Course» as well as of a number of works by K. Marx, F. Engels, V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin.

Thus, right from the start, the Communist Party of Albania placed great importance on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the communist consciousness of its members as a force which imparts life and vigour, opens up prospects and shows the way to victory to the workers' movement and the liberation movement of the oppressed and exploited masses.

The Meeting decided to put an end, once and for all, to the rotten organizational structure of the communist groups, their loose discipline, their spirit of factionalism and groupism, and to set up a party on sound Marxist-Leninist organizational foundations. Sound organization was considered as the main means which would make the party invincible and ensure the application of its political line.

The first task was the handing over to the Provisional Central Committee of all the connections which the leaders of the communist groups had with their members. Thenceforth, the communists were obliged to apply only the organizational norms defined by the Meeting and the Central Committee based on the principle of democratic centralism which is the fundamental organizational principle of a Marxist-Leninist party.

Directives were issued for the replacement, as soon as possible, of the old narrow cells of two or three persons with new cells. These would include the former members of the groups after they had been sorted out. Persons who had shown pronounced trends of sectarianism, opportunism and groupism would not be admitted. Besides the cells, regional party committees would be set up. Strong links would be maintained between the committees and cells. The Meeting required the cells to display the maximum initiative, link themselves closely with the broad masses of town and countryside, and that the committees assist them and supervise their activities continuously.

At the same time it was deemed necessary to increase the ranks of the Party with new members, with resolute fighters, workers and poor peasants, discarding hesitation and sectarianism in admitting them to membership.

For admission to membership in the Party the Meeting adopted V.I. Lenin's familiar formula which it put in these

terms: «To be a member of the party one must accept the program of the party, take part in a party organization (cell) and pay his dues.»*

Special attention was attached to the unity and discipline of the Party. «Without steel-like party discipline and unity, our Party, which has a great number of enemies, will not be able to lead the struggle with success.»**

To ensure sound unity and strict discipline the communists were called upon to keep their eyes open and not permit the infiltration into the party ranks of careerist, trouble-making elements of a pronounced petty-bourgeois spirit who do not accept discipline and who create favourable ground for anti-party activity. At the same time, the party organizations were charged with the task of expelling from their ranks without hesitation anyone manifesting anti-Marxist, opportunist and liquidatory trends. It was stressed that nepotism, groupism, factionalism and lack of discipline had no place in the Party.

A basic problem which the Meeting took up for discussion and placed on the order of the day was that of linking the Party with the masses. It was insisted that the malady of groupism should be wiped out without fail.

The Meeting advised the Albanian communists never to forget J.V. Stalin's words: «If they do not detach themselves from the people, from the mother who has given them birth, the communists will be invincible.»***

In order to link themselves with the broad masses of town and countryside, with the youth and the women, in order to persuade them of the correctness of the Party's political line, the Meeting pointed out this road to the communists: Intensive militant propaganda and agitation should be carried out among all strata of the people; political and fighting actions should be carried out as vigorously as possible; the work of political enlightenment and political and fighting activity should be accompanied with the organization of the masses by the Party.

In order to ensure sound links with the masses, the Meeting called for a change in the work with the youth and women,

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* Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 24, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 25.

*** Ibidem, p. 23.

for an end to sluggishness, sectarianism and other blunders the groups had committeed in this work. The Provisional Central Committee was charged with the task of setting up without delay the organization of the Communist Youth through which all the Albanian youth would be mobilized for the anti-fascist struggle. While among women, the task was to do careful work, to see that women workers were enrolled in the Party and that the female mass of the population were mobilized for the liberation struggle.

The Meeting attached special attention also to the defence of the Party from the attacks of the enemies who would do their utmost to destroy it. The Italian fascist invaders and their Albanian lackeys would aim their main blow against the Communist Party of Albania more fiercely than they had done against the groups. In this they were assisted by the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group, by all the renegades from communism. Therefore, the Meeting laid down the duty that the party members must display high vigilance, observe party secrecy at all costs, that the Party must operate under tight security and learn to work in the conditions of total illegality. In this connection the Meeting sharply condemned the views of certain opportunists and traitors in the groups who held that, under torture by the police or carabinieri, a communist might confess without necessarily committing betrayal. These were stigmatized as views alien to the party of the proletariat, which had to be eliminated mercilessly.

While demanding that the communists maintain strict secrecy, the Meeting, at the same time, pointed out that this question must be understood correctly and must not be made an excuse for restricting their activity with the masses. «Secrecy is to safeguard the organization from the enemy, not to hide behind a screen and shut ourselves up in our own shell.»*

The Political Line for the National Liberation War

The political line of the Party was embodied in the political tasks which the Meeting of the Communist Groups worked out. The strategic aim of the Party for the historical period which the country was passing through was expressed in these terms: «**To fight for the national**

* Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 25, Alb. ed.

independence of the Albanian people and for a people's democratic government in an Albania free from fascism.»*

This strategic objective was determined on the basis of the fundamental antagonistic contradiction existing at the time in Albania, which demanded an urgent solution in order to clear the way for national, social, economic and cultural development, namely the contradiction between the people and the fascist invaders. Another contradiction, that between the masses of the people and the exploiting classes also existed, but at that time it was of second importance. In the concrete conditions, this contradiction could not be solved apart from the primary antagonistic contradiction, because the landlords, bajraktars and reactionary bourgeoisie constituted the social support of the invaders in our country. The interests of the principal exploiting classes of the country were closely linked with those of the fascist invaders. Therefore, the attainment of the strategic objective of the Party could not but affect the interests of these classes which were tools of the foreign enslavers.

The Italian fascists were all-powerful rulers in Albania and, as a consequence, they were also the **principal enemies** of the Albanian people at the time, while all those who had sided with the invaders and placed themselves in the service of the occupiers to oppress the Albanian people were stigmatized as traitors, as tools of fascism, and war was declared against them, the same as against the invaders.

The principal forces and those most interested in attaining this strategic objective were the **workers and peasants** who bore the main brunt of the fascist oppression. Therefore, the Party set as one of its most important tasks «the formation of military units and their extension among the masses of workers in town and countryside.»**

The non-worker patriotic strata were also interested in achieving national independence. Therefore, the Party could not neglect these strata, and it set the task of carrying on ceaseless work in order to mobilize them in the National Liberation Movement **«...Unite with all the nationalists[1] who really**

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* Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, p. 26, Alb. ed. (Underlined by the editor).

** Ibidem.

1 **Nationalist** was the usual term for the patriots who loved their country and wanted its liberation from the foreign yoke. But

want a free Albania, with all the honest Albanians who want to fight fascism.»*

With this the idea of the **National Liberation Front** was launched, an idea which would be worked out in greater detail in a more definite and concrete form in the course of the war.

Anticipating that the fascist invaders and local reaction would resort to all means to prevent the militant unity of the Albanian people, the Meeting of the Communist Groups called for the exposure and defeat of all the manoeuvres of the Italian fascists and of the quisling government to disrupt the national liberation front of the Albanian people.

When the Communist Party of Albania was founded, there was no anti-fascist political party which could represent the interests of the bourgeoisie, or of any other class or stratum of the population. Nevertheless, in principle, the Meeting was in favour of the Communist Party's collaboration with other anti-fascist political parties in matters pertaining to the organization of the war against the invaders, if such parties were formed.

For the liberation of the country and the establishment of people's democracy in Albania, the Meeting of the Communist Groups reached the conclusion that the only real and sure path to follow under the existing circumstances was that of an **armed uprising** against fascism. It decided: «... to prepare the people politically and militarily to engage in a general armed uprising, embracing all the patriotic and anti-fascist forces in the struggle.»**

While choosing the general armed uprising as the principal form, the Party did not neglect the other forms of struggle like strikes, anti-fascist demonstrations, sabotage, oral and written exposure of the enemies, and so on. But the objective of all these activities was to prepare the people for a general armed uprising.

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the pseudo-patriots from the ranks of landlords, chieftains and the reactionary bourgeoisie also called themselves **nationalists**. In order to draw a line between the reactionary and traitorous elements and the real patriots, the latter were referred to as «honest nationalists» or «patriotic nationalists».

* Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 14, Alb. ed. (Underlined by the editor).

** Ibidem, p. 26.

The organization of the armed struggle required, of course, the organization of **armed forces, of the National Liberation Army**. The Meeting stressed that without setting up a real people's army capable of dealing ceaseless blows at the enemies, of smashing their military and political apparatus, there could be no question of an armed uprising, no question of liberating the country, of winning national independence or of establishing a people's democratic government.

In the circumstances of the occupation of Albania and the Second World War, it was impossible for the armed uprising to break out immediately, for a people's revolutionary army to be created all at once. The development of the armed uprising and the creation of the National Liberation Army would be a whole process. This idea was clearly reflected in one of the political tasks defined by the Meeting for the organization of the partisan movement, the setting up of guerilla units and çeta as the framework of the future people's army and as a real basis for the preparation of the general uprising.

In line with its strategic objective and the conditions created in the international situation as a result of the entry of the Soviet Union into the Second World War, the Communist Party of Albania also defined the external allies of the Albanian people and its stand toward these allies.

On an international scale, the Albanian National Liberation War was an integral part of the anti-fascist world war. Through their war, the Albanian people had to place themselves in the ranks of the most active participants of the great anti-fascist coalition.

In this connection, the Meeting of the Communist Groups described the Soviet Union, Great Britain, the United States of America and all the enslaved peoples who fought against the common enemy — the German, Italian and Japanese fascists — as the allies of the Albanian people in their National Liberation War. It set the task of **linking the Albanian National Liberation War with the great anti-fascist world war**.

The Party made a very correct assessment of the alliance of the Soviet Union with Great Britain and the USA as a military alliance dictated by the circumstances in order to save the world from the menace of fascist enslavement. At the same time, it made different assessments of these allies and maintained a differentiated stand towards them. The Pro-

visional Central Committee of the CPA issued a call to the Albanian people: «We must link our National Liberation War closely with the heroic war of the peoples of the Soviet Union which is in the forefront of the liberation war against fascism.»* The CPA regarded the Soviet Union as the loyal and sincere ally of the Albanian people, which would also help them to establish and consolidate the people's state power in Albania, whereas Great Britain and the USA were only temporary allies in the war against the fascist states.

The Meeting of the Communist Groups called to found the Party set the task of «developing love for the Soviet Union» by popularizing its vanguard role in the fight against fascism and, at the same time, its major achievements in the construction of socialism.

It issued instructions also «to promote love and close militant collaboration between the Albanian people and the Balkan peoples, particularly the Serb, Greek, Montenegrine and Macedonian peoples»** who had risen in the anti-fascist liberation struggle.

Finally, the Meeting expressed its confidence that the newly set up Communist Party would soon put an end to the unhealthy situation in the communist movement in Albania, would place itself in the forefront of the struggle and become capable of accomplishing its great historic tasks as leader of the Albanian people for their national liberation and social emancipation.

The historic significance of the Meeting of the Communist Groups lies in the fact that it founded the Communist Party of Albania as a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist party of the working class.

It armed the Party with a clear political program that responded to the demands and aspirations of the broad masses of the people, the Homeland and socialism. This program was far from complete and the tasks had not been worked out in detail, for such a thing required a much wider experience of the revolutionary work and struggle of the Party and the

* The first call of the CC of the CPA, November 1941, Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 31, Alb. ed.

** The Resolution of the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 27, Alb. ed.

masses. But this program was built on Marxist-Leninist scientific foundations.

The results of the Meeting mark the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over Trotskyism and opportunism in the workers' and communist movement in Albania.

While being primarily the representative of the interests of the working class, at the same time the Communist Party of Albania assumed the responsibility of defending the interests of all the toiling masses of the enslaved people of Albania. Therefore, the founding of the Party was a major victory of the Albanian people.

For all these reasons, **the Meeting of the Communist Groups had the significance of a constituent congress.**

CHAPTER II

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA — ORGANIZER AND LEADER OF THE WAR FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE COUNTRY AND FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER

(1941-1944)

1. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PARTY. ATTEMPTS TO UNITE AND MOBILIZE THE MASSES IN THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR

The Party had to cope with very great difficulties and obstacles in order to accomplish its historic tasks.

From the communist groups, from which it had originated, the Party inherited very weak connections with the masses.

Savage terror reigned throughout the country. The Italian armed forces stationed in Albania to maintain the occupation regime reached nearly 100,000 men. In December 1941, the «strong man» Mustafa Kruja, a long-standing lackey and agent of fascism, was placed at the head of the quisling government in order to crush the communist organizations and to subjugate the Albanian people. The work of the Party was impeded by the fifth column and the «Zjarri» chiefs who had placed themselves in the service of the occupiers, as well as by other enemies. In these circumstances, all party activity had to be carried out by clandestine methods.

To prosecute the armed struggle, the Party needed weapons, financial means and military cadres.

As a newly set up Party, it had insufficient experience

of political leadership, its members lacking a thorough and extensive theoretical preparation.

However, all these obstacles and difficulties, of which the Central Committee and all the Albanian communists were fully aware, did not prevent the Party from pushing ahead courageously. It did not make the mistake of waiting to prepare the cadres, to find arms and money, to accumulate experience, to strengthen itself theoretically, and then begin the work and the war. All these things had to be acquired in the course of fighting, by relying on the revolutionary situation created within the country, on the lofty patriotism of the people, on the loyalty of the Albanian communists to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of communism in general. Confidence in the victory of the world anti-fascist forces and, in the first place, in the victory of the Soviet Union over fascism, further strengthened the Party's conviction that it would succeed in carrying out its tasks.

First Organizational Measures The most pressing task was to organize the Party. All the members of the Central Committee were dispatched to various districts in order to set up new party cells, to organize party conferences, and to form regional party committees. Some 200 communists selected from the members of the former communist groups were admitted to membership of the cells. Eight regional party committees were set up. The majority of them emerged from party conferences. In the cells and at the conferences, the communists vigorously supported the fusion of groups and the welding of them into a single Albanian communist party, which they had long demanded. They approved the political line the Party laid down at the Meeting of the Communist Groups, and expressed their determination to fight unreservedly under the guidance of the Provisional Central Committee.

Almost all the first cells were organized in the towns. The first members of the Party were mainly workers, artisans and intellectuals. Attached to each party cell there were set up educational groups of militants loyal to the cause of the people and communism who, it was thought, might eventually become party members. Groups of sympathizers also were organized.

The organization of the Party was almost completed in January 1942.

Within this period, the Provisional Central Committee also took measures for the creation of the **Albanian Communist Youth Organization** which was founded on November 23, 1941, by young militant communists attached to communist groups. Qemal Stafa, Member of the Central Committee of the Party, was chosen as Political Secretary of the Communist Youth Organization. Under the direct supervision of the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally, the Communist Youth Organization was built on Marxist-Leninist foundations. It was assigned the task of becoming the most faithful and most powerful assistant of the CPA for the education of the broad masses of the Albanian youth in the spirit of patriotism and with communist ideas, for the mobilization of these masses in the anti-fascist liberation war. The Albanian youth were an inexhaustible source of revolutionary energy. The Party regarded them as the greatest source of the most active anti-fascist revolutionary forces. Replying to the greeting addressed by the Communist Youth Organization, on the occasion of its founding, to the Central Committee of the CPA, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote: «The Party cherishes the greatest hopes that the Albanian communist youth will be worthy of the trust our young Party has placed in them and that they will know how to carry out the lofty task they have been assigned in a revolutionary manner..., in steel-like unity of mind and of heart with the Party, to organize and to lead the enslaved Albanian youth in a revolutionary manner toward their bright future, toward their liberation from the mediaeval chains of fascist bondage, and toward a new life of progress, culture and joy.»*

To raise the ideological level of the party members and of the young communists, the study of the History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (bolshevik), and the fundamental problems of Marxism-Leninism was organized in party cells, in the educational groups, the sympathizers' groups and among activists of the Communist Youth.

The Foremost Task: Linking Up with the Masses

Along with laying and strengthening its organizational and ideological foundations, the Communist Party of Albania set to work to link itself with the

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 33, Alb. ed.

masses and to convince them of the correctness of its political line. It gave this task prime importance, as the key to solving the problem of uniting and mobilizing the people in the struggle.

Immediately after the founding of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee addressed an appeal to the entire Albanian people, which echoed like a clarion call: «...We call on all honest Albanians who truly hold Albania dear, to unite all our forces and place them at the service of the war for national liberation. Open war is the only stand to take toward the invader. Let every son of this land be a soldier in the National Liberation War. To vanquish the enemy, our struggle must be organized, united and powerful...

«Every one unite in the war FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AGAINST THE FASCIST INVADER!»*

The CPA devoted great attention to propaganda and agitation by the press and by word of mouth. The Central Committee issued repeated calls and distributed leaflets addressed to the entire Albanian people or, separately, to peasants, soldiers, women and to the youth. Appeals and leaflets were issued by the regional party committees as well. From the early part of 1942, they also issued communiques and periodical bulletins on the events of the anti-fascist war at home and abroad.

Never before had any political group or organization in Albania carried out such widespread and militant propaganda and agitation with such sound ideological content, so clear and down-to-earth as the propaganda and agitation the Communist Party of Albania began to carry out with the masses of workers, peasants, intellectuals, youth, women and soldiers. Through this untiring work, the Party made its general line clear, explained the international and internal situation, exposed fascism, the Italian invaders, the Hitlerite aggressors and the traitors to the Albanian people.

Of all the forms of agitation and propaganda, agitation by word of mouth — discussions with people, separately or in small groups, discussions at gatherings of workers, peasants and the youth, was the most important. This form of agitation yielded most satisfactory results. The communists went wherever the masses gathered. In order to come in contact with the people,

* The first call of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, pp. 31-32, Alb. ed.

they made use of every means and method available. They made extensive use of all old and new acquaintances, national and popular festivities, weddings, market-days, family ties, and so on.

Basing itself on the general line of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee elaborated its principal slogans to be disseminated through its publications, in anti-fascist demonstrations, and by means of oral agitation. The slogans responded to the demands and aspirations of the masses, and were comprehensible and acceptable to the people. The slogan «Death to fascism! Freedom to the people!» became the basic motto of the National Liberation War.

As a result of the propaganda work of the Party, the need to unite in an organized war against the invaders became more clear. This aroused revolutionary enthusiasm, especially among the masses of the youth. Young communists succeeded in breaking up the youth sports and cultural associations created by the Italian fascists and replacing them with new organizations under the direct leadership of the Communist Youth.

Propaganda and militant agitation were a very sound weapon to win over the masses, but that was not enough. The CPA had drawn valuable lessons from the shortcomings in the work of the communist groups, realizing from the start that the masses could understand and master what the Party told them only if words were backed up by many facts, many concrete actions responding directly to their demands, interests and aspirations.

At first, a section of the population, especially in the countryside, did not understand the objectives and the political activity of the communists, because the Party had not yet become well known, and because they had prejudices inculcated by bourgeois propaganda against communism and communists.

The Central Committee instructed the regional party committees to organize and carry out more and more political and militant actions, such as anti-fascist demonstrations, strikes, acts of sabotage, armed operations, and so on, as the most important means of strengthening the Party and linking it with the masses. The communists were required to become examples of valour, determination and loyalty to the people and the Homeland.

In December 1941 and at the beginning of the year 1942, guerilla units set up in almost all the cities carried out opera-

tions under the direct guidance of regional party committees. The first guerilla units comprised communists, communist youth and sympathizers. They were small armed groups of from 5 to 10 persons. The members of the units in general were not illegals.

At the beginning of the year 1942, the guerilla units in Tirana, Korça, Vlora, Shkodra, Gjirokastra and other cities killed dozens of Italian fascist officers and high officials, Albanian spies and traitors. They attacked and blew up arms depots and other enemy military objects. Anti-fascist demonstrations took place under the guidance of regional party committees in Shkodra, Tirana, Durrës, Elbasan, Vlora and in other localities. The first to fall in clashes with the enemy were party members.

The purpose of the militant actions of guerilla units was not only to inflict losses on the enemy, but, first and foremost, to bring political advantages to the National Liberation Movement and raise the political consciousness of the masses.

The armed actions and anti-fascist demonstrations aroused admiration for the communists among the broad masses of the people and rapidly raised the authority of the CPA. The exceptional valour and maturity displayed by the communists in their struggle against fascism rallied the masses closer and closer around the Party and induced the people to believe its words.

Early in 1942, the Central Committee issued instructions that steps should be taken for the organization of partisan çetas as soon as the necessary conditions, especially the bases of the movement in the villages, had been established. The partisan çetas would be able to carry out more powerful actions and on a broader scale than the guerilla units.

The Party accompanied its propaganda and militant agitation, its political and military actions with its work for the organization of the people. It did not begin its work with the creation of mass organizations, because the masses had to be politically prepared beforehand for such organization. The initial forms used for the organization of the people were the individual connections of the party members, the young communists and the sympathizers with workers, peasants, craftsmen, intellectuals, women, secondary school students, as well as the sports and cultural circles of the youth, women's homecraft courses and educational gatherings. Through these forms the

participation of the masses in underground gatherings and conferences was secured, the political issues were explained to them and they were persuaded to take part actively in the anti-fascist movement.

In February 1942 the Central Committee of the Party issued the first directive about establishing national liberation councils as a means to organize and mobilize the people for the anti-fascist war and, at the same time, as the «nuclei of our future government.»* The councils were to serve as very important links between the Party and the broad masses of the people and of the unity of the people in the National Liberation Front.

Of particular importance in linking the CPA with the people was its correct attitude toward the patriotic nationalists. Some of them had influence over various strata of the population, in the countryside especially. By collaborating with the patriotic nationalists, it would be possible to draw into the war the masses of the people under their influence. The Central Committee and the regional party committees displayed great care, patience and tact in dealing with the nationalists.

While aiming at unity and sincere collaboration with the nationalists, the CPA had always to take into account the indecisiveness and vacillation of some of them, their inconsistent support for a revolutionary war and the democratization of the country, and the obvious tendencies of some of them to compromise with the occupiers. The Party undertook the task of paralyzing the instability and neutralizing the influence of those nationalists who, for one reason or another, did not agree to take part in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War but who did not collaborate with the fascist aggressors, either.

The collection of material aid was treated as part of the work with the masses. No one other than the people could help the Party and the National Liberation War cope with their financial and material needs. Any voluntary aid in cash or in material, no matter how small, given by the workers, craftsmen, peasants, small or medium tradesmen, teachers or any other patriot to the Party was at the same time an approval of its line, a bridge linking the Party with the masses. The campaigns carried out by the party organizations to collect aid for the Party and the National Liberation War served as a means to do an extensive work of political enlightenment

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 45, Alb. ed.

among the people. One such campaign, for instance, was organized in January 1942, throughout Albania under the name: «The Communist Party Week.»

The popularizing of the Communist Party, the growth of its authority among the masses, the daring actions of the guerilla units and the anti-fascist demonstrations aroused alarm among the fascist invaders and traitors. The occupation authorities and the quisling government hastily took a series of emergency measures aimed at annihilating the Communist Party. Martial law was enforced and special orders were issued to carry out «a firm policy against subversive elements.»

On the other hand, the Italian enslavers resorted to new manoeuvres in order to deceive the Albanian people, particularly the nationalists and the youth. The fascist propaganda depicted the National Liberation Movement as merely a «communist» and «anti-national movement». Mustafa Kruja attempted to convince public opinion that fascist Italy was the architect of «Greater Albania» and the protector of the national independence of the Albanian people! Mussolini sent instructions to the Italian viceroy in Tirana «to give the Albanians more autonomy.» The invaders decided to remove the fascist symbol and the crown of Savoy from the Albanian flag, as they considered these symbols to be «the cause of the resentment and revolt of Albanian patriots.» The word «National» was added to the title of the «Albanian Fascist Party.»

But fascist terror and demagogy were powerless to stop the growth of the National Liberation Movement and of the authority of the Communist Party of Albania.

Appreciable successes were achieved as early as the first months of the Party's existence. Nevertheless, these successes could not be considered as satisfactory. The work of the communists was affected by sectarianism, a malady inherited from the past. Little had been done for the organization of workers, but the greatest weakness lay in the work with the peasants. Out-of-date mental attitudes by the former communist groups, according to which the peasantry was outside the sphere of communist work, greatly hindered a proper understanding of the decisive importance of linking the peasantry with the Party and of ensuring its active participation in the National Liberation War. There were a number of party members to whom it seemed difficult to go to the countryside and waited for the peasants te come to the city to work with them.

The Central Committee saw that the party activity was being hampered not only by hangovers from earlier work of the communist groups, but also by the spirit of groupism which was still accentuated, as well as by the factional anti-Party activities of the Trotskyites Lula, Premte and a number of their like, all of them former members of the Youth Group.

There were signs that a dangerous anti-Marxist liquidationist trend was crystallizing within the Party.

The spirit of groupism and the hostile activity of the Trotskyites within and outside the Party were a great obstacle to the expansion and the strengthening of the links with the broad masses of the people, to their unity and their joining the antifascist war.

The Conference of the Activists of the CPA

For the purpose of surmounting this obstacle and imparting a new impulse to the work of the Party, the Provisional Central Committee called the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA.

The Conference, which was presided by Comrade Enver Hoxha, was opened in Tirana on April 12, 1942. The members of the Central Committee, the political and organizational secretaries of the regional committees, members of the CC of the Communist Youth, and a number of other cadres took part in it. All the questions discussed were centred on the problem of linking the Party more closely with the masses, on their organization and mobilization in the National Liberation War.

Pointing out the successes achieved in the political work of the Party, the First Conference of the Activists of the CPA remarked that in Albania «the idea of a general uprising is going through a process of formation and of consolidation, and the people are beginning to realize that their liberation should and can be won only through their own efforts.»*

These successes, however, were regarded as only the first steps. The Party could have created more widespread and stronger connections with the masses, had it not been affected by the spirit of groupism, had its discipline not been violated and erroneous theories spread by unhealthy, factionist elements.

The Conference considered the weakness of the connections

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 58, Alb. ed.

of the party organizations with the masses of workers impermissible. «How can our Party be strong without workers,» it remarked, «when the workers should be its basis?»*

In regard to this, the communists were set the task of doing tireless work of political enlightenment and organization with the workers, to rally them more and more closely around the Party and to prepare leading cadres for the National Liberation War from among them.

The activists devoted special attention to the work to win the masses of peasants and to mobilize them in struggle. As a condition for surmounting the difficulties which were encountered in this field, the communists were urged to fight their old outlooks and defeatist views about the peasantry, to get well based in the countryside, to become acquainted with the life of the peasants, to know what their troubles and problems were and how to solve them.

The Conference instructed the party organizations to wipe out any trace of the old methods in their work with the youth and women, to improve and intensify their activity in these sectors. The youth and women should become a powerful support of the Party.

The Party activists assessed as correct the practice pursued by the Central Committee in giving priority to the political and military activities. «Without action there is no communist party... What raises and strengthens our Party is action and the struggle. We cannot link ourselves with the people if we do not prove to them that we are capable of leading them.»**

The most pressing need for the broadening of the armed struggle was considered to be the increasing and strengthening of guerilla units and the creation of partisan çetas.

At this Conference the concept of uniting the masses of the people in a national liberation front and creating national liberation councils took a more concrete form.

The Conference assessed the close connections with the masses as the best index of the strength and capability of a Marxist-Leninist party, of the correctness of its policy, and as an essential condition for the defence of the Party from enemy attacks.

At the centre of the activity of the Party, the activists

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 62, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 63.

placed the struggle against the attempts of the fascists to lure the Albanian people into a trap disguised with slogans of nationalism and autonomy in order to incite them to fratricidal war and antagonism with their neighbours.

The Conference pointed out that the main internal problem of the Party was to eliminate the group spirit and factional activity within its ranks. It advised Lula and Premte to sever all their former connections, to abandon their crooked course, warning them that severe measures would be taken in case they did not do so. The party activists called for a purge of the Party, mercilessly expelling all incorrigible elements, but, at the same time, exerting every effort to put the unsteady elements on the right road.

As to admitting new members to the Party, mainly from the ranks of the workers and poor peasants, instructions were given to the effect that their low level of theoretical and political knowledge should not bar them from becoming members of the Party. These resolute people would be further developed and educated as fiery militants for the cause of the people and communism within the ranks of the Party.

While calling on the communists to fight with all their might to eliminate the Trotskyite trend within the Party, the Conference instructed them not to neglect the struggle against the renegades outside the Party, particularly against the Trotskyite «Zjarri» Group. They should likewise be vigilant and frustrate all the attempts of the Italian fascists and the internal reactionaries to infiltrate agents provocateurs into the ranks of the Communist Party.

2. THE SMASHING OF THE FACTIONALIST LIQUIDATIONIST TREND AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNITY IN THE PARTY

After the Conference of the Activists of the Party, Lula and Premte, far from renouncing their disruptive activity against the Party, intensified it further. The promise they had made at the Meeting of the Communist Groups for the founding of the Party, that they would submit to the will of the majority and to the directives of the Central Committee, was only a pretence. Taking advantage of the great difficulties

the young Communist Party had to cope with, they sabotaged the organizational consolidation of the Party and the implementation of its political tasks in every way. They continued to maintain their old connections with most of the former members of the Youth Group. Infringing the rules and norms set by the Party, they held «organizational» and «educational» meetings with them and gave them directives contrary to those of the Central Committee. They did not turn over to the Party all the theoretical and propaganda material, or the equipment and finances of their group.

The factionalists continued their active struggle against the general line of the Party, sabotaging the practical activity of the Central Committee, the regional committees and the party cells in every way.

They had set the faction members the task of using their alleged «greater capability» and «superior theoretical preparation» to capture leading positions! From these positions they were to strive to seize the reins of the Central Committee.

To attain their objective, the factionalists aimed their main blows at the party leaders in the centre and in the districts, accusing them of being incapable persons without schooling, who knew only how to give orders but not how to lead! They screamed about the «injustice» that had been done to the Youth Group, which allegedly was not adequately represented in the Central Committee, nor in the district committees of the Party, and demanded that this situation should be changed.

Lula and Premte with their associates deliberately incited discontent among ambitious, conceited and careerist members of the former communist groups, and tried to win them over to their side. They urged them to demand an accounting for why they had not been assigned responsibilities in the Party, compatible with their merits and ability!

The factionalist group carried out its hostile activity throughout the country, but it was in Tirana more than anywhere else that it was most active.

There was not the least doubt that an anti-Party factional trend, with its own organizational connections and political platform, had been created within the Party. The political platform of the factionalists consisted of discredited liquidatory theses according to which the armed struggle and cooperation with the nationalists and peasants were impossible, the anti-

fascist alliance and, particularly, the liberating role of the Soviet Union in the war, were not to be relied upon, etc.

The situation was really disquieting. The newly founded Communist Party of Albania, facing the blows dealt by the Italian fascists and the Trotskyites of the «Zjarri» Group from outside, and by the liquidationist faction from inside, was in danger of being destroyed. There were even signs that some agents provocateurs of fascism were operating in the ranks of the Party. As a result of this activity, the police had managed to capture and imprison a number of communists and non-party patriots. Through the activity of their agents, the enemy tracked down the underground base where Qemal Stafa, Political Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth, was staying. Encircled by the militia and carabinieri, Qemal Stafa died, fighting heroically on May 5, 1942 in Tirana. The fascists also succeeded in detecting and seizing the printing machinery and the archives of the Central Committee and the Tirana Regional Committee.

Complete unity in the Party was lacking. Without a sound ideological and organizational unity, without steel-like discipline equally obligatory on all its members, the Party would be unable to win the masses over and lead them, and as a consequence there could be no unity of the people around the Party, and no victory over the enemy. Without unity, the Party either would be turned into a Trotskyite or social-democratic party or would be destroyed.

The Extraordinary Conference of the Party

To eliminate the great danger menacing the Party, the Central Committee convoked an extraordinary conference, which was held on June 28 and 29, 1942 in Tirana. It was attended by members of the Central Committee of the Party, members of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth, members of the Regional Committee and some other communists of Tirana. Lula and Premte were also invited to attend. Comrade Enver Hoxha presided the Conference.

The Extraordinary Conference dealt with only one question: the elimination of the factional liquidationist trend and the establishment of unity in the Party.

The many efforts of the Party to put the factionalists on the right road had not yielded any result, because of their

stubborn refusal to give up their sabotage and liquidationist activity. Now «the cup was full to overflowing», remarked the Conference.

Groupism and lack of unity could not be tolerated any longer in the Party, particularly at the crucial historic moments the country was going through, when the National Liberation Movement was mounting rapidly toward a general uprising, and when the unity of the Albanian people around the Party was obviously more essential than ever.

The Conference instructed: «In order to be able to cope with the heavy and difficult tasks lying before us, we absolutely must achieve unity of opinions and views in both political work and in the organization itself (unity should exist in all parties of the Lenin-Stalin type, hence our Party, too, must be based on these foundations, because unity is indispensable, it is the main condition for the Party to function well).»*

To ensure unity and strengthen the Party, it was decided to purge it of all the incorrigible factionalists by expelling them immediately. The Conference called on the party organizations to be ruthless against all those who had tried to destroy the Party.

After weighing the crimes of Lula and Premte and their closest accomplices, the Central Committee decided, in line with the assessments and proposals made at the Conference, to expel them from the Party for an indefinite period. Some other factionalists were suspended for three months.

In a special circular letter, the Central Committee informed the entire Party of the proceedings of the Extraordinary Conference and of the measures taken against the principal leaders of the factional liquidationist trend. At the same time, it gave instructions that measures should be taken to expel all factionalists operating in the districts.

The factionalists excluded from the Party, the Central Committee recommended, should not be entirely rejected but should be helped to realize their mistakes. Every effort should be made to bring back to the party ranks those who corrected themselves. At the same time the sternest measures were to be taken against those continuing their hostile activity.

Finally, the Central Committee, urged that this purge

* Circular of the CC of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 85, Alb. ed.

should be correctly understood as an operation to rid the Party of the factionalist liquidators to establish unity in the Party, and not as an attack on the former Youth Group members. Under no circumstances should this group as a whole be disparaged simply because Lula, Premte and most of the factionalists had come from this group. There were many communists from the Youth Group who had not been involved with the factionalists, who had given proof of their determination and loyalty to the Party and stood in the forefront of the struggle together with the other comrades.

The decisions of the Conference of the Activists of the Party and the Extraordinary Conference, as well as the directives of the Central Committee, found complete approval in the party organizations throughout the country. Within a short time the Party was purged of all factionalists and splitters. Hundreds of new members, tempered in struggle, loyal to the cause of the people and communism were admitted to its ranks. Many supporters of the factional trend, deeply understanding their mistake, broke with the Trotskyite chiefs and whole-heartedly promised the Party that they would firmly abide by its correct line.

The defeat of the factional liquidationist trend sharpened the vigilance of the communists and invigorated the internal life of the Party.

The struggle against the factionalists also brought to light other bad things and weaknesses which had hampered the work and consolidation of the Party.

At this time, the Central Committee condemned the divisive activity of Mustafa Gjinishi, Koço Tashko and certain others dissatisfied because they had not been elected to the Central Committee and regional committees of the Party. In talks with party members and other individuals, they deprecated nearly all the party directives, describing them either as premature, or belated, either as sectarian, or opportunist, in this way fomenting personal grudges that people might have. This was done to engender distrust towards the party leadership. They had been repeatedly advised by the Central Committee to refrain from this anti-party activity.

During the struggle to do away with the factional trend and establish unity in the Party, a secessionist tendency was detected in the Gjirokastra Regional Committee. This committee did not carry out or distorted the Central Committee's directives

on the armed struggle and the partisan çetas, the national liberation councils, the youth and so forth. It did not report to the Central Committee about its activity nor did it send its instructions and the principal propaganda material it issued. The person mainly to blame for fostering these trends was Bedri Spahiu, at that time political secretary of this committee.

The Central Committee took this very seriously, severely condemned the secessionist trend of the Gjirokastra Regional Committee, dissolved it and organized the election of a new committee.

The energetic measures taken by the Provisional Central Commitee and the immediate support they found in all the party organizations throughout the country led to eradication of the group and factional spirit, averted the danger which threatened the newly created Communist Party and ensured a sound unity, a militant unity based on Marxism-Leninism.

3. THE FOUNDING OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT. THE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER AND THE EXTENSION OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE

The Conference of the Activists of the Party and the Extraordinary Conference gave fresh momentum to the work of the communists aimed at making the Party's political line clearer to the broad masses of the people, at exposing the new tactics of the enemy and mobilizing the people for war.

On the initiative of the Party and under its guidance, the first national liberation councils were set up in a number of villages. Besides those in the towns, guerilla units were organized in a number of districts. The formation of partisan çetas had begun in the spring of 1942. By July, the çetas of Peza, Kurvelesh, Gora, Skrapar, Mokra, Shkodra, Devoll, Dibra and Mat were operating. They purged the first liberated areas of the country of the military and civil authorities of the fascist invaders and the traitors. On the instruction of the Central Committee, on July 24th all the telephone and telegraph lines were cut and destroyed throughout Albania. Every day military vehicles along the highways were destroyed, fascist carabinieri and militia posts were assailed, military depots were blown up, offices of fascist organizations and other objects of the enemy were

burned down, etc. Along with these actions, the demonstrations, protests, strikes and sabotage continued.

These unremitting activities panicked the enemy. Information and reports from the local military and civil organs on the «alarming situation in Albania», «the hopeless situation», «the penetration of communist ideas into the people's minds» poured into Tirana and Rome. The enemy resorted to fresh arrests and imprisonment of patriots, deportation of the families of underground comrades and partisan fighters, issued new and more rigorous orders providing the death penalty for anyone carrying out anti-fascist activity. More communists laid down their lives as martyrs showing great heroism in the armed clashes against the enemy, or in prison, facing torture, the firing squad, or the hangman.

These unremitting activities against the Italian invaders and their stooges moved more and more people to embrace the political line of the Party and give it their support and assistance.

«Zëri i popullit» «Zëri i popullit», the organ of the Communist Party of Albania, the first number of which came out on August 25, 1942, was a powerful political weapon in the hands of communists. It was founded by decision of the Central Committee and directed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In the leading article of its first number, the organ of the CPA set as its objective: «to unite all the Albanian people around this organ, to unite *all honest and anti-fascist persons regardless of their religious beliefs, political opinions and trends... for an independent, free and democratic Albania.»**

«Zëri i popullit» propagated the political line of the Party, the anti-fascist war of the Albanian people and of other peoples, explained the road which must be followed for national liberation, exposed the policy and the activity of the fascist invaders and the Albanian traitors. It published party proclamations, articles and comments on the internal and international situation, chronicles on the principal events, and correspondence from the various districts of the country.

The publication of «Zëri i popullit» was warmly received

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, pp. 94-95, Alb. ed.

by the broad masses. Through party members, young communists and non-party patriotic activists, «Zëri i popullit», the word of the Party, was spread to all corners of the country. It was read with the greatest interest. Soon «Zëri i popullit» became the favourite newspaper of the Albanian people.

The Conference of Peza Through its explanatory, mobilizing and organizing activity against the invaders, during the first months of its existence, the Party laid the foundations of the militant union of the Albanian people. To strengthen these foundations, to put the unity of the people throughout the country on a sound political and organizational basis, the CC of the CPA called the Albanian National Liberation Conference.

This Conference was held on September 16, 1942 in Peza. Besides the communists, nationalists of differing political trends took part. Some of these nationalists stood very close to the Communist Party, had embraced its political line and fought actively against the invaders. Others supported the liberation of the country and the unity of the people in the war against the foreign invaders, but were taking no part in action, having adopted a wait-and-see attitude. This category included the Zogites of whom the principal representative was Abaz Kupi.

The Communist Party also invited another category of nationalists, such as Mithat Frashëri and others, who had not yet openly disclosed their stand, to take part in the Conference. These nationalists did not accept the invitation and attempted to boycott the Conference.

At the National Liberation Conference the problem of uniting and organizing the Albanian people in the war against the fascist invaders was thoroughly discussed. The participants, including the overwhelming majority of the nationalists, stressed the vigorous activity and the great organizing role of the Communist Party in the National Liberation War. It was pointed out that the Italian fascists and Mustafa Kruja had not succeeded in dividing the Party from the patriotic nationalists, that the communists had won the love and trust of the people, that the enemy propaganda about the «communist danger» had been exposed, «communism in Albania is no longer a bogey to the honest section of our people, to the peasant, to the owner of medium means, or the intellectual and that the

communists are not people 'without a Homeland,' as fascism will try to present them.»*

Neither Abaz Kupi nor any other nationalist dared to come out openly against the leading role the CPA had begun to play in the war. They strove to hinder the growth of its authority by opposing some external manifestations which bore the party mark, such as calling the çeta «partisan» çeta and their use of the red star as an emblem. These oppositions and some contradictory views on the mass participation of the youth in the struggle and on some terms of the resolution were surmounted after the representatives of the CPA had patiently defended their correct points of view.

The Conference elected the (Provisional) National Liberation General Council and adopted unanimously the platform of the National Liberation War worked out by the Communist Party. This platform contained the following main items:

Uncompromising war should be waged against the fascist invaders and the traitors, for a free, independent and democratic Albania;

The real foundations of the union of the Albanian people have been laid and should be strengthened only in battle with the invader;

Sound organization of all true Albanians in a united national liberation front should be effected without discrimination as to class, political conviction, religion or region;

National liberation councils should be set up everywhere as organs uniting and mobilizing the people in the war, and as organs of the people's power;

The people's general armed uprising should be popularized and prepared for as the ultimate stage, as the logical consequence of the partisan war:

An organized campaign should be waged against the Agricultural Bank, Italian shareholder companies and all exploiters who, with the assistance of the occupiers, make profits at the expense of the people.

The Conference of Peza created the National Liberation Front and laid the foundations of the people's power. It confirmed the leading role of the Communist Party of Albania

* Resolution of the Conference of Peza. Documents of the supreme organs of the national liberation revolutionary power, p. 12, Alb. ed.

in the National Liberation War and marked the Party's first great political victory.

The Conference of Peza was not a conference of political parties. Only the Communist Party, the organizer of the Conference, took part as a political party. There were no other anti-fascist political parties.

Thus, the (National Liberation Front was not founded as a coalition of political parties. The Conference of Peza legalized the voluntary union of the broad masses of the people, a union whose foundations had been laid from below in the war against the foreign invaders. It was the Communist Party that forged this union and was the direct and sole leader of the National Liberation Front. The foundation of the Front was the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the latter constituting its broadest base. In the program of the Party the patriotic nationalists saw the fulfilment of their immediate national aspirations, therefore they joined the National Liberation Front either in groups of the same tendency or as individuals.

The National Liberation Councils

The theses of the report presented by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Conference of Peza on «The national liberation councils as organs of the union and struggle of the Albanian people» were adopted as a basis for setting up the national liberation councils.

In the regions not yet liberated the councils were organs uniting all the people's anti-fascist forces. They explained the aims of the war to the masses and involved them in the fight, prepared them for the general uprising, collected material aid necessary for the war, gathered information on the movements and the size of the enemy armed forces, organized the economic struggle against the Italian capitalist companies and sabotaged the collection of agricultural products by the fascists.

In the liberated regions, the councils exercised the functions of organs of the people's power. They maintained law and order, looked after the development of the economy, the food supply, trade, sowing and harvesting of grain, organized education, the press and cultural work with the masses, settled disputes and ended blood feuds, maintained the people's readiness for war, and so on. *«The importance of the national*

liberation councils is great,» stressed the Conference of Peza. «By means of them the functions of government are performed and the people are mobilized in the war and for the uprising.»*

For the organization of the national liberation councils the CPA had the rich experience of the Soviets, but, naturally, it did not merely copy this experience. First and foremost, it based itself on the concrete circumstances under which the people's anti-fascist uprising was developing in Albania. The composition of the organs of this uprising conformed to its national liberation character. These councils, the Central Committee instructed in June 1942, should include the militant representatives of all the anti-fascist forces, all political trends, without class distinction. The concept of councils was acceptable to the masses of the people in Albania. From time immemorial it had been a tradition of the Albanians to create «conventions» and «councils» whenever they had to rise in struggle against foreign invaders or to solve their internal problems. The national liberation councils, however, differed from the «conventions» and «councils» of the past in their completely new composition and organization. They were born and grew as revolutionary democratic organs created directly by the masses of the people under the sole leadership of the Communist Party. They were the negation of all anti-popular and exploiting state organs and organizations.

As such, the national liberation councils won great popularity among the masses. Following the Conference of Peza their number increased rapidly both in the liberated zones and in those not yet liberated. The people saw in them the defenders of their own interests and those of the Homeland.

The councils began to exercise their functions as organs of people's power in the countryside, because in 1942 only some rural regions had been liberated, while the towns were still occupied by the Italian fascists. The councils became important links binding the Party closely with the peasantry.

The Partisan Çetas Parallel with the uniting of the people in the National Liberation Front and the setting up of people's councils, the partisan armed struggle was also extended and intensified.

Partisan warfare was a form of war known and tested

* Resolution of the Conference of Peza. Documents of the supreme organs of the national liberation power, p. 18, Alb. ed.

through centuries in Albania and in other countries. The Albanian people preserved strong old traditions of patriotic guerilla warfare against foreign invaders. The Conference of Peza expressed its conviction that the Albanians would follow the glorious path of their forefathers boldly and honourably.

Using the guerilla warfare experience of the Albanian patriots in the past, the CPA gave to the war against fascist invaders and traitors a profoundly popular, revolutionary content.

The guerilla units were the first schools of partisan warfare. Through the formation and activity of partisan çetas, the partisan movement was raised to a higher level and assumed broad proportions all over the country.

In general, the formation of çetas followed this course; the regional committees of the Party sent from the towns to the countryside a number of party members, young communists and sympathizers tested in the guerilla units, charging them with the task of organizing fighting detachments. Around this nucleus, the çeta were built up, mainly with peasants. The countryside became the base and the principal source of partisan çeta.

There was no restriction on the class composition of the çeta. All those who desired to fight the enemy were admitted. Only persons with a shady past, common criminals and robbers who had aroused the contempt and hatred of the people, were not allowed to join. All the partisans were volunteers. There could be up to 50-60 fighters in each çeta. At the head of each çeta stood the commander and the political commissar who jointly directed its activity and were responsible for the combat readiness and the political preparation and military training of the partisans. In most cases commanders were not party members, whereas the commissars were representatives of the Party within the çeta.

In each çeta there was a party cell which was its heart.

The partisan çetas carried out intensive combat activity against the fascist invaders and traitors. At the same time, they conducted vigorous political, cultural and educational activity, not only with the partisans but also with the population of the regions in which they were operating. The çeta had the liberated zones as their base. There they had already done away with the old oppressive power and helped the people to set up national liberation councils. They assisted the

peasants in their agricultural work and served as the armed support of the people's councils in maintaining law and order.

In the partisan çetas the masses of the people saw for the first time their own army, the champion of their own interests. They gave it their all-round support. The partisan çetas were given shelter and supplied with food by the peasants; the townspeople also supplied various material aid. Without such aid and without such all-round and unsparing support from the people, the partisan war could not have been organized and the people's revolutionary army could not have been set up.

Besides partisan çetas, after the Conference of Peza, territorial units (soldiers of the people) were organized in the liberated regions, in each large village or 2-3 small villages. They were irregular self-defence units which took up arms whenever they were called upon by the partisan çetas to carry out important attacks or to counter operations undertaken by the enemy against the liberated regions. These units served at the same time as a source of replenishment of the regular partisan units.

Following the Conference of Peza the number of guerilla units, partisan çetas and territorial units increased rapidly. By the end of 1942 there were about 2,000 partisan fighters, besides some thousands of others taking part in the guerilla units in towns and in the village self-defence units.

In order to crush these detachments, from September to December 1942, the Italian invaders engaged in large-scale punitive operations in 27 regions of Southern, Central and Northern Albania. They burned down hundreds of peasants' houses, massacred old people, women and children, but failed to attain their objective of suppressing the partisan movement. On the contrary, fascist terror further inflamed this movement. In Peza, Skrapar, Dibra, Mat, Korça, Kurvelesh, Vlora and other regions, thousands of men and women joined the partisans in their fight against the Italian hordes. Hundreds of fascist soldiers, militiamen and officers were killed in bitter fighting.

The successes of the partisan warfare and the utter failure of the fascist military operations in 1942 brought to light the inner rottenness of the invaders, the invincible strength of the Albanian people, and confirmed the correctness of the

policy pursued by the Communist Party. A real people's revolution had begun in Albania.

The echo of this heroic struggle transcended the boundaries of Albania, arousing the admiration and high appreciation of the peoples and countries fighting against fascism. In December 1942 the government of the Soviet Union in a special official statement expressed its sympathy for the liberation war of the Albanian people, its refusal to recognize any claim of Italian imperialism to Albanian soil and its desire to see the whole of Albania liberated and independent. Official statements recognizing the anti-fascist struggle of the Albanian people were published simultaneously also by the governments of the USA and of Great Britain, although they deliberately made no declaration against imperialist claims on Albania. These statements, particularly that of the Soviet government, gave support to the Albanian people, strengthened their confidence in victory, and helped the further extension of the armed struggle against the fascist enslavers.

The Attitude of the CPA Toward the Balli Kombëtar

The impetuous growth of the anti-fascist war under the leadership of the Communist Party stirred all classes, groups and political currents in Albania. The surge of anger and the anti-fascist movement of the masses, the partisan warfare, had caused an irreparable political crisis in the enemy ranks. This crisis could not but affect the reactionary classes of the country and their representatives who had linked their fate with the invaders. They were scared to death by the revolutionary impetus of the anti-fascist war and the growth of the authority of the Communist Party, because here they saw the danger of losing their privileges. The Conference of Peza and the founding of the National Liberation Front were heavy blows to them. Immediately after these events, reaction sounded the alarm about the «communist danger» and called for the struggle against it. The representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and of the big landowners, with the support of the fascist invaders, towards November 1942 hastily announced the creation of a political organization to be counterposed directly to the National Liberation Front. This organization was named Balli Kombëtar (the National Front). The pseudo-patriot Mithat Frashëri was placed at the head of it.

Reactionary bourgeois intellectuals, big landowners and merchants, reactionary clergymen, rich peasants and others joined the Balli Kombëtar. The Trotskyite «Zjarri» Group also joined it.

The Balli Kombëtar was a motley political union of various reactionary trends. Its organization was rotten. Comrade Enver Hoxha characterized this union very well in the following words: «The Balli Kombëtar is a hotch-potch of elements of various trends with no basis, who have made nationalism their favourite byword... Internally the Balli Kombëtar is like a basket of crabs (each pulling in its own way)... Some are men of '99 dodges but little valour,' others are fit to sounding the alarm, while others again are men of big words but no deeds.»*

It was only their common class interests, their hatred of the Communist Party and the people's revolutionary movement, that brought these men together.

The Balli Kombëtar immediately announced that it did not recognize the Conference of Peza and published its own program which was demagogy from start to finish. In high-flown words the Balli Kombëtar chiefs boasted that they were allegedly fighting for «an Albania arranged economically and socially so that there would not be exploiters and exploited.

In a great hurry they set up some «illegal çetas» in the mountains, which were there not to fight the invaders, but to obstruct the military and political activity of the partisan çetas, to propagate the policy of the Balli Kombëtar and to intimidate the peasants. In the villages they set up «councils» of the Balli Kombëtar which were to replace the national liberation councils. Likewise they made use of a number of other forms and means, very similar to those employed by the Communist Party, which enjoyed great popularity. Posing as «ardent patriots», they advised the Albanian people not to make war on the Italian invaders, for such a war would result in the annihilation of the Albanian nation! The prime slogan of the Balli Kombëtar was: «Wait till the time comes.» The Ballists launched an unrestrained campaign against the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party, against communism and the Soviet Union.

* Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 1, pp. 169, 171, Alb. ed.

The whole aim of the Balli Kombëtar was to alienate the masses of the people, especially the peasantry, from the Communist Party, to destroy the National Liberation Front, to quell the National Liberation Movement, and to secure for themselves all political power after the war.

To achieve its aims, the Balli Kombëtar chose the course of collaboration with the occupiers. It could not have acted otherwise, because its intentions towards the Communist Party were shared by the occupiers and because the Italian fascists did not allow the Balli Kombëtar any independent activity. Nevertheless, the interests of both sides required that their collaboration should be kept secret at any cost. Otherwise nobody could be misled.

The emergence of the Balli Kombëtar greatly complicated the situation within the country. Lenin teaches that there can be no revolution without complicated situations, that «the revolution itself in the course of its development creates *always* an *extraordinarily* complicated situation...»*

In the complex situation created after the emergence of the Balli Kombëtar. the Communist Party of Albania had to act with great maturity, wisdom and foresight. Only by employing very skilful tactics towards the Balli Kombëtar would the Party be able to preserve the successes it had achieved, further strengthen its bonds with the masses, and thus lead the Albanian people to complete victory in their struggle for national independence and a people's democratic Albania.

The Communist Party was well aware that the Balli Kombëtar was the spawn of reaction and a tool of the fascist invaders. Faced with the sabotage activities of the Balli Kombëtar, some party cells and even some regional committees insistently demanded the use of armed force against it.

But the Central Committee firmly adhered to the principle that there is no greater danger for a proletarian party than to build its tactics according to subjective wishes. Answering those who demanded that open war should be declared on the Balli Kombëtar, Comrade Enver Hoxha, on behalf of the Central Committee, instructed: *«...it* (the Balli Kombëtar — Edit.) *is a great obstacle indeed, and we must not forget the personal influence of its adherents in Albania, and that they have suc-*

* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 26, p. 117, Alb. ed.

ceeded in creating among the people the idea that a nationalist organization exists and that the communists should come to an understanding and agreement with it... We should not forget that among the Balli Kombëtar there are quite a number of good and resolute elements who sincerely desire to unite and fight.»*

Precisely for these reasons the Communist Party of Albania at the beginning laid down the following tactics towards the Balli Kombëtar: the defeatist slogan that «the time to fight against the Italians has not come yet» should be denounced; the Balli Kombëtar should be asked publicly to agree to the unity of all the anti-fascist forces of the country on the basis of immediate, all-out, uncompromising war against the Italian fascist occupiers; the Balli Kombëtar should be required to cease its propaganda against the Communist Party and communism immediately; talks should be held with its representatives on the question of the war against the occupiers; certain Balli Kombëtar chiefs, compromised as fascists and traitors, should be exposed before the people.

Through these tactics the Party aimed to bring about a differentiation in the ranks of the Balli Kombëtar, drawing into the war against the occupiers all those who were in favour of the war. Thus, the Balli Kombëtar as a whole would be compelled from below to join the National Liberation Movement, the anti-national policy and two-faced stand of its chiefs would be exposed so that the people might single out and punish all those who would obstruct the unity of the people and the war against the occupiers.

The weakest point of the Balli Kombëtar was the question of the all-out armed struggle against the Italian occupiers, because in fact it was opposed to this war. Therefore, in order to expose the Balli Kombëtar chiefs, the CPA decided to deal the main blow precisely at this weak point. The masses of the people who were for war against the occupiers, had to be convinced through their own experience that the «patriotism» of the Balli Kombëtar chiefs was false and that all their hysterical «patriotic» calls were sheer demagogy.

While deciding on the use of such a tactic towards the Balli Kombëtar, the CC of the CPA instructed the party organizations to apply its orders rigorously. It considered the ques-

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1, p. 171, Alb. ed.

tion of the attitude towards this organization as a very complicated issue that required great care. On the one hand, the Central Committee instructed, this matter had to be handled with patience and foresight, always acting with a cool head in order not to fall into the trap of the provocations of the enemy and bearing in mind that *«...we cannot wage the war alone, but only with the whole people, and for this reason we must take matters seriously with these nationalists.»**

On the other hand, the CC instructed that no step backwards from the course decided should be taken, because the union of all the forces of the country can be achieved only on the basis of the merciless armed struggle against the invaders, and not through bargains with the nationalists, that *«We must not allow the dignity of our Party to be infringed in the slightest, nor allow stones to be put under the wheels of the National Liberation War...*, we should try to restrain them (the Balli Kombëtar — Edit.), first, by reason and persuasion, and only afterwards 'à la manière forte' (by force — Edit.).»**

The situation after the founding of the Balli Kombëtar was fraught with great dangers for the Party and the National Liberation War. Among various strata of the people there was political unclarity. Through demagogy and intimidation the Balli Kombëtar secured the support of a part of the population, especially in the countryside. A number of wavering elements among the peasants left the National Liberation Front and went over to the Balli Kombëtar. In this situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «Very, very gteat care is necessary. If we emerge with success» from this situation, «our cause has triumphed, if we slip, we break our necks.»***

4. THE 1st NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF THE CPA. DIRECTIONS ON THE GENERAL UPRISING

The decision to call a National Conference of the Party to elect its definitive Central Committee and to define the forthcoming tasks had been taken in April 1942 by the

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1, p. 174, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, pp. 198-199.

*** Ibidem, p. 199.

Conference of the Activists of the CPA. According to this decision the conference was to be held only after the Party had been purged of factionalists and splitters and after the sound unity established. This had now been achieved.

In December 1942 the Communist Party of Albania received the directives of the Executive Committee of the Communist International on the National Liberation War. These directives stressed the need to organize the National Liberation War against the Italian and German aggressors, to unite the people in one single national liberation front, to have as many upright patriots and nationalists as possible participate in the war and in its leadership, and that party slogans should not go beyond the demands of the National Liberation War.

This event was of great import for the young Communist Party of Albania. These directives showed that the political line of the Party defined at the foundation meeting and further concretized by the directives of the Central Committee was correct. In addition to this, the CPA had been recognized as a section of the international communist movement.

In these circumstances, towards the end of December 1942, the Provisional Central Committee decided to call the 1st National Conference of the CPA in March 1943.

Deepening Political Crisis in the Enemy Ranks While the Party was preparing for its 1st National Conference, events in both the international and national arenas developed rapidly.

In the second half of 1942 the eyes of Albania, like all the rest of the world, were on Stalingrad, where the fate of the anti-fascist world war was being decided. The heroic resistance of the defenders of Stalingrad inspired the Albanian partisans and patriots in their liberation war against the invaders.

On February 2, 1943 the battle of Stalingrad ended in a brilliant victory of the Red Army. This victory marked the radical turning-point, not only for the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union, but for the whole course of the Second World War. «The decline of the German fascist army»* began at Stalingrad.

* J. V. Stalin, «On the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union», 1952, p. 100, Alb. ed.

This event exerted a great influence on the extension of the national liberation movements in the countries occupied by the fascist states. Amongst all the peoples belief in the inevitable total destruction of Hitlerite Germany was strengthened.

The Stalingrad victory had very great importance for Albania, too. In the favourable circumstances which it created for all the anti-fascist forces in the world, the liberation war of the Albanian people was further extended and intensified.

The armed struggle rose to a higher level: from isolated military actions to co-ordinated actions of two or more partisan çetas. Such actions with the participation of a number of partisan çetas were those carried out against the Italian fascists at Voskopoja, Snosëm of Gramsh (January 1943), Patos, Selenica of Vlora and at Libohova, on the Kukës-Puka highway near Shëmëria (February). Within three months the liberated zones were almost doubled.

The power of the national liberation councils was enhanced parallel with the extension and strengthening of the partisan movement. Underground national liberation councils were set up in a number of towns. The masses of the people were increasingly regarding these councils as the sole organs of the people's power, obeying and submitting to their decisions and ordinances alone.

On the eve of its 1st National Conference, the CPA scored another success of major importance in the struggle against the Trotskyites and opportunists in Albania: at the beginning of March 1943 the «Zjarri» Group was totally crushed. The final blow was dealt by Comrade Enver Hoxha's editorial, «A Few Words on Some Servants of Fascism — the 'Zjarri' Group» published in «Zëri i popullit» in January. This article exposed the Trotskyite tactics of the «Zjarri» Group chiefs, who sometimes launched such leftist slogans as «for a proletarian revolution», «for the struggle against capital», «for the dictatorship of the proletariat», with the intention of winning the trust of the working masses, sympathizers of communism; or at other times posed as «nationalists» with the intention of detaching the nationalist patriots from the National Liberation War and from the Communist Party. The article proved with facts that the chiefs of the «Zjarri» Group were enemies

of communism and the Albanian people, that they were agents provocateurs and tools of the aggressors.

Many members of the «Zjarri» Group, realizing the treachery of their chiefs, abandoned them and went over unconditionally to the side of the CPA. Many of them were re-educated by the Party.

The wiping out of the «Zjarri» Group dealt a heavy blow at the Balli Kombëtar as well. Playing the role of «communists» of the Balli Kombëtar, the «Zjarri» Group members had propagated and defended the cause of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The rapid growth of the National Liberation Movement, under the leadership of the CPA, as well as the defeats the fascist armies had suffered on the Eastern and other fronts of the Second World War further deepened the crisis among the ranks of the occupiers and the traitors in Albania. In January 1943 the Italian fascists removed Mustafa Kruja from the office of prime minister on account of his inability to suppress the National Liberation Movement, and set up a new quisling government. But only one month later they were compelled to replace this government, also, with another one. The latter, too. had a very short existence. Meanwhile among the ranks of the Albanian soldiers, militiamen and carabinieri, mass desertions began to take place.

The Italian statesmen themselves were compelled to admit the failure of their policy in Albania. For his part, Hitler, too, in February 1943 wrote to Mussolini that the Albanians, like the other peoples of the Balkans, «had shown very little proof of being trustworthy,» and he described «the unbounded hatred» of the Albanian people against Germany and Italy as «a harsh reality.»*

In order to preserve their occupation regime, the Italian fascists considered it imperative to intensify the use of violence. In February 1943 the fascist Viceroy, Jacomoni, was replaced by General Pariani, who was regarded as a man «who knows how to speak with the force of arms and who is able to use this force.» The Italian Command drew up a plan for a series of major operations in various regions of the country.

* «Les lettres secrètes échangées par Hitler et Mussolini», Paris, 1946, p. 150.

For this purpose the aggressors sought and found the support of the Balli Kombëtar. In March 1943 the Central Committee of the Balli Kombëtar with the Italian commander-in-chief signed a secret protocol known as the «Dalmazzo-Këlcyra» protocol,[1] in which it undertook to prevent any attack on the Italian troops and to help them in their punitive operations in Southern Albania.

Simultaneously the Italian fascists appointed a prominent member of the Balli Kombëtar[2] as prime minister of the quisling government, proclaimed the creation of the «Albanian National Army» and of the «Albanian Gendarmerie», the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Italian state and the «Albanian state», the replacement of the «Albanian National Fascist Party» with the «Guard of Greater Albania» and so on, all this within the framework of the «Union of Albania with Italy» and with Victor Emmanuel III as «King of Albania».

Both parties aimed at extracting advantages from the false ideas spread about the «creation of an independent Albanian state». While the Italian fascists sought to strengthen the shaken faith of the reactionary nationalists, to exploit them as far as possible in suppressing the National Liberation Movement, the internal reaction headed by the Balli Kombëtar hoped to seize political power, however the situation might change.

On the Order of the Day — the Organization of the General Uprising

The deep crisis among the enemies, the extension of the armed struggle, the growth of the patriotic revolutionary consciousness of the people and the propitious international circumstances placed the organizing of the general uprising of the Albanian people and of the National Liberation Army on the order of the day.

The 1st National Conference of the CPA played an historic role in the accomplishment of this task. The Conference

1 The protocol was so called because it was signed by Renzo Dalmazzo, Commander-in-chief of the Italian forces of occupation, and by Ali Këlcyra, member of the Central Committee of the Balli Kombëtar.

2 Maliq Bushati

was held in Labinot near Elbasan from March 17 to 22, 1943. Seventy delegates and guests took part. The delegates had been elected at regional party conferences during February and early March. They represented nearly 700 party members.

The Conference fully endorsed the activity of the Provisional Central Committee and reached the conclusion that the political line of the Party was correct, having been corroborated by practice.

The problem of preparing the people for the general uprising and its organization occupied first place in the deliberations of the Conference.

While stressing the great progress achieved in the anti-fascist struggle, the 1st National Conference drew the attention of the party organizations to the difficulties that lay ahead, to the intricate problems which had to be solved in organizing the general uprising and ensuring complete victory. The masses of the people were under the direct pressure of the hostile propaganda of the Balli Kombëtar and other reactionary groups, under the unremitting menace of the fascist terror. As a result, here and there cases of wavering and indifference, or failure to understand the policy of the CPA properly, had been noticed; a section of the population was being deceived by the Balli Kombëtar.

The pending tasks for strengthening the links of the Party with the broad masses of the people and preparing them for the general uprising were worked out through a sound criticism of sectarian and opportunist manifestations.

Reminding the communists that the workers were the pillar of the Party, the Conference urged the party organizations to make closer contact with the masses of the workers in mines, factories, building sites and elsewhere, especially, in the main industrial centres of the country: at Kuçova, Selenica, seaports, and so on.

This Conference also condemned the erroneous opinion of Tuk Jakova who maintained that there was no proletariat (in the Marxist sense) in Albania. This groundless view had been rejected already at the Meeting of the Communist Groups. Now the Albanian working class had its own Communist Party through which it was playing the leading role in the National Liberation War.

The Conference pointed out the progress which had been achieved in the work with the peasants, the bulk of whom

regarded the Communist Party as their own. However, not all the peasantry in all the regions of the country (especially in some regions in the North) took an active part in the war against the invaders and traitors and accepted the leadership of the Party. The Balli Kombëtar had concentrated its efforts in the countryside. The Party was faced with the urgent task of maintaining and strengthening its bonds with the peasants, of isolating the Balli Kombëtar from the masses of the peasants. To a great extent, the preparation and the outbreak of the general uprising depended on the accomplishment of this task. Emphasizing the very important role of the peasantry in the National Liberation War, the Conference directed: «We should attach particular importance to work in the countryside, because the peasants make up the great majority of our people, and consequently it is there that we should look for the main source of our forces in the present war.»*

The Conference described the alliance of the working class with the peasantry as the most reliable weapon in, the National Liberation War. It instructed the communists to broaden and to improve their work of political clarification and organization in the countryside. First and foremost it was required that they enliven the national liberation councils and draw the maximum number of peasants into the partisan detachments and territorial units. At the same time, the peasants should be roused in struggle against any sort of tax, fine, speculation, robbery and any other form of oppression and exploitation by fascism and its Albanian tools; illiteracy should be combated and culture spread in the countryside in an organized manner.

Although the majority of the wealthy peasants had gone or were going over to the Balli Kombëtar against the National Liberation War, the Conference demanded, as in the past, that the broad peasant masses should be drawn into the struggle without any discrimination as to class.

An important place at this Conference was taken up by the work with the youth and the women.

The enthusiasm and revolutionary spirit of the Albanian youth, their readiness to undertake any sacrifice, the tireless

* Resolution of the 1st National Conference of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 140, Alb. ed.

work of the Party and the Communist Youth organizations with the broad masses of the youth were stressed. Sectarianism, the concentration of the activity mainly on the school youth, the insufficient work done with the peasant youth and, finally, some trends of parallelism with the Party, which had been observed in the Communist Youth leadership, were criticized as shortcomings. The youth, the Conference emphasized, is the vital source of new forces for the Party, the inexhaustible force of the National Liberation War. For this reason, the line of the Party toward the youth had to be more deeply understood, a sounder activity with the youth masses in the towns and the villages had to be carried out, greater attention had to be devoted by the Party to this sector of such importance.

The problem of the women was evaluated as a problem of prime importance and was viewed in its two principal aspects: drawing the masses of women into the National Liberation Movement, and their social emancipation. Women could and should play an important role in the anti-fascist war and in social life. To attain this objective, it was necessary, above all, for the Albanian women themselves to thoroughly understand their age-long slavery and the harsh oppression of the invaders, to rise against them, becoming resolute fighters for national liberation and a happy future. The communists were specifically instructed not to confine their work to intellectual women alone, but to go to the masses of peasant women as well as the female workers and housewives.

In the work with the youth and women, the Conference gave first importance to their organization. It issued directives for the formation of an Albanian anti-fascist youth organization and the anti-fascist women's front.

Great attention was given to the stand toward the nationalists and to collaborating with them.

The revolutionary development of the National Liberation War brought about a continuous sifting out of the ranks of the nationalists. A good part of them, especially the representatives of the middle bourgeoisie, had joined or were continuing to join the National Liberation Front. Others maintained a neutral attitude, did not believe in the strength of the people, did not thoroughly understand the character of the National Liberation War, and were sceptical about the defeat

of fascism. Those groups of nationalists that represented the interests of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the big landowners, either aligned themselves with the Balli Kombëtar or awaited a more favourable moment to take a clear-cut stand against the National Liberation War.

So complicated a sector as the work with the nationalists was fraught with the danger of committing grave sectarian or opportunist mistakes. The 1st National Conference of the CPA criticized the lack of patience and tact shown by some communists and organizations towards uncommitted and wavering nationalists and those who had already joined the Balli Kombëtar. It demanded the greatest forbearance to achieve sincere unity or collaboration with the nationalist elements. The communists were charged with working tirelessly with all those who hated and wished to fight the occupiers, even with those who seemed obstinate, in order to convince them and make them allies, however unstable.

Still more vigorously criticized were those communists who had manifested tendencies of capitulation to the pressure of the reactionary bourgeoisie. Such irresolute elements had expressed the opinion that the Party should give up its individuality and identify itself with the National Liberation Movement. «These views,» the Conference pointed out, «lead to the liquidation of the Party.»*

It laid down the task of strengthening the individuality and the leading role of the Party within the National Liberation Front, of popularizing the Communist Party more as the standard-bearer of the struggle for the liberation of the people from fascism and for the rights of the poor strata of the population.

The Conference dwelt in particular on the stand to be taken toward the Balli Kombëtar which was carrying out a two-faced, reactionary, anti-national policy. Its chiefs were described as utterly conservative and reactionary elements, ready for any kind of collaboration with the occupiers. They opposed the National Liberation War because it opened the eyes of the people, made them conscious and drew them away from all those who were deceiving, oppressing and exploiting them.

Nevertheless, in the Balli Kombëtar there was a consider-

* Resolution of the 1st National Conference of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 137, Alb. ed.

able number of persons, especially in the countryside, who were eager to fight against the occupier. «With them,» the Conference pointed out, «it is possible to build a common militant national liberation front.»*

Only the participation of the Balli Kombëtar in the armed struggle against the fascist occupiers could create the possibility for it to join the National Liberation Front. All means should be used to bring this about, including even negotiations with representatives of the Balli Kombëtar. The Conference, however, criticized as opportunist any idea that the whole work with the Balli Kombëtar and the nationalists in general could be reduced to negotiations and political combinations. It re-emphasized that the main thing was the work with ordinary, honest, rank-and-file members of the Balli Kombëtar to establish militant links with and involve them in actions against fascism. The pressure from below and the armed struggle against the occupiers would bring about a differentiation within the Balli Kombëtar and alienate its members from their reactionary chiefs.

The Party would continue more intensely the exposure of the defeatist propaganda of the Balli Kombëtar, especially its slogan that «the time has not come yet»; it would fight all collaborators with fascism, including those Balli Kombëtar chiefs who had emerged or were emerging openly as collaborators; it would expose the reactionary tactic about an «independent Albanian state» under fascist Italy.

In order to expand and strengthen the National Liberation Front and to proceed steadily toward the people's general uprising, the Conference called on party organizations, in the first place, to always bear in mind the anti-fascist and national liberation character of the war, and not permit distortions of the party policy in any field. «We are not opportunists,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «nor have we forgotten in the least our more remote tasks, but before we reach that stage we must accomplish our most immediate task: the National Liberation War».**

The Conference defined the organization of the National Liberation Army as the main link of the general uprising.

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* Resolution of the 1st National Conference of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 131, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Report delivered at the meeting of the CC of the CPA, February 1943. Works, vol. 1, p. 230, Alb. ed.

As a result of the vigorous development of the partisan war, this army was in the process of formation. Under these circumstances, it was decided: «From the partisan and volunteer units we must set up a regular National Liberation Army, which will be a force striking terror in the hearts of the occupiers and a sure and powerful guarantee for the liberation of the people.»*

Accordingly, the organization of the army, the military detachments and units, of the regional staffs and the General Staff, the problems of supplying them with arms, ammunition, clothing and food, questions of combat tactics and the political training of the fighters, etc., were worked out.

Emphasizing the absolute necessity and decisive importance of organizing the National Liberation Army for the general uprising to achieve victory over the enemy, the Conference demanded that the communists understood thoroughly that the principal sector of work of the Party at that time was the army.

Further Strengthening Party Unity

At this Conference, the organizational problems of the Party were discussed in close connection with its political line and with the fundamental question: the general uprising.

The strengthening of its unity was described as the greatest victory in the internal life of the Party. This was an essential requirement to ensure the militant union of the people and the leadership of the Party in the National Liberation War. The Conference approved the decisions taken by the Extraordinary Conference of June 1942, the measures adopted by the Provisional Central Committee to smash the factionalist liquidationist current, and its Marxist-Leninist stand against the «Zjarri» Group.

Even after their expulsion from the Party, Lula and Premte not only did not cease, but on the contrary, increased their hostile activity against the CPA and the National Liberation Movement. Now the same stand had to be taken towards them as towards other traitors and enemies of the Party, the people and communism. The Conference instructed the communists to always stand vigilant, to combat relentlessly all alien anti-Marxist ideas, all Trotskyites and deviators, and

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 140, Alb. ed.

all deserters from the ranks of the Party and the National Liberation Movement, never forgetting that the enemy would make continuous efforts to infiltrate agents into the Party.

The Conference called the steel discipline of the Party the prime condition for safeguarding and further strengthening party unity. At the same time, despite the wartime conditions, it did not neglect the development of internal party democracy. It laid down the tasks of combating any attitude of commandism within the Party and strengthening criticism and self-criticism. The communists, party cells and lower party organs should not await everything from above. The strengthening of democracy and the development of initiative would enhance the capabilities of the communists and the party organizations, would raise their leading role to a higher level, would further develop the sense of responsibility of the cadres and would ensure closer links with the masses.

A particularly important task was to establish party organizations on a broad scale in the countryside, «because without them the work of the Party and the National Liberation War will not be successful.»*

The Conference gave the instruction to improve the composition of the cadres by unhesitatingly elevating to posts of responsibility young communists who had shown outstanding self-sacrifice and loyalty to the cause of the people and of communism.

The Conference attached great importance to the ideological and political training of the communists. It stressed that in the complicated conditions the young Albanian communists would not be able to accomplish their difficult tasks with honour unless they mastered the Marxist-Leninist teachings. The views of a number of communists who maintained that in time of war there was no need for books, but only for guns, were criticized. «We must have both books and guns,» the Conference stressed, and called on the communists to surmount all difficulties and obstacles in the study of Marxism-Leninism.

Finally, the Conference elected the Central Committee of the CPA composed of 15 members and 5 candidate members. The Conference also elected the Political Bureau of the CC with Enver Hoxha as General Secretary of the CPA.

* Ibidem, p. 143.

All the decisions were taken unanimously.

Winding up its proceedings, the 1st National Conference expressed its confidence that the Communist Party of Albania would forge ahead resolutely under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, accomplish its onerous tasks with honour and ensure complete victory for the Albanian people. «We shall allow no force,» wrote the Conference delegates to the Executive Committee of the Comintern, «to divert our Party from the great ideals of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the ideals of the Communist International.»*

The decisions of the 1st National Conference played a great historic role in the all-round strengthening of the CPA as a Marxist-Leninist revolutionary Party. The Conference worked out the general line of the Party in greater depth and breadth, on the basis of the experience accumulated.

5. THE ORGANIZATION OF THE NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY AND THE PEOPLE'S GENERAL UPRISING

After the 1st National Conference, the political and organizational work of the Party was concentrated mainly on preparing the people for the general uprising, first and foremost, on organizing the National Liberation Army.

The Party called on the Albanian people, workers and peasants, townspeople, young people and women, nationalists and patriotic intellectuals, to unite all their forces and place them at the service of the struggle against the fascist occupiers and traitors. As many as possible should join the ranks of the partisans so that new detachments could be created and the armed struggle intensified to the point of the general uprising. «The fate of the country,» the Party taught the people, «depends on the war we are waging, and the more widespread and fierce this fight against the invaders, the sooner the day of liberation will come.»**

Exposing the Balli Kombëtar propagandists who trumpeted about that the Albanians could not fight against Italy, nor

* The minutes of the 1st National Conference of the Communist Party of Albania. CPA.

** Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 149, Alb. ed.

had they need to, as the latter would be crushed by the allies who would bring freedom and independence to Albania(!), Enver Hoxha wrote in «Zëri i popullit»: «What would happen if the whole world were to reason like these 'great politicians'?... One very simple thing would happen..., tiny Albania would be a vassal of Mussolini for ever...

«One for all and all for one... Russia, Britain, America wage their war with great armies, tanks and aircraft; but that does not mean that we should not carry on our war, be it with the only gun we possess... Wars are not waged with roses and cotton wool and freedom is not won with words and compromises but with suffering and bloodshed.»*

Along with extensive political activity among the masses of the people, the communists increased their underground work among the Albanian soldiers, gendarmes and policemen, among all those misled persons in the service of the occupiers, as well as among the Italian soldiers and workers stationed in Albania. Leaflets in Italian were distributed to the latter.

In response to the call of the Party and as a result of the intense activity of the communists, hundreds of young men and women came to fill the ranks of the partisan çeta. A good part of the middle school students took to the mountains and joined the freedom fighters. Patriots who deserted from the enemy military formations, also joined the partisans. In less than three months the number of partisans doubled. In May 1943, the first battalions and first regional staffs were formed. By July 20 partisan battalions and 30 smaller fighting units were operating in Albania.

Defeat of the Faction in the Vlora Region

While the whole Party was occupied carrying out the tasks laid down by the 1st National Conference for the preparation of the general uprising, in the Vlora region, Sadik Premte and Pali Tërova, enemies to the people and communism, secretly set up an enemy faction against the CPA. In fact they had started organizing their faction precisely at the time when the principal party leaders of the region were away for the 1st National Conference of the CPA. Taking adavantage of the absence of the leadership and of the lack of a sound Marxist-Leninist vigilance, discipline and training of the rank-and-file communists, they succeeded

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 1, pp. 246-247, Alb. ed.

in deceiving and winning over a number of party members, as well as the command of the «Old» partisan çeta of Vlora. In April the factionalists announced that they did not recognize the Regional Committee of the Party and called for the convocation of a so-called «party conference» which was to revoke the Committee and elect a new one headed by Sadik Premte and his henchmen.

The objective of this hostile faction was to seize the reins of the party organization and the command of the partisan detachments of the Vlora region, to exterminate the resolute communists and, first and foremost, the leading cadres, to cease the liberation war in the district and then to carry their destructive work over to the other regions of the country, to overthrow the Central Committee and completely smash the Communist Party. For this purpose, the traitors had reached an agreement for joint action with the chiefs of the Balli Kombëtar. Through machinations and slanders, with the support of the Balli Kombëtar, they tried to raise the rural population in arms to attack the Party and the partisan çetas. Simultaneously they sent letters to a number of communists in various districts as well as to the Gjirokastra Regional Committee, in which, as a pretext for their revolt, they put forward the allegedly «unjust» decisions of the Party against Anastas Lula, Sadik Premte and other factionalists and sought support.

The grave situation in the party organization of the Vlora region was correctly considered by the Central Committee as a great danger to the whole Party. The General Secretary Enver Hoxha went there to lead the fight against the faction on the spot.

The struggle to wipe out this faction was conducted under the slogan «the Party above everything». At gatherings, meetings and talks, in the first place with individual party members, Comrade Enver Hoxha, together with Comrade Hysni Kapo, political secretary of the Regional Committee, explained the real aims and the great danger inherent in the hostile activity of the faction. Almost all the misled communists thoroughly comprehended the mistakes they had been led into by the traitors, and severed all connections with them. The people of the Vlora and Mallakastra regions, also, were informed about the treachery of Sadik Premte, and together with the Party, took an active part in smashinig this faction.

In May everything had come to an end. Premte, exposed as an enemy of the people and the Party, managed to escape by going to Vlora, then occupied by the Italian fascists.

After the liquidation of the enemy faction in the Vlora region in June 1943, the Central Committe, in a special circular letter, in which the roots and aims of this faction were laid bare, instructed all the communists: «This painful experience should serve as a lesson for all the party organizations, especially for the Vlora organization... Our fight against these base enemies must be waged with the greatest severity, ...we should hate these people and attack them mercilessly wherever they raise their heads.»*

The Vlora events served as a lesson for the entire Party. They helped the communists to get a deeper understanding of the danger threatening the Party from the acts of enemies, to strengthen their discipline and increase their vigilance and fighting spirit in their revolutionary activity. Up to the end of the war there was no repetition of events like that of Vlora.

General Staff Set up

While the Party was fighting to wipe out the Premte faction, the partisans and volunteers were dealing successive blows at the fascist invaders throughout the country. The most powerful of these were the attacks on Italian troops near the Selenica mine (April 1943), at Leskovik (May), on the Struga-Dibra highway (June), at Përmet-Kuqar-Mezhgoran Gorge and Kiçok Pass (early July). On July 6 the Albanian partisans also carried out their first attack on the German troops at Barmash on the Korça-Janina highway. At the same time, partisan fighting units together with the rural population beat back the military operations the Italian fascists undertook at Kurvelesh and Mesaplik (April), at Peza, Mallakastra, Tepelena and Shpirag (June). In these operations the invaders threw in whole divisions against the partisans and the people. They massacred thousands of men and women, old folk and children, burned down hundreds of villages, seized entire herds of cattle, but failed to obtain any military or political advantage.

* Circular letter of the CC of the CPA, June 17, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, pp. 172-173, Alb. ed.

On the contrary they further inflamed the hatred and resentment of the people.

In the atmosphere of extraordinary revolutionary enthusiasm throughout the country, the Central Committee of the CPA proposed that the National Liberation General Council take up for discussion the problems of the war against fascism which required urgent solution. The main problem to be tackled was the organization of the Albanian National Liberation Army.

The meeting of the General Council was held on July 4, 1943 in Labinot. There the formation of the General Staff of the National Liberation Army was agreed upon unanimously. The General Secretary of the CPA, Enver Hoxha, was elected political commissar of the General Staff. On July 10 the National Liberation General Council and the General Staff informed the people of this important event by means of a special proclamation.

The General Staff carried through the organization of the Albanian National Liberation Army (ANLA) and concentrated in its hands the strategy and the operational leadership of the armed struggle against the invaders and traitors, working out the tactics of this war at the same time. In order to centralize the direction of the partisan detachments in the various regions, regional staffs and the staff of the 1st Operational Zone were set up. On August 15, 1943 the 1st Shock Brigade was set up.

At the time when the General Staff was formed, the ANLA was made up of about 10,000 fighters organized in permanent partisan detachments. Approximately twice as many fighters served in the territorial units of liberated villages and in the guerilla units of the occupied towns and regions.

Another most important measure taken by the General Staff was the organization of the partisan military power in the rear areas. The «regional» and «local commands» served as organs of this power. They exercised the functions of the people's police in the liberated zones and were of great aid and support to the national liberation councils and partisan detachments.

With the creation of the General Staff, the armed struggle entered a new stage, the stage of superior organization and rapid expansion, the stage of the people's general uprising. All over the country, National Liberation Army detachments and

territorial units backed up by the masses of the people, rose to fight the Italian occupation forces and the German forces which had just started to enter and move about on Albanian territory. The General Staff said in one of its orders: «So long as the armies of the Italian and German invaders have not capitulated unconditionally, so long as there still remains even one single armed fascist soldier on the soil of the beloved Homeland, our war must be carried on with the greatest severity.»*

In July, August and the beginning of September the liberation war against the Italian occupiers reached its culmination. The new fighting operations the occupiers organized in Mallakastra and Tepelena ended in ignominious failure. The ANLA together with the armed people engaged the fascist occupation army in bloody battles at Pojska (Pogradec); at Burrel, at Shtama Pass and Buall Pass (Mat); at Zerqan and Sofraçan (Dibra); at Kardhiq, Mashkullora, Libohova and Konispol (Gjirokastra); at Llogora and Tragjas (Vlora); at Vithkuq (Korça); at Reç (Shkodra); on the Elbasan-Tirana highway, etc.

Frightened by the general uprising which had erupted all over the country, in July the fascist invaders proclaimed the entire Albanian territory an operational zone. The Italian commander-in-chief had to admit that «the majority of the Albanian people, without class distinction, have risen against Italy and against the stationing of our troops in Albania.»** He urged his headquarters in Rome to increase the number of the occupation armed forces to enable him to cope with the situation in Albania.

The ANLA — the People's Revolutionary Army

Through the General Staff, the Communist Party applied the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the people's armed uprising more completely in the conditions of Albania and solved the fundamental military, political and organizational problems of the ANLA.

Even after the creation of the General Staff, the National Liberation Army was obliged to engage mainly in guerilla warfare, on account of the superiority of the enemy armed

* Order of July, 30, 1943. Documents of the General Staff and the General Command of the ANLA, vol. 1, p. 32, 1976. Alb. ed.

** Commando 9-a Armata. Notizie mensile, No. 8, Agosto 1943.

forces in number, and especially in means of warfare, ammunition, transport, liaison, food and clothing. In these conditions frontal war would have been fatal to the people's armed uprising.

The fighting actions of the partisan detachments and units were essentially attacks carried out uninterruptedly and were outstanding for the masterly use of rapid manoeuvre and surprise, for the great initiative of the commands of brigades, groups and battalions, and for the perfect use of the terrain.

Through its partisan warfare the ANLA accomplished a series of independent strategic tasks.[1] The Party had assigned it the mission of liberating the whole country with its own forces and, at the same time, of securing the establishment of the people's power and serving as armed support of this power.

Such tasks could be accomplished only by a regular army. This is why the CPA made such great efforts to set up the ANLA and transform it into a regular army of the Albanian people.

At first, brigades were to be the biggest formations of the people's regular army. The General Staff drew up a special plan for successively forming a number of brigades which would gradually include the greater part of the çetas, battalions and groups in the various districts.

With the organization of the ANLA and its uninterrupted growth the need for trained military and political cadres also increased. The Party did not possess such cadres. In wartime conditions, it was impossible for the General Staff and Council to open officer training schools. Commanders and commissars were trained in the heat of fierce battle against the enemy, from the ranks of the workers, peasants and patriotic intellectuals, from the staunchest partisan fighters, the bravest and most devoted to the cause of the people and Homeland.

Even after the founding of the General Staff up to the end of the war, raiding the enemy, the army and the occupiers' depots was to remain the principal source of supplying the partisans with arms and ammunition.

As to supplies of food and clothing for the detachments and units of the Albanian National Liberation Army, these were

1 independently of the various fronts of the Second World War.

mainly provided by the population of the cities and, especially, the countryside, while some were captured from the enemy. Regarding quarters, the partisan fighters were sheltered in the houses of the peasants and of the city dwellers in the liberated zones.

The Party attached primary importance to keeping high the morale in the army. Every partisan fighter was ready to lay down his life for freedom, for the Homeland and the Communist Party. The fighters' moral force had its roots in their high consciousness. They knew well what they were fighting for, thoroughly understood the correctness of the political line of the Party, were fully aware of the difficulties, privations and sacrifices required by the war, and had unshakeable confidence in the victory of the cause they were defending.

The moral figure of the partisan was raised still higher by his conscious discipline, his love for the people and for his comrades, his great honesty and exemplary conduct towards the population, his very great care to safeguard the fine traditions and customs of our country.

The high moral, political and military qualities of the partisan fighters were durable, for they were based on political conviction and democracy. Unlike the armies of the past which had to defend the interests of the reactionary classes, in the ANLA the rank-and-file enjoyed equal rights and complete freedom to take part, along with their commanders and political commissars, in the political life of the country and in the solution of the various military, political and organizational problems of the army. All combat actions of the detachments, the political work, the activity of commanders, the partisans and cadres' conduct were submitted to the judgement and criticism of the collective. The orders of the commands embodied the demands of the rank-and-file fighters and the people themselves. Debates and broad exchanges of opinion were organized to find the best way to carry out these orders and the decisions and directives of the Party.

The democracy in the ranks of the ANLA was an expression of its character as a people's army and derived from the principle that the masses play the decisive role as the makers of history.

This democracy in no way weakened the military discipline, but, on the contrary, strengthened and made it more conscious; likewise, it did not damage the centralized leadership, but, on the contrary, helped in realizing it.

The masterly use of the tactics of partisan warfare and the extremely high morale of the ANLA made it possible to neutralize and overcome the enemy's superiority in numbers and means of warfare.

It was the Communist Party which forged the lofty moral, political and military qualities of the ANLA fighters.

Brigade, group, batallion and company (çeta) commissars led the political work of the Party in the army. At the same time, the political commissars were members of the staffs of the various partisan fighting units. The deputy commissars performed the duties of party secretaries. The Party sent most of its best cadres to develop the political work in the army.

Along with the party organitations, communist youth organizations were set up in the army with a view to helping the organs and cells of the Party.

The political commissars and deputy commissars and party and youth organizations carried out extensive political and educational work in the partisan fighting units, ensuring the vanguard role of the communists and of the young communists in the performance of combat duties. They educated the fighters in the spirit of patriotism and loyalty to the Homeland, the people and the Communist Party. They imparted to them the revolutionary fighting traditions of the Albanian people, Marxist-Leninist ideas, the principles of proletarian internationalism, love for all the peoples fighting against fascism. They implanted confidence in victory in the minds of the partisans and the people, and saw to it that the orders of the General Staff and various partisan commands were carried out to the letter.

The Communist Party enjoyed the greatest trust and authority among the fighters and cadres of the National Liberation Army. The Party had won such confidence and authority through the example the communists set in battle and with their behaviour.

All the problems of the construction of the army, of its strategy and tactics and its military actions were solved on the basis of the directives and instructions of the Central Committee. Enver Hoxha, the General Secretary of the Party, was the main organizer, leader and teacher of the ANLA.

The formation of the ANLA was a great political and military victory of the Party. The CPA, thus, succeeded in accomplishing one of its most decisive and difficult tasks.

Exposing Sham Patriotism of the Balli Kombëtar

This victory was achieved not only in the heat of battle against invaders and traitors, but also through a stern political struggle with internal reaction, with the Balli Kombëtar.

To sabotage the armed struggle against the occupiers, the Balli Kombëtar employed all the means and tricks ever used by the enemies of the people and revolution: slander, demagogy, frightening people with the «communist bogy», threats, intrigues, lies, false promises, the foulest murders of communists, of partisans and people's council members, secret agreements with the occupiers to co-ordinate their actions against the revolutionary forces, etc. In some cases, the Balli Kombëtar succeeded in duping whole villages. There were peasants, impelled or intimidated by the Balli Kombëtar, who refused to shelter the partisan fighters in their villages, to attack the Italian army during military operations, or to recognize the national liberation councils.

Had such occurrences become widespread, they would have led to the neutralization of the peasantry, which formed the basis and main source of the national liberation forces, thus jeopardizing the ultimate victory in the National Liberation War. This danger was averted by the resolute and well-pondered stand and actions taken by the Party, relying on its deep knowledge of the objective conditions, of the actual situation in the country.

The overwhelming majority of the peasantry wanted to fight against the invaders for the liberation of the country. Only the Communist Party responded to their aspirations with daily deeds. The Balli Kombëtar was opposed to fighting the fascists. This stand of the Balli Kombëtar was in direct opposition to the aspirations and demands of the peasantry and the people in general.

In the spring of 1943 a number of peasants misled by the Balli Kombëtar chiefs heeded their «advice» and did not offer armed resistance to the Italian troops operating in their regions, and did not leave when the latter entered their villages, believing that the fascists would do them no actual harm. However, the fascists burned their villages indiscriminately and barbarously massacred the men, women and children who had remained there. This was a bitter lesson for all those who had been deceived by the reactionaries.

In order to wreck the National Liberation Front, the Balli Kombëtar worked ever more closely with the occupiers and, together with them, took part in actions against the national liberation councils and partisan fighting çetas. The Balli Kombëtar gangs directly assisted the Italian army in its punitive operations against the partisans and the people. This line pursued by the Balli Kombëtar angered the people.

The Communist Party came out in support of the peasants in resisting the fascist plunder of their grain, dairy products and wool. Meanwhile the Balli Kombëtar not only advised the peasants not to oppose handing over their agricultural products to the invaders and the quisling government, but actually helped the enemy to rob the peasants of them. With these actions the Balli Kombëtar grew increasingly apart from the masses.

Through extensive political work, the Communist Party propagated its line, the program of the National Liberation Front, denounced the manoeuvres of the fascist enslavers and Albanian traitors, exposed the substance and the real aim of each action and stand taken by the Balli Kombëtar chiefs and gangs against the Albanian nation and people.

Thus the Albanian peasants were gradually convinced through their own experience that real victory over the fascist invaders and the traitors could be achieved only under the leadership of the Communist Party. The peasants were realizing ever more deeply that their age-long dream of liberty and land could be achieved only with the Party, whereas the Balli Kombëtar wanted by no means to do away with oppression and exploitation.

The more the demagogy and treachery of the Balli Kombëtar was exposed, the more the peasants and representatives of the other strata of the population rallied around the Communist Party. The masses of the people throughout Albania derided the Balli Kombëtar wait-and-see tactics with satires such as: «Once there was a big grey ass which waited and didn't crop grass», and nicknamed it «Bishti kombëtar» (bisht = tail).

The Mukje Agreement Rejected

The situation that had arisen required that everything possible should be done to avert a fratricidal war, which was being instigated in various ways by the fascist occupiers. On the proposal of the Central Com-

mittee of the CPA, this question was taken up at the session of the General Council in July 1943. The Council decided to make a final attempt to turn the Balli Kombëtar, as an organization, from its road of betrayal and draw it into the National Liberation War. For this purpose, a delegation was appointed to negotiate with the Balli Kombëtar chiefs on the following points: The Balli Kombëtar was to join in the war against the invaders immediately and to cease its fight against the National Liberation Movement and the Communist Party; it was to purge its ranks of fascists, bandits and criminals; it was to recognize the national liberation councils; through struggle and efforts against fascism to lay the basis for holding a national conference, in which the Balli Kombëtar would participate, and where all questions of unity would be discussed and solved.

The first meeting with the Balli Kombëtar chiefs took place in Tapiza near Tirana, and the second one in Mukje near Kruja on August 1st-2nd.

The Ballist chiefs agreed to meet the delegation of the National Liberation General Council for the sole aim of strengthening their position which had been severely shaken by the exposure of their treachery and seize political power when Italy capitulated, which, following the downfall of Mussolini, on July 25 was, obviously only a matter of days.

In the discussions, Ymer Dishnica, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, who led the delegation, gave way under the pressure and demagogy of the reactionary bourgeoisie and the landlords. Instead of staunchly defending the line of the Communist Party and taking the correct stand agreed upon by the General Council towards the Balli Kombëtar, in Mukje he accepted an agreement which was in direct opposition to the interests of the National Liberation War and the Albanian people. Another member of the delegation, Mustafa Gjinishi, played an extremely negative role, coming out at this meeting as an ardent supporter of the claims of the reactionary bourgeoisie.

The Mukje Agreement regarded the Balli Kombëtar, which had sabotaged the National Liberation War and helped the occupiers in various ways, as a fighter against fascism on an equal footing with the National Liberation Front. Instead of demanding that the Balli Kombëtar join in the war against the occupiers, Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi agreed to the

demagogic demands of the Balli Kombëtar for the «proclamation of independence» and for the «overthrow of the fascist assembly of April 12», in which almost all the Balli Kombëtar chiefs had participated and which had never been recognized by the people. They accepted the «ethnical Albania» hoax, a weapon of the fascists and reactionaries to beguile the Albanian people into forgetting who their main enemy was at that time and to stir up antagonisms against the neighbouring peoples. They accepted the proposal of the reactionaries to set up a «Committee for the Salvation of Albania» with equal numbers of representatives from the Balli Kombëtar and the National Liberation Front. This committee was to be vested with the attributes of a provisional government.

The General Council and the state power of the national liberation councils, which arose from the people's revolutionary struggle, were completely forgotten. Without any authorization from the General Council and the Central Committee of the Party, Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi gave their approval to a proclamation of the «Committee for the Salvation of Albania», through which the people were informed of the Mukje decisions. Thus they fell completely into the reactionaries' trap.

The Communist Party of Albania was not against any agreement with the Balli Kombëtar. It had striven hard to draw the Balli Kombëtar into the war against the foreign occupiers and, on this basis, to unite with the National Liberation Front, had conducted negotiations and accepted the formation of «co-ordinating commissions» for the war against fascism, and so on. When the General Council decided, in July 1943, to conduct negotiations with the Balli Kombëtar chiefs, it was a last attempt to turn the Balli Kombëtar organization away from the road of betrayal to that of the war against the occupiers. This attempt had to be made in the interests of the Homeland and the National Liberation War. But the Mukje Agreement violated the interests of the people and of the Homeland. It confused the people and drew their attention away from the war against the occupiers, giving the idea of a false union reached through bargainings from above. The Mukje Agreement wrote off the great victories achieved in the anti-fascist war under the leadership of the Communist Party and even worse, paved the way for political power to pass into the hands of the reactionary bourgeosie who had not fired

a shot and had not undertaken to fight against the foreign enslavers, but on the contrary, had collaborated with them and were actually doing so. Therefore, such an agreement was a betrayal of the people and the revolution.

For this reason, on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the Central Committee and the entire Party, immediately and without hesitation, rejected the Mukje Agreement.

Right from the moment he had received the first document couched in ambiguous terms, the General Secretary of the Party, Enver Hoxha understood that at the Mukje Meeting, «the orchestra had played under the baton of the Balli Kombëtar», and expressing great concern, instructed Ymer Dishnica: «...do not forget the interests of our Party. It must continue to be the organizer and leader of the National Liberation War, must remain as such and not become a faction in this war.»*

When the treachery became quite clear, he called the agreement «a complete capitulation to the Balli Kombëtar,» and wrote to Ymer Dishnica: *«You have fallen totally into the positions of the Balli Kombëtar...»* This agreement, which *«completely violates our political line is denounced by the Central Committee.»***

While informing the communists of this grave violation of the decisions of the General Council and the political line of the Party, the Central Committee expressed its determination not to agree in any way whatsoever to share the fruits of the liberation war of the Albanian people and the people's democratic power with the Balli Kombëtar or any other opponents of this war and this power.

The submission of Ymer Dishnica and Mustafa Gjinishi enabled the Balli Kombëtar to use the Mukje Agreement in their fight against the Communist Party and to cause confusion in the ranks of the people. The party organizations had to do extensive explanatory work to expose the reactionary content of the said agreement and the objectives of the Balli Kombëtar chiefs to seize the fruits of the liberation war of the Albanian people, with the help of the occupiers.

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* Enver Hoxha, Letter addressed to Ymer Dishnica, August 6, 1943, Works, vol. 1, p. 334, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 340.

The National Liberation Councils — the Only People's Power

In order to further strengthen the unity of the Albanian people in their anti-fascist war, the 2nd National Liberation Conference was held in Labinot from the 4th to 9th September, 1943.

The Conference took up the question of the people's democratic power as its principal issue. With the deepening of the revolutionary process of the war this question was assuming ever greater importance, the more so when the Balli Kombëtar and reaction in general were exerting every effort to take state power into their hands.

Under these circumstances the Conference launched the slogan: «The national liberation councils should be recognized as the sole people's power in Albania.»*

The 2nd National Liberation Conference adopted a series of measures to strengthen and extend the democratic basis of and centralize the people's power in Albania. It increased the General Council from 7 (elected at the Conference of Peza) to 62 members. It worked out and adopted the Constitution and Regulations of the national liberation councils, as documents of constitutional importance. It was decided to set up executive organs with their administrative-economic apparatus at the General Council and the regional councils.

The Conference recognized the **Anti-fascist Youth Union**, the **Anti-fascist Womens' Union**, the **Union of Anti-fascist University Students** (recently created under the guidance of the Communist Party) as integral parts of the National Liberation Front and ordered that they must be given the greatest possible help. Those were mass organizations which included the youth and women from different classes and strata of the country, and had no program other than that of the Front.

At the Conference of Labinot the Mukje Agreement was publicly condemned as an act that violated the fundamental principles of the Conference of Peza and was contrary to the interests of the war and the unity of the Albanian people.

Since the Balli Kombëtar continued its hostile activity against the National Liberation Movement and pursued

* Resolution of the 2nd National Liberation Conference, September 8, 1943. Documents of the supreme organs of the national liberation people's power, p. 58, Alb. ed.

its collaboration with the Italian fascists, the Conference decided to take a clear-cut stand against it: to expose its anti-national and anti-people's policy, to denounce its demagogic slogans of unity, its attempts to sow discord and instigate fratricidal war. At the same time, the Conference gave the instruction that efforts must continue to utilize every opportunity to collaborate with the Balli Kombëtar and other political currents outside the National Liberation Movement, but only on the basis of the decisions of the Conference of Peza, and above all, on the basis of participation in the uncompromising and relentless war against the invaders, and their recognition of the national liberation councils as the sole people's power.

Such a stand would open the eyes of those who had been duped and would drive them apart from the reactionary chiefs.

The Conference of Labinot did not foster any hopes that the Balli Kombëtar would abandon its course of betrayal. It pointed out to the people that the Balli Kombëtar chiefs were going further down the road of collaboration with the occupiers and open war against the National Liberation Movement.

Supporting the decisions of the Conference of Labinot, the Central Committee of the CPA instructed the regional committees: «...We must present the Balli Kombëtar clearly to the people as splitters and inciters of fratricidal war, must ensure that the people see that the policy of the Balli Kombëtar will lead to armed clashes between us and so the whole people will revolt against this and the historic responsibility... for such a thing will fall, as it should,... on the Balli Kombëtar; we must prepare ourselves, prepare the whole National Liberation Movement and the people for a battle with the Balli Kombëtar; the Balli Kombëtar is preparing for this battle and must not find us unprepared...»*

On the last day of the Conference, the news of the capitulation of fascist Italy was received. This event changed the situation in Albania. In the new situation fresh tasks emerged for the Communist Party of Albania.

* Directives of the CC of the CPA, September 10, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 196, Alb. ed.

6. INTENSIFYING THE WAR AGAINST THE NEW GERMAN INVADERS AND CRUSHING REACTION

The capitulation of fascist Italy was announced on September 8, 1943.

The Albanian people, who for four and a half years had waged a fierce war to throw off the yoke of the Italian invaders, had made their own valuable direct contribution to this victory.

The New Situation after the Capitulation of Italy and the Country's Occupation by the German Nazis

The General Staff, in compliance with the capitulation agreement, immediately called on the Italian occupation army either to surrender its arms or to join the ANLA and fight against Hitlerite Germany. The Italian commander-in-chief, however, did not respond to this call. He ordered the Italian troops in Albania to surrender to the Germans. Only some 15,000 Italian officers and men disobeyed this order and surrendered to the ANLA. The Communist Party of Albania saw to it that all those who surrendered were received everywhere in a fraternal manner, despite the atrocities the Italian fascist army had committed in Albania. Those responsible for the atrocities would be brought to account and severely punished during or after the war, whenever they were caught.

Of the Italian soldiers who surrendered to the ANLA, about 1,500 men agreed to join the ranks of the Albanian partisan units and fight arms in hand against German nazis. The «Antonio Gramsci» Battalion was formed as part of the 1st Shock Brigade of the Albanian National Liberation Army. The Italian soldiers who did not wish to fight were sheltered in the liberated zones of the country, where they were hospitably received by the Albanian peasants, in spite of the extraordinary economic difficulties they were up against.

In place of the Italian invaders in Albania came the German aggressors. They were met with fierce fighting everywhere. On the Struga-Librazhd highway, at Drashovica near Vlora, at the Kardhiq Bridge near Gjirokastra, along the Elbasan-Tirana highway, at Kruja, Konispol, Delvina and Saranda, at Bilisht, along the Korça-Leskovik highway, and at other places, detachments of the National Liberation Army inflicted heavy losses on the new invaders and prevented them

from deploying over the entire territory of Albania. Most of the regions and a number of towns remained free.

The German invaders stationed an armed force of about 70,000 men in Albania. Once established here they assumed the task of crushing the National Liberation Movement and of making Albania a satellite of Germany. To attain this objective, the nazis at first used a tactic aimed at disguising the occupation regime and at deceiving the people with the idea that they had won their «national independence» and that «a sovereign Albanian state had been created.» They loudly proclaimed that they had come «as friends» just to «liberate Albania from the Italian yoke»; that the German army «would guarantee the independence of the Albanian people, if they would give their assistance in the war against communism»! They called on all those who had taken to the mountains to surrender their weapons and return to their homes, as their mission had been accomplished with the help of the German army! The Hitlerites instigated and aided the traitors to proclaim «the secession of Albania from Italy» and to create the organs of «the independent Albanian state» such as the «Executive Committee, the «Regency», the «Albanian government», the «Albanian army», the «Albanian gendarmerie», and so on. This manoeuvre was loudly propagated by the reactionaries.

But no matter what tactics they resorted to, the Hitlerites could by no means conceal the aggression they had committeed against Albania. The Communist Party had made it clear long ago to the Albanian people that the German nazis were the most ferocious enemies of mankind. On the first day they set foot on Albanian soil in July 1943, they razed the village of Borova to the ground and massacred the entire population, even the infants in cradles.

Neither were the Germans able to conceal the establishment of a barbarous occupation regime in Albania. Along with their statements about «respecting» and «guaranteeing» the national independence of Albania, they issued proclamations on the disarming of the whole population, on shooting or hanging from 10 to 30 Albanians for every German soldier killed, for every act of sabotage, for all concealed weapons, military materials or food-stuffs! A curfew was imposed throughout the country. The Regency and the quisling government could take no decision without the approval of the

German occupation command. The Hitlerites seized the National Bank and all the economic resources of the country.

The Albanian people, under the leadership of the Communist Party, were not deceived by the nazi demagogy. They carried on their struggle against the new aggressors with even greater vigour. Before one month had passed the Hitlerites were fully convinced that the Albanian people were mortal enemies to them as well as to any collaborationist Regency and Albanian government.

In the autumn of 1943 the ANLA detachments and units launched powerful attacks on the Hitlerite troops and reactionary forces throughout the country. On October 18, the ANLA artillery shelled the quisling assembly convened on the initiative of the German command. On that same day, the CPA distributed in Tirana leaflets with the heading: «How do the Albanian people reply to the Gestapo assembly? WITH GUN !»*

Besides the battles fought by the ANLA, various actions were carried out by guerilla units in occupied regions and cities. These actions became more frequent and better organized.

The Central Committee of the CPA took great care to ensure that war against the new invaders was waged unremittingly and more fiercely throughout the country. The moment it was informed that the Berat Regional Staff led by Gjin Marku had allowed the German soldiers to enter the liberated town of Berat for a short time, it described this act as a crime and sternly condemned it. «We might have expected anything from a partisan command,» Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote at that time to the Berat Regional Staff, «but to come to terms, even for a single minute, with the greatest enemy of our people and mankind, this was beyond our imagination... Even if you were to lose the entire army, even if the whole work already achieved were to be imperilled, *never at any time should you have come to terms with the barbarous nazis.»***

A new situation arose in Albania following the occupation

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* Proclamations and leaflets of the CPA, 1941-1944, p. 310, 1962 Alb. ed.

** Letter addressed to the Berat Regional Staff, November 5, 1943. Documents of the General Staff..., 1976, vol. 1, p. 145, Alb. ed.

of the country by German troops. The distinctive feature of this situation was the gathering of all reactionary groups, trends and forces around the new occupiers and their going over to open general war against the National Liberation Movement.

Internal reaction felt more and more incapable of coping with the situation with its own forces. The helplessness of the reactionaries and the concurrence of their objectives with those of the German invaders made the Albanian traitors openly seek the backing and protection of the nazis and put their forces under German command.

Crushing Internal Reaction — an Indispensable Condition for Successfully Fighting the Invaders

The Balli Kombëtar, the clan chieftains, the top clergy, especially the Catholic clergy, and all the fascist politicians immediately aligned themselves with the German invaders. Leaders of the Balli Kombëtar, the representatives of the clergy and other reactionary trends took offices in the Regency, the government and other high organs of the quisling administration.

Now that the Balli Kombëtar, proceeding further down the road of treachery, had gone over openly, together with the German nazis, to war against the National Liberation Movement, the Communist Party and the General Council were obliged to reply to this tool of the occupiers with armed struggle. «Unity with the Balli Kombëtar is now out of the question and there can be no more talk of it. Now the question is the destruction of the Balli Kombëtar,»* instructed the Central Committee of the CPA.

Precisely at this time the treachery of Abaz Kupi and the Zogites became apparent. Having refused to take part in the Conference of Labinot, Abaz Kupi deserted the National Liberation Front. He had joined the Front with the ulterior motive of enhancing Zog's credit and hindering the growth of the authority, the influence and the leading role of the Communist Party. He had always acted according to the instructions of the British imperialists, who, by means of the Zogites, aimed a securing control of the National Liberation Movement and post-war

* Letter of the General Committee of the CPA, October 1, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 211, Alb. ed.

Albania. Having been unable to achieve this aim Abaz Kupi thought, following the capitulation of Italy, that the propitious moment had come to annihilate the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party. With the aid of the British, in September he announced the formation of the «Zogite party» which a month later assumed the name Legaliteti (Legality). In November a so-called congress of that organization was convened. The Legaliteti undertook the task of alienating the Albanian people from the Communist Party and uniting them around itself so as to restore the regime of Zog. Accordingly, the Zogites launched an extensive propaganda campaign publicizing this as the only «legal» regime, idealizing it as a «regime of liberty, of tranquillity, order, peace and justice»! They demanded that the various political parties, including the National Liberation Movement and the Communist Party, rally under the banner of the Legaliteti! At the same time Abaz Kupi joined forces with the quisling government and the Balli Kombëtar and relied on the German invaders for support.

The nazis were willing to give Abaz Kupi and the Legaliteti all their aid and support, although they well knew that these were tools in the hands of the British. The Hitlerites and the Zogites were united by their immediate common objective, to destroy the Communist Party and put down the National Liberation Movement.

The Communist Party strove hard, using every possible means to persuade Abaz Kupi and the Zogites to give up their inimical stand toward the National Liberation Movement and to join in the war against the Germans, as part of the National Liberation Front. After the formation of the Legaliteti was announced, the CPA made it clear once again that it was not opposed to the creation of a Zogite party or any other political party in the country, but any party which might be created must fight against the invaders and take part in the common National Liberation Front.

In the concrete circumstances, no party, no organization and no armed force outside the National Liberation Front could remain neutral, but was absolutely bound to serve the enemy. Therefore, all the efforts of Abaz Kupi to carry out the instruction of the British to avoid appearing as a collaborator of the German invaders, were in vain. At the beginning of December, the National Liberation General Council, after due deliberation on the criminal and anti-national activity of Abaz Kupi, decided

officially to expel him from the General Council and the Genera] Staff. At the same time, it issued instructions that he should be denounced as an enemy of the Albanian people, and the Legaliteti as a traitor organization.

The going over of all reaction to open armed struggle, together with the German occupiers, against the ANLA and the National Liberation Front, showed that a deep differentiation of the internal political class forces had taken place. The revolutionary movement sorted out these forces into two blocs, mortal enemies to each other. On the one side was the overwhelming majority of the Albanian people — the working class, the poor and middle peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and most of the medium bourgeoisie of the cities, the patriotic intellectuals, united and organized in the National Liberation Front under the leadership of the Communist Party. The Front was based on the armed popular masses and had the National Liberation Army as its principal striking force, while its external support was the Anti-fascist World War, first and foremost, the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union. On the other side were the landlords, the clan chieftains, the reactionary bourgeoisie, most of the rich peasants, the reactionary intellectuals and clergy gathered in heterogeneous organizations and groups which had no sound connections between them. Reaction had the detachments of the gendarmerie and the bands of the Balli Kombëtar, the Zogites and clan chieftains as its armed force. The reactionary organizations and armed forces did not constitute a separate independent bloc; they were part of the Hitlerite front and relied mainly on the support of the invaders.

In these circumstances, the Communist Party issued the directive to destroy all the reactionary organizations and armed forces outside the National Liberation Front by force of arms, describing the war against reaction as part of a general war against the invaders. The General Staff gave the partisan detachments and units orders to clear all the liberated regions of reactionaries. The war could not be brought to success and victory achieved over the German nazis without, at the same time, fighting the lackeys of the nazis.

The broad masses of the people immediately supported the Party's call to wipe out the Balli Kombëtar, the Legaliteti and the other reactionary forces. They themselves demanded such action, because through their own experience they had been convinced of the treachery of these organizations.

While it was compelled to wage war against the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, the CPA did not retreat from its general line laid down at the Meeting of its foundation and at its 1st National Conference. The national liberation character of the war and the principle of uniting the entire Albanian people in the National Liberation Front without discrimination as to class, political opinion, religious belief or region, was carefully observed as before. The National Liberation Front remained open to all those Balli Kombëtar adherents, Zogites and gendarmes who had not stained their hands with blood and who withdrew from the ranks of the reactionary organizations and armed forces. Instructions were issued that unceasing efforts should be made to detach the misled from their treacherous leaders.

Above all, the Party was consistently careful to ensure that the war against the German occupiers who always remained the chief enemy, continued without let-up, and that it was not transformed into a civil war, a thing that the Hitlerite enslavers were striving in every way to bring about, just as the Italian fascists had done earlier.

No Foreign Interference in the National Liberation War

In the autumn of 1943 the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people was confronted with another threat which came from the Anglo-American allies.

In May 1943 representatives of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command had come (uninvited) to Albania. A British military mission was attached to the General Staff, to be followed later by an American military mission. There were British officers attached to some partisan commands as well. They presented their coming to Albania as something dictated by the common military interests in the war against Hitlerite Germany, and undertook, in words only, to aid the ANLA with arms and other necessary war materials. In reality they came to Albania mainly for political aims. Proceeding from these aims, they carried out subversive activity and became an obstacle to the war against the invaders and their tools in Albania. The Anglo-Americans gave the greater part of their aid to the opponents of the National Liberation Movement, to the reactionary forces. They attached special military missions to these forces and supplied them with arms, ammunition,

clothing, and gold. When the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti united with the Germans against the National Liberation Front, the British and American military missions neither departed from them nor cut off their aid. The Anglo-American Mediterranean Command began to exert great pressure on the General Staff not to launch any attacks on the reactionary forces. It demanded that the British and American officers should be recognized as arbiters in the internal affairs of the Albanian people.

As was proved in practice, the governments of Great Britain and the USA had not the least intention of giving real aid to the national liberation movements in the Balkans. They aimed solely at preventing the victory of people's revolutionary forces, at destroying the authority and the influence of the communist parties, and establishing Anglo-American control in the Balkan countries.

The Communist Party saw in the Anglo-American interference a threat to the victory of the revolution and national independence, and without any hesitation took a resolute stand against it. The General Staff issued a blunt warning to the allied missions to give up interfering in the internal political and military affairs of Albania and obstructing the prosecution of the Albanian people's war against the Hitlerite invaders and their servants. All the British and American officers who continued to collaborate with the reactionary forces would be regarded as enemies. The Central Committee instructed the regional party committees that the allied military missions «must not interfere in our internal affairs and must in no way be regarded as arbiters between us and reaction. If our war against reaction is agreeable to them, so much the better, otherwise the door is wide open for them to leave.»*

Any allied representative who did not comply with the principle of non-interference in our internal affairs would be escorted to the General Headquarters and be expelled from Albanian soil.

This resolute and correct revolutionary stand toward the Anglo-American allies had very great importance for the further development of the National Liberation War and for the fate of the people's revolution.

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* Directive of the CC of the CPA, November, 3, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 232, Alb. ed.

First and Foremost Strengthen the State Power and the ANLA

The strengthening of the revolutionary state power and the National Liberation Army had decisive importance not only for smashing the plans of the new German invaders and traitors, but also for foiling the counter-revolutionary plans which the Anglo-Americans would try to carry out in case of a landing of their troops in Albania or through their agencies and military missions.

Following the failure of the Mukje Agreement — the most perilous attempt to undermine the power of the people's councils and the leading role of the Communist Party, reaction resorted to new means to destroy that power. The national liberation councils were to be annihilated by the force of arms. In their stead, with the connivance and support of the German invaders, the former state power of the landowners and the bourgeoisie was to be re-established. The nazis unreservedly supported the idea of the Zog regime put forward by the Legaliteti. This was clearly demonstrated by the fact that they had established the quisling «Regency», had appointed Zogites to top posts in the collaborationist government and gendarmerie, by the freedom the Legaliteti enjoyed to publish and to distribute its press organs and carry on its activity in the cities and regions occupied by German troops. The reinstatement of the Zog regime was supported particularly by the British and American governments. At the time, Churchill held talks in London with Zog on the creation of a royal Albanian government in exile.

The Communist Party and the Albanian people dealt crushing blows to these manoeuvres. Confronted with this situation, the Central Committee instructed: *«The first question to be taken up is that of state power...*, the establishment of the national liberation councils everywhere, their strengthening and their protection from any attempt on the part of the Balli Kombëtar or any other party to sabotage them, or to combat them overtly. On this matter, there should be no ambiguity: there should exist no other power than that of the national liberation councils. This issue brooks no compromise or duality.»*

The Berat and Gjirokastra Regional Committees were

* Letter of the CC of the CPA, October 1, 1943. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 204, Alb. ed.

severely criticized because they did hot take immediate steps, after the capitulation of fascist Italy, to do away with the apparatus of the former regime in their liberated cities, but allowed this apparatus to come under the control of the Balli Kombëtar and be used by it. After this criticism, the mistake was corrected immediately in line with the instructions of the Central Committee.

The party organizations carried out widespread propaganda and agitation work to expose the old regime as a regime of misery and oppression. They made it even clearer to the masses of the people that no one relinquishes or gives you state power if you do not seize it by force, that the Albanian people themselves would decide their own destiny with the arms in their hands, that they would not allow the Zog regime to be imposed on them, that the British and Americans had no right to interfere in the question of the regime, nor in any other political and military affairs of the Albanian people.

To strengthen the people's power, a series of measures were taken on the basis of the decisions of the 2nd National Liberation Conference and the Constitution and Regulations of the People's Councils, which were approved at this Conference. In all the liberated cities and regions elections for new national liberation councils were organized and in some regions regional national liberation conferences were held. The people's councils were purged of wavering individuals. They were broadened and strengthened. The governmental activity of the General Council and of the councils in the liberated regions, zones and cities was improved and invigorated through setting up executive organs and the administrative-economic apparatus attached to them.

The national liberation councils had the strong support of the masses of the people in all their activity.

The unity of the masses around the Party and the national liberation councils was cemented still more by the setting up of councils of the Anti-fascist Youth and the Anti-fascist Women throughout the country.

The main problem of the National Liberation War, on which the achievement of national independence and the establishment of the people's power depended, continued to be the strengthening of the army. Complying with the instructions issued by the Central Committee in the autumn of 1943, the majority of the party members and young communists joined

the ranks of the ANLA. Thousands of young men and women from the ranks of the peasants, workers and students responded to the call of the Communist Party to swell the ranks of the partisan fighting detachments.

By July 10, 1943 the ANLA had doubled in size. Two new shock brigades — the 2nd and the 3rd, were formed in the following autumn.

The General Staff led the fighting operations, carefully directed and supervised the implementation of its plans for the formation of new brigades, groups and battalions, for the training of cadres and for securing supplies of food and clothing for the winter. It criticized and put on the right road those partisan commands which violated or did not carry out skilfully the requirements of revolutionary partisan warfare. It drew valuable lessons from errors committed by various detachments and units and instructed all the partisan staffs and commands to apply these lessons. The General Staff severely criticized particularly some partisan commanders who undertook no assaults, but waited in position for the enemy to come. It drew important lessons from the attempts of the German command to apply the tactics of anti-partisan warfare. The measures taken brought about the complete failure of all these enemy plans. The attempts of the German nazis to pin down the partisan detachments in frontal battles also failed.

The successful prosecution of the war against the new German invaders, the expansion and consolidation of the people's power, still further enhanced the authority of the Communist Party of Albania. The efforts of the Hitlerites, internal reaction and the Anglo-American imperialist reaction to isolate the Party from the people met with failure, too. The masses of the people became more conscious of the need to wage an uncompromising war against the enemy through to final victory.

It was natural that the German invaders and the traitors would not be reconciled to this situation, that they would strive with all their might to change it to their advantage by launching relentless attacks on the Communist Party and the ANLA.

The Central Committee warned the party organizations not to become intoxicated by success, to look at the situation objectively and assess it correctly, taking care not to be caught unawares, to prepare their members, the partisan fighters and the people as a whole to face the great difficulties which lay ahead. Above all, the Party should be made as strong as steel.

«The burden on our Party is exceptionally heavy, and if we are to bear it and come out victorious we must have a sound and healthy backbone, must have our Party organized and strong, must have comrades with high political consciousness and military skill, capable of facing any eventuality without losing their bearings in these difficult and crucial moments and situations.»*

7. THE CPA — ORGANIZER OF THE HEROIC STRUGGLE OF THE ALBANIAN PEOPLE TO FOIL THE ENEMY'S PLANS IN THE WINTER OF 1943-1944

In order to liquidate the Communist Party, the National Liberation Movement and their armed force — the National Liberation Army, the German invaders decided to organize a general offensive with the backing of the traitors.

The Failure of the Enemy's Winter General Offensive

In this offensive the German Command engaged four divisions and several thousands of Ballists and Zogites, totalling about 45,000 men.

The ANLA was about 20,000 strong at that time. However, knowing that not only the partisans but the entire people were opposed to them, the Hitlerite occupiers considered their forces insufficient to carry out their general offensive by means of a single immediate operation. They considered it more convenient to carry out a number of operations one after another in different areas of the country, to eliminate the National Liberation War of the Albanian people piece-meal.

The first of the series of operations was mounted in Peza in November 1943. After their operation in Peza, the enemy undertook operations in Dibra and Mallakastra (also in November), in the Shushica valley and in the Çermenika-Shëngjergj-Martanesh area (in December), in the Korça-Berat area (in January 1944) and in the regions of Vlora and Gjirokastra (January-February). The enemy's general offensive ended with their operation in the Gjakova Highlands (February).

* Directive of the CC of the CPA, November 3, 1943, Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 231, Alb. ed.

In each case, simultaneous attacks converging on the centre of the operational zone were launched from several directions by troops many times superior to the partisan forces in that area.

At the same time, the enemies also carried out operations in the main cities of the country — Vlora, Durrës, Elbasan, Shkodra, Korça, Tirana, etc., which were under occupation. Through special operations, the enemies occupied the cities of Pogradec, Berat, Peshkopia, Dibra e Madhe, Gjirokastra, etc., which had been liberated in the first days after the capitulation of fascist Italy.

Everywhere the enemy troops encountered the heroic resistance of the partisans and the people. Although in extremely difficult conditions, facing an enemy three to four times superior in number and incomparably superior in fighting equipment, the detachments and units of the Albanian National Liberation Army never allowed the enemy to penetrate into the liberated areas without fierce fighting. The overwhelming majority of partisan brigades and groups, as well as territorial battalions remained compact, preserved their fighting capability and readiness, manoeuvred adroitly to break out of encirclement and emerged, on the rear and flanks of the enemy, while at the same time, dealing them shattering surprise blows and forcing them to retreat.

The enemy general offensive of the winter of 1943-1944 had the most serious consequences for the National Liberation Army in Central and Northern Albania. The Hitlerite troops together with the reactionary bands inflicted heavy losses on the partisan battalions of the Elbasan and Dibra regions, of the Kruja, Mat and Tirana districts, on the 2nd and 3rd Brigades. Nevertheless, the partisans in Central and Northern Albania were not wiped out. After the operation, they were obliged to operate in small formations in the zones occupied or cut off by the enemy. Despite its losses, the Peza Group preserved its main forces, valiantly resisted five operations mounted by the Germans and traitors, and made their operational zone an invincible fortress.

The leadership of the Central Committee and General Staff members with Comrade Enver Hoxha found themselves in a very dangerous situation, cut off by the enemy in the Çermenika-Shëngjergj-Martanesh zone. The nazis, the Balli Kombëtar, and the Zogites left no means unexploited to detect and destroy the

leadership of the National Liberation War. But they did not succeed. Many peasants knew the places where they were sheltered, but no one of them was intimidated by the enemy's threats into betraying the Communist Party and the General Staff. The leaders of the Party and of the people coped with the exceptional difficulties heroically and unperturbed and, with the help of the local peasants, broke out of the encirclement without suffering any losses.

The German invaders accompanied their great offensive with a reign of terror unprecedented in Albania. They looted entire villages and reduced them to ashes. Thousands of men, women, old people and children were shot, slaughtered, burned alive, imprisoned or sent to extermination camps. All the Albanian cities were turned into real concentration camps. At any time of the day or night the German nazis, the gendarmes and the Balli Kombëtar broke down doors, ransacked homes, plundered everything they could lay their hands on, took away men and women, young and old, beat and killed them out of hand, and threw their bodies into the streets and ditches. They loaded horses with the bodies of partisan fighters they had captured or had dug out of their graves and paraded them through the streets or exhibited them in market places. On the day of the great massacre of February 4 in Tirana, the enemies wrote in their daily press: «Bleeding is a radical cure for the infected. Blood must flow in torrents through the streets of Tirana, if we are to re-establish peace and tranquility. One day of terror ensures ten years of tranquility.» However, the reign of terror against the Albanian people did not gain the Hitlerite killers and the Albanian traitors even one minute of tranquility. Far from being extinguished, the flames of the insurgent liberation movement in the cities rose even higher.

Besides terror and plunder, the German nazis and the reactionaries tried to force the people into laying down their arms through starvation. They sealed off the cities and grain producing villages to stop even a grain of corn or wheat getting to the partisan bases in the mountains. But this attempt, too, met with failure.

In order to disorientate the people, the invaders and their stooges more than once made sensational announcements that the partisans had been routed and the Communist Party wiped out. But precisely at this time, the National Liberation Army seized the operational initiative and passed to

the counter-offensive. Within February and March the partisan fighting groups and units in Southern Albania cleared nearly all the regions that the German and reactionary forces had penetrated during the operation. The heroic march of a part of the 1st Brigade (February-March) deep into the enemy rear through the Çermenika, Golloborda, Mat, Shëngjergj, Peza and Dumre regions strengthened the confidence of the people in the ANLA and helped to invigorate the National Liberation Movement in the northern regions of the country.

The insurgent people and their National Liberation Army smashed the general offensive launched by the occupiers and traitors in the winter of 1943-1944. More than 1,000 fighters were killed in the battle, died from their wounds, exposure to cold or illness, but the ranks of the National Liberation Army were neither thinned nor weakened. On the contrary, they were increased and strengthened. The implementation of the plan of the General Staff to set up new brigades was not interrupted. The 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Brigades were set up during that winter. In the battles with the enemy, in the hardships and sufferings, the morale of the National Liberation Army was tempered to an unprecendented degree. The commandants, commissars and rank-and-file gained a wealth of military and political experience. There was also a great improvement in the armament situation of partisan detachments and units with new German weapons captured in the fighting.

The invaders and the traitors suffered almost three times as many casualties as the partisans. But their heaviest losses were political. In particular, most of the reactionary forces began to see more clearly and more deeply the hopelessness of the war they were waging against the National Liberation Front and no longer believed they would win.

The enemy did not succeed in destroying the overwhelming majority of the national liberation councils, or in bringing about the interruption of their activity. The councils rendered great help to the National Liberation Army by providing food, clothing and means of transport and, especially, by providing it with new volunteers. They carried on a wide range of activities, to keep the morale and fighting spirit of the people high, to help those damaged by the war and ensure that the peasant masses did not die of hunger.

During the enemy general offensive in the winter of 1943-1944 the Communist Party, the National Liberation Army and

the entire Albanian people passed their greatest and most severe test of the whole National Liberation War.

In this test, the Albanian National Liberation Army showed that it was an organized and disciplined army, with high morale, loyal to the end to the Homeland and the people. Although in battle and on the march day and night, ill-clad and ill-shod, unfed, in high snowy mountains, the National Liberation Army fighters never lamented over their difficulties and privations, never lost faith in the victory and justice of the cause they were defending. Isolated partisans or partisan groups, cut off and surrounded, preferred to perish from cold and hunger or fall fighting rather than surrender to the enemy. To them there was nothing more sacred than to always hold high and unstained the name and honour of the National Liberation Army fighter. The commanders and commissars showed great mastery in the use of partisan tactics and political ability and maturity in appreciating situations, taking decisions and initiatives for independent actions.

Through its members in different regions of the country, the General Staff supervised the execution of the orders and instructions which it had issued previously, sized up military and political situations and issued new instructions where necessary. Despite the wide dispersal of the forces, its control, assistance and leadership in the army were never interrupted. The greatest danger at that period was that the militant offensive spirit of the partisan detachments and units might fall away, creating an atmosphere of rest and relaxation after the operation. The General Staff obviated any such danger by ordering the National Liberation Army immediately on to a counter-offensive. Attack, the General Staff instructed, keeps the morale of the army high, saves time and energy, demoralizes the enemy and neutralizes their superiority in numbers and equipment. Attack is the sole method of warfare appropriate to a revolutionary army. The offensive spirit of the fighters develops only in continuous fighting against the invaders and the reactionaries by seeking battle and not waiting for it to come.

The high level of consciousness and the readiness of the Albanian people to make the heavy sacrifices required by the liberation war, their steel unity around the Party in the National Liberation Front stood their hardest test in the critical period of the winter of 1943-1944. It was the aid and support of the

masses of the people that saved the National Liberation Army from annihilation, that encouraged it, multiplied its forces and enabled it to emerge victorious in this unequal war. The peasants never shut their doors to partisans wearied in battle, they shared with them the last morsel of bread they had saved for their children. In the towns, the youth, women and children, making light of the dangers, distributed party propaganda material and took part in maintaining communications between the party organs and the National Liberation Army. A number of young people, women and children gave their lives, many were imprisoned and deported, but no enemy terror could break their will.

The traitors and the German nazis tried hard to turn the youth away from the Communist Party and to compel them to surrender their weapons. This is how the youth replied to the calls and threats of the enemy: «For the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth there exists only one course, only one decision: fight on to victory... The Anti-fascist Youth are not afraid to face the gallows, they do not tremble before the firing squad, they do not lose their courage facing the attacks launched by the enemy and the traitors. They are confident in the victory of their cause, the cause of the people. They are determined to win whatever the cost. And win they shall.»*

Great Proof of the Correctness of the Political Line of the CPA

The inspirer and organizer of the resistance and the heroic war of the ANLA and the entire Albanian people at the most critical period, the winter of 1943-1944, was the Communist Party.

In this period, it was proved how sound and unbreakable were the bonds of the Party with the masses, how correct was its political line. At no time did the National Liberation Army fighters or the masses of the people lose their confidence in the Party. The sons and daughters of the Albanian people fell in the field of battle, died on the gallows and in the torture chambers with the name of the Communist Party on their lips. Thousands of common men and women were ready to sacrifice everything to defend the Party from the blows of the enemy.

* «Përgjigje» (Reply), leaflet of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth Union, January 17, 1944. CPA.

In the winter of 1943-1944, the bonds of the Party with the masses became stronger still. The Albanian people saw more clearly and realized more thoroughly that the Communist Party was the sole leading force capable of ridding them of the foreign yoke, of winning their freedom and national independence, of defending their interests.

At their most difficult and dangerous moments, the fighters of the ANLA and the popular masses everywhere, in town and country, in the liberated zones and in those under occupation, felt the Party's helping hand close to them, saw that the Party had not abandoned them, and nurtured themselves each day with its vital teachings and words.

Even in the fiercest battles and during strenuous marches, the commissars of political sections and the party organizations carried on active all-round political work, always keeping high, the morale and the fighting spirit of the partisans and not allowing any weakening of their confidence in victory. The meetings of the party organizations were held in all circumstances, no matter how critical they might be. At these meetings, collective decisions were taken to ensure the success of combat actions, the vanguard role of communists both in the fighting and coping with sufferings and privations. During the winter of 1943-1944 the number of party members in the army was increased with communists tested in battle with the enemy and in complicated situations.

The work of the Party was not slackened in the occupied cities and regions, though only a limited number of communists had remained there. The regional party committees reorganized the work of the cells and the activists of the Communist Youth to meet the state of terror and the savage persecutions of the enemy. The party organizations in the occupied cities never ceased publishing and distributing bulletins, communiques, leaflets and appeals addressed to the people. The enemies were infuriated by the fact they could not discover the equipment with which these materials were printed and destroy the party organizations, the national liberation councils, the anti-fascist organizations of youth and women, or the guerilla units. The daring actions carried out by the guerilla units, according to the plans of the regional committees did not allow the enemy a moment's respite or permit any fall in the morale of the urban population. The regional party committees paid great and continuous attention to the activity of each com-

munist, always kept the party members informed of events, never allowed them to fall into inactivity, gave them instructions and assigned them concrete tasks. The communists paid particular attention to waverers, gave them heart and did not allow them to fall victims to the enemy pressure. They maintained contact with the political prisoners and the isolated, sick and wounded partisans who had returned to the cities. Party cells functioned in the prisons and concentration camps. The regional committees organized the collection of material aid, clothing and medicines for the National Liberation Army, gathered information on the situation and the enemy plans and sent them to the partisan headquarters.

It was during the winter of 1943-1944 that the spirit of sacrifice and the loyalty of the Albanian communists to the Party, to the people and to communism stood their hardest test. Many party members, nine members of regional committees, one brigade commissar and the Candidate Member of the Central Committee, Vasil Shanto, gave their lives as true heroes in action against the Hitlerites and the reactionaries. The example and heroism of the communists inspired the masses of the people in their resistance and struggle against the occupiers and traitors.

The never-failing leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally was of extreme importance at these critical moments and complicated situations. They were in permanent contact with the regional committees and with the political organs of the National Liberation Army. Likewise, the General Secretary never lost his connections with the Central Committee members distributed throughout the country to lead the war from close at hand. These connections were ensured over a thousand obstacles and perils. They were not interrupted even at the moment when the principal party leaders found themselves cut off in the mountains of Çermenika and Shëngjergj. The leadership of the Central Committee studied the reports and information with the greatest attention, drew conclusions and summed up the situation as a whole and the state of the activity of the Party in each region and in each military detachment. On this basis it drafted and issued the necessary instructions, criticized errors and shortcomings and taught the comrades how to act to solve the complicated problems they faced. The General Secretary kept all the members of

the Central Committee informed of all the problems of major importance and sought their opinions and their proposals about these problems.

Wherever there are people we must be there, too, no matter how strong reaction may be, instructed the Central Committee. This was the fundamental principle guiding the party organizations in their practical activity, in order to keep up the morale of the masses in the grave moments the country was passing through and to neutralize the enemy pressure on the population. At this time, the party leadership criticized the Vlora Regional Committee for having lost for the moment its connections with the city.

Special concern was shown by the Central Committee for the youth, to ensure that they did not give up and withdraw from the struggle, because the enemy, too, had centred their attention on them. Under the direct care of the party leadership, all the attempts of the occupiers and traitors to induce the youth to abandon the National Liberation Army were defeated. The clamour the nazis and the reactionaries raised about certain anti-communist statements fabricated by them and signed by isolated young men who had faltered in the difficult moments, was exposed. The attempts of the enemy to win over the youth through sports clubs and cultural circles met with no success whatsoever. The attempt to create an allegedly «independent youth» organization was nipped in the bud.

As soon as Comrade Enver Hoxha was informed that the idea had been voiced in the Tirana Regional Committee of allowing some young men to declare that they «were not involved in politics» in order to escape imprisonment and deportation, he severely criticized this view and warned against falling into any enemy traps. The leadership of the Central Committee also rejected a proposal to form a «republican democratic party» with elements of the National Liberation Front for the alleged purpose of attracting to the Front some Balli Kombëtar members who were opposed to their chiefs. The formation of such a party was considered something entirely artificial and harmful to the liberation war.

The Central Committee devoted particular attention to preventing party leaders, in those very difficult circumstances, from falling into pessimism and losing confidence in their own forces, in the forces of the Party and of the people. Criticizing some manifestations of pessimism observed during the winter

of 1943-1944, Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed: «The situation is difficult, very difficult indeed..., but precisely in this difficult situation we must try not to lose our bearings...»*

Referring to the question of losses suffered by some partisan detachments, he called it a great mistake to succumb to despair on their account. There is no war without losses and damage, he said. The main thing is not to lose your bearings, not to lose faith in your own strength and the strength of the people, to know how to summon up your strength, to manoeuvre with skill, to replace the losses, to be prepared for the worst and to be able to turn the situation to your advantage. There is nothing more dangerous than losing your bearings and doing nothing in critical situations.

Above all the Central Committee took great care to protect the Party, to keep its ranks pure and strong. It instructed the leading cadres to act bravely but judiciously, and not blunder into unnecessary danger. First and foremost, they had to distinguish themselves as prudent and wise political leaders, must know how to organize the work in accordance with the circumstances, must be vigilant against the tactics and means which the enemy used to liquidate the leading cadres and to wipe out the party organizations. The Central Committee issued repeated warnings that the Party must be on guard against the provocateurs of the enemy who might have wormed their way into its ranks, must keep a vigilant eye on those who had shown marked groupist tendencies because of the danger of revival of such tendencies in those difficult circumstances. The vigilance of the Party and the political tempering of the communists warded off dangers of that sort.

Even in the grave circumstances of the winter of 1943-1944, the Central Committee found the time and the possibility to organize a course of theoretical study in Panarit of the Korça district with the participation of leading party cadres of the National Liberation Army and party cadres from the region.

As a result of the attention and vigorous activity of the Central Committee and all the leading organs of the Party in the army and amongst the civilian population, the work of the Party was fruitful as never before. At no other time had the

* Enver Hoxha, Letter addressed to Comrade Nako Spiru, March 1944, Works, vol. 2, pp. 115-116, Alb. ed.

Party proved itself so monolithic or mature as in this period. Confronted with the strength and the authority of the Communist Party, all the attempts of the enemy to weaken and to smash it failed. All the attempts of the Hitlerite Gestapo and of the Balli Kombëtar to create a «genuine communist party» and a «social-democratic party», which were to replace the Communist Party of Albania, came to naught.

The severe fighting and great sufferings during the winter of 1943-1944 enhanced the revolutionary tempering of the Communist Party, the National Liberation Army, the national liberation councils and the whole Albanian people, and prepared them for the decisive battles in the war against the nazi invaders and the traitors.

8. THE FOUNDING OF THE NEW STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY

After the failure of the enemy's winter general offensive in spring 1944, the National Liberation War in Albania assumed fresh vigour. By March the initiative in military operations had passed into the hands of the partisan units and detachments. On April 5, the General Staff issued the order for the ANLA to go over from defence to strategic counter-offensive, The nazi occupation troops and the reactionary forces were again driven back to shelter in their barracks in the towns and in fortified centres along the main highways and the seacoast, under the constant menace of attacks by the ANLA fighters.

The vigorous upsurge of the National Liberation War immeasurably deepened the crisis in the enemy ranks in Albania. Disintegration set in within the reactionary organizations and armed forces.

By May 1944 the ANLA had grown to 35,000 fighters. It was strong enough to launch the general offensive for the liberation of the towns and the whole country.

This prospect became still clearer as a consequence of the Red Army's brilliant victories over the German army. In January 1944 the Soviet troops had begun a gigantic offensive on the Eastern Front. Advancing irresistibly westwards, in April they entered Rumania. The German troops in the Balkans were thus in danger of encirclement.

Smashing the Enemy's New Manoeuvres

Alarmed at this critical situation, the enemies left no stone unturned to find a way out and to change the situation in their favour. They had pinned great hopes on a new general offensive against the National Liberation Army. The Hitlerites had reckoned to start this attack in April. But this was not possible because the ANLA upset their calculations with its counter-offensive and because their efforts to recruit mercenaries were foiled by the people's resistance.

At the same time, the Albanian traitors tried to play a new card. They attempted to set up a coalition of the Greek and Albanian reaction, which would eventually be turned into a Greek-Turkish-Albanian military alliance. The Albanian people's revolutionary war, however, nipped the attempts of the traitors in the bud.

The attempts of the reactionaries to beguile the people through clamorous announcements of some measures of economic character, like the «agrarian reform» and the creation of a «society for the economic development of the country», suffered the same fate. These measures, the traitors promised, would liquidate the economic backwardness of the country which was, according to them, the cause of the great crisis in Albania! However, these beautiful promises could not deceive the Albanian people, who were already convinced that only by liberating the country and wiping out the traitors would they be able to realize their dreams and aspirations.

It was at this time of profound crisis for the Albanian collaborators that the Anglo-American imperialist reaction came to their rescue. The Allied Mediterranean Command increased its aid in arms and other means to the reactionary forces of the Legaliteti, the Balli Kombëtar and the traitor tribal chieftains. The British military mission tried to persuade the ANLA General Staff not to move its forces towards Northern Albania, because that was the zone of action of the Legaliteti! In London, the British government increased its efforts to set up an Albanian reactionary government in exile.

The Communist Party assessed the moments the country was passing through in the spring, of 1944 as decisive for the fate of the people's revolution in Albania. In these moments it was imperative to foil any enemy attempt to turn the situation to their advantage, to thwart all the plans of internal and

foreign reaction, and to take the military and political measures necessary to ensure the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution. In these concrete conditions, the Central Committee decided that the key move was to strengthen and legalize the power of the national liberation councils as the sole legal power of the Albanian people, and to set up the new Albanian state with its own democratic government and its own regular army.

The Congress of Përmet. The Creation of the State of People's Democracy

With this aim in view, it was decided to call the 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress which would consider how to solve the political and military problems posed by the existing situation. The proposal of the Central Committee of the CPA for the convocation of the Congress was discussed and adopted at the meeting of the Presidium of the National Liberation General Council in April 1944.

At the same time, in line with the directives of the Central Committee, the General Staff began to draft the plan for changing the whole National Liberation Army into a regular army, as well as the plan of strategic operations to liberate the entire Albanian territory from the German nazis and traitors.

These major political and military problems were taken up at the meeting of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPA which was held on May 15, 1944 at Helmës of Skrapar. The Plenum approved the decisions of the leadership of the Central Committee and of the Presidium of the General Council on convening the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. The measures for the formation of a Provisional Democratic Government and turning the National Liberation Army into a regular army were considered timely. The Central Committee made a correct assessment of the dangers threatening the National Liberation War, national independence and the people's revolution from the inimical activity of the British and American governments, reaffirmed its determination not to allow any of the allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of the Albanian people.

To deal with the situation, bearing in mind some incorrect views which had appeared here and there, or which

might emerge in the future in the Party, in the army, or in the Front, the Plenum drew attention to two important problems concerning the line of the Party. It warned against any alteration of the party slogans, insisting that the national liberation character of the war should be preserved to the end. The task was set of popularizing still more the Communist Party's role of leadership, but always within the line of the National Liberation War. The Central Committee argued that the anti-fascist, anti-imperialist and democratic stage of the revolution had not ended and could not end until the complete liberation of the country and the establishment and consolidation of the people's democratic power had been ensured. On the other hand, it instructed that any idea that, with the termination of the National Liberation War, everything would be over and that once the Germans had been driven out, the National Liberation Army fighters would lay down their arms and return to their homes, should be combated. The Plenum demanded that it should be made absolutely clear that the Albanian people would retain the arms in their hands even after the liberation of the country, in order to ensure their full freedom, to destroy any enemy, to defend the victories achieved and to develop them further. It instructed the Party to study carefully the new circumstances that would arise and to foresee what stands and measures would be required.

The Plenum unanimously condemned Ymer Dishnica's capitulation in Mukje and Gjin Marku's compromise with the Germans in Berat. For these grave faults it removed both of them from the Central Committee of the CPA.

The masses of the people enthusiastically welcomed the decision to hold the 1st Anti-fascist Congress. At meetings and gatherings, they expressed their allegiance to and love for the Communist Party, thanked the Party for its correct leadership and heroic struggle in defence of the interests of the Homeland, declared their readiness to fight to the end against the invaders and traitors, and supported the decision to convoke the Congress and to establish a provisional democratic government.

On account of the war conditions, the election of delegates to the Congress took place by open ballot. Nevertheless, they were the first democratic elections in Albania. Women, too, took part in these elections, and this was the first time in the history of the country that they were given the right to elect and be

elected to the various organs of political power. For the first time the representatives of the people were chosen not on the basis of their lineage and property, but on the basis of their merits in the war against the enemies of the Homeland and the people. The delegates to the Congress were the representatives of the masses of the insurgent people.

The elections to the Congress demonstrated the political maturity and the high consciousness of the popular masses. They were another great test of the sound links of the Communist Party with the people.

The Hitlerites and the reactionaries did their utmost to discover the place of the meeting so as to direct an armed assault against the Congress, but they failed completely. On their part, the Anglo-American imperialists exerted great pressure and employed every means in order to sabotage it. The British government described the holding of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress as «illegal» and ordered the head of the British military mission in Albania not to accept the invitation which the National Liberation General Council had extended to him to take part in the Congress in his capacity as a representative of the allies. Speaking in the House of Commons one day before the Congress was opened, Attlee, deputy prime-minister and later prime-minister of Great Britain, attributed the heroic war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party mostly to the Legaliteti and the Balli Kombëtar organizations which were enemies to this war.

The Communist Party which watched the evolution of the situation attentively and vigilantly, succeeded in foiling all the efforts of enemies while the Congress carried on its work successfully, according to plan.

The 1st Anti-fascist National Liberation Congress of Albania was held from the 24th to 28th of May, 1944 in the liberated town of Përmet.

The work of the Congress was pervaded by a profoundly revolutionary spirit and complete unity. The report «On the Prosecution of the National Liberation War of the Albanian People in Relation to the International Events», submitted by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the name of the National Liberation General Council, was vigorously discussed by the delegates, who gave their unanimous approval to all the proposals presented.

The Congress elected the Anti-fascist National Liberation

Council (ANLC) as the supreme legislative and executive body in Albania, as the representative of the sovereignty of the Albanian people and state. The Anti-fascist Council elected in Përmet was the first people's assembly of Albania. The Congress charged the Anti-fascist Council with forming the Anti-fascist National Liberation Committee with the attributes of a provisional people's democratic government. The Anti-fascist Committee, which was approved at the Congress, was the first people's democratic government of Albania. The General Secretary of the CPA, Enver Hoxha, was elected President of this Committee.

Establishing the supreme organs of the people's power, the Congress of Përmet decided. «To build new people's democratic Albania according to the will solemnly expressed today by the people through the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council»; to prevent former King Zog from returning to Albania; not to recognize any other government which might be set up within or outside the country against the will of the Albanian people; to continue the war against the German invaders and Albanian traitors more fiercely until they were utterly destroyed and the state power of people's democracy had been established throughout the country.

At its first meeting the Anti-fascist Council took a series of very important decisions, which were endorsed by the Congress and which constitute the first laws of the Albanian state of people's democracy. Of particular importance was the revolutionary decision to annul all the political and economic agreements which the Zog government had concluded with foreign states and which were contrary to the interests of the Albanian people. The Anti-fascist Council set up a special state commission for the detection and identification of war criminals and the investigation of all the crimes committed by the invaders and the traitors.

In close connection with the problems of setting up the people's state power at a higher level, the Congress also took up and settled problems concerning the further consolidation and perfection of the National Liberation Army as the main weapon for the complete liberation of the country and the defence of the new state power. It was at this Congress that the unification of the high command of the National Liberation Army and the introduction of military ranks were decided on.

Comrade Enver Hoxha was appointed Commander-in-chief. The Congress gave the instruction for the formation of divisions and army-corps. The General Command announced the formation of the 1st Shock Division.

The Congress of Përmet expressed its gratitude to the Soviet Union and the Red Army led by J.V. Stalin, which by their heroic war had brought the liberation of Albania and other countries enslaved by the fascists nearer. It reaffirmed its allegiance to the great anti-fascist alliance and the friendship of the Albanian people with all the peoples taking part in this alliance. But unlike former congresses and conventions in Albania, the Congress of Përmet appealed to no one for aid in solving the problems and deciding the fate of Albania. On the contrary, it warned the imperialist powers that the time when Albania could be used as a medium of exchange was gone for ever, and that the Albanian people would not tolerate any bargain struck at their expense. They themselves would decide their fate. The Congress of Përmet publicly denounced the attempts of the Anglo-American allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of Albania.

The historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet were received with great joy and immediately embraced by the broad masses of the people.

The efforts of the Communist Party of Albania to demolish the old anti-popular state power and to set up the people's democratic state power in the heat of the National Liberation War were crowned with great success. The Conference of Peza laid the foundations of the new state power. The Conference of Labinot centralized it and proclaimed it the sole state power in Albania. The Congress of Përmet solved the problem of the political power in favour of the insurgent people. It founded the Albanian state of people's democracy. The decisions of the Congress comprise the basis of the Constitution of this state.

After this, the internal reactionaries were incapable of re-establishing the rule of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, either by their own forces or with the aid of the Hitlerite invaders.

At the time of the Congress of Përmet, half of Albania was still under the control of the German nazi invaders and the traitors. In the occupied regions and towns the national liberation councils carried on their activity underground. In many zones there were no councils at all, but this was not the

main thing. The main thing consisted in the fact that, following the Congress of Përmet in the liberated zones as well as in those not yet liberated, the Albanian people recognized only the Anti-fascist Committee as their government and obeyed its orders and the decisions of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council. The ANLA protected the people's democratic state power from the blows of the enemy and was in a situation, with its own forces and the powerful support of the insurgent people, to ensure the complete liberation of Albania and the establishment of this state power throughout the whole country in the very near future.

The decisions of the 1st Anti-fascist Congress on the founding of the Albanian state of people's democracy, on the formation of the Anti-fascist Council and the Provisional Democratic Government were not simple decrees. The new Albanian state and its supreme organs were the offspring of the revolutionary liberation war of the Albanian people under the leadership of the Communist Party.

The power of the national liberation councils in Albania differed entirely from the old state power, both in form and substance. It had nothing in common with any sort of state power in the bourgeois parliamentary republics. As a type of political power, it resembled the Paris Commune and the Soviets. Nevertheless, it preserved its full originality, in conformity with the objective conditions of Albania and the circumstances of the National Liberation War of the Albanian people.

In line with the decisions of the Congress of Përmet, the national liberation councils and the Anti-fascist Committee were charged with the task of giving the National Liberation Army all-round help for the complete liberation of the country; of ensuring the triumph of people's democracy throughout Albania, ruling out any possibility of the restoration of the regime of Zog or another reactionary regime; of wiping out any remnants of fascism and the old methods of government; of organizing social life, the all-round transformation of the country, and the development of the national economy and culture.

From its class composition and the tasks it accomplished the state power of the national liberation councils represented a democratic dictatorship of the revolutionary forces under the direct, sole leadership of the Communist Party.

The solution of the problem of the people's state power demonstrated that one of the strategic tasks of the Party had been accomplished. Nevertheless, this problem could not be considered as definitively solved so long as the other strategic task was not yet carried through — the complete liberation of Albania from the German invaders.

The decisions of the Congress of Përmet were a heavy blow to the invaders, internal reaction and Anglo-American imperialist reaction. They were of major importance for throwing off the imperialist yoke and for the social emancipation of the Albanian people.

9. THE COMPLETE LIBERATION OF ALBANIA. THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S REVOLUTION

On May 28, 1944, Commander-in-chief Enver Hoxha ordered the National Liberation Army to launch a general offensive for the complete liberation of Albania from the German invaders and the annihilation of the Balli Kombëtar, the Legaliteti and the other reactionary forces. On the basis of a plan of strategic operations worked out in detail by the General Staff, the 1st Shock Division was to go over to the offensive against the enemy north of the Shkumbin River.

The plan of the General Command for the complete liberation of the country was aimed, at the same time, at foiling the schemes of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command hatched up to stop the ANLA from passing over to the general offensive, thus averting the destruction of the reactionary forces. The plan of the General Command also envisaged the pursuit of the Hitlerite troops beyond the borders of Albania.

Failure of the Enemy's June 1944 Offensive On May 28, 1944, the day on which Comrade Enver Hoxha issued the order for the ANLA to go over to general offensive, another large-scale enemy offensive began. The invaders threw four and a half German divisions and several thousands of gendarmes, Ballists and Zogites, totalling 50,000 men, directly into the offensive. The Command of the German occupation troops had reckoned to carry out its new general offensive in a single operation

which would last two weeks or one month at the most. However, the Albanian National Liberation Army together with the insurgent people, long prepared to cope with any new general offensive of the enemy in all its aspects, brought their plan to naught, as they had done with their offensive in the winter of 1943-1944.

From May 28 to June 10 the enemy offensive developed in the Korça-Elbasan-Berat-Përmet area. The Hitlerites and reactionaries encountered stern resistance from the 1st Division and other units and detachments of the ANLA. The partisans passed from defence to furious counter-attacks on the enemy, and often wiped out entire columns and detachments of Germans and traitors. Cut off by the German forces in Tomorrica, the 1st Shock Division broke through the encirclement within a few days and regained all the positions lost.

From June 10 to 24 the enemy offensive developed in the territory of the Vlora-Gjirokastra 1st Operational Zone. A difficult and dangerous situation was created for the partisan detachments operating in this area. They found themselves encircled by the Hitlerite troops. However, thanks to the bravery of the partisans and. the bold leadership of their commanders and commissars, the partisan forces manoeuvred skilfully and broke the enemy encirclement.

The enemy general offensive of June 1944 was another major test of the invincible strength of the National Liberation Army and the Albanian people. From this offensive the people's army emerged bigger and stronger while the people emerged more determined to carry their struggle through to victory, with more profound confidence in the leadership of the Communist Party.

In those circumstances, the main thing was to preserve the forces, the compactness and the fighting capacity of the National Liberation Army so as not to impede the General Staff's strategic operational plan. The order for the offensive of the 1st Shock Division across the Shkumbin River remained in force. In the existing situation, the General Command considered the movement of the 1st Shock Division to Central Albania as a step of exceptional strategic importance. It came to the conclusion that the most propitious moment for the 1st Shock Division to begin carrying out the order it had received was at the time when the German troops were continuing their operations south of the Vjosa River.

The General Offensive of the ANLA, the Annihilation of the Plans of Internal and External Reaction

On June 25-26, 1944, the 1st Shock Division crossed the Shkumbin River and started its offensive. The enemy, taken unawares, was unable to cope with this sudden attack. The forces of the Division, in cooperation with the partisan territorial units, penetrated deep into Central Albania and continued to push ahead non-stop toward Dibra. By the middle of July, all the regions designated in the order of the Commander-in-chief were liberated. The people of Central Albania and the Dibra region gave the 1st Division powerful support, rising up in arms against the German enslavers and traitors. Thousands of young volunteers from the newly-liberated regions joined the brigades of the division, while the small partisan detachments which operated in the enemy-controlled regions in Central and Northern Albania rapidly grew into battalions and, a short time later, into brigades of the ANLA.

So unexpected for the invaders and traitors was the 1st Shock Division's offensive in the North that, at first, they thought they were dealing with the «remnants» of the partisan forces routed in the South, which had crossed the Shkumbin River to find refuge. But they soon realized the truth. Alarmed to the extreme, they hastily began to transfer troops from the South to the North to crush the 1st Shock Division.

The enemy undertook two successive operations against the 1st Division, one in July and the other in August 1944. Both of them failed entirely. The ANLA fighters smashed the Hitlerite and reactionary forces and finally liberated the whole Dibra region with the towns of Peshkopia and Dibra, and a part of Mirdita.

The successful development of the offensive of the 1st Division of the ANLA was not stopped by the pressure of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command which several times demanded in a threatening manner that the ANLA cease fighting against the forces of the traitor Abaz Kupi, claiming that the partisans were interfering in its strategic plans! The General Command of the National Liberation Army rejected the demands and threats of the Anglo-American allies and, without hesitation, accomplished the task assigned by the Central Committee of the Party and the Congress of Përmet.

In August, the 2nd Shock Division was set up. It immediately joined the 1st Shock Division in the offensive against the German occupation troops and the gangs of traitors in Northern Albania. Both divisions and all the partisan forces in Central and Northern Albania, except the Peza Group, were included in the 1st Army Corps of the ANLA. The Central Committee of the Party appointed Comrade Hysni Kapo, Member of the CC of the CPA, political commissar of the 1st Army Corps.

Meanwhile, in Southern Albania the other units of the National Liberation Army had also launched a general offensive.

The arrival in August of a Soviet military mission to Albania, in response to a request made by the Congress of Përmet, was appreciated by the CPA as aid given by the Soviet Union to the liberation struggle of the Albanian people and as recognition of their sovereignty. This testified also to the friendship and the revolutionary alliance between the Albanian and the Soviet peoples tempered in their common war against fascism.

The entire Albanian territory, from one end to the other, was like a volcano in eruption. The German garrisons, the reactionary bands and their communication lines came under incessant attacks by the ANLA. Unable to counter the general offensive of the ANLA, the enemies evacuated one after the other, the regions and the cities they had occupied. By October 24, all the southern part of the country was entirely cleared of Hitlerites. To the north of the Shkumbin, the German invaders continued to hold only the cities of Elbasan, Tirana, Durrës, Kukës and Shkodra.

At the request of the General Command of the Yugoslav National Liberation Army, two brigades of the Albanian National Liberation Army (the 3rd and 5th) had crossed the state borders on the 5th of October to take part in operations against the German nazis in Kosova.

In addition to the liberation of the major part of the Homeland and the heavy losses inflicted on German troops, one of the most important events of the first months of the ANLA general offensive was the complete routing of the internal reaction. The Balli Kombëtar, the Legaliteti, their armed gangs and gendarme detachments, were wiped out

under the blows of the shock brigades and divisions. The Regency and the quisling government were completely paralysed.

A new attempt by British officers to form an Albanian puppet government with the participation of the chiefs of reaction as a counterpoise to the revolutionary provisional government yielded no result.

The remnants of the reactionary forces, which gathered around their chiefs under the protection of the German army, had pinned their only hope of salvation on a possible landing in Albania by Anglo-American troops, which would come to their aid.

But even this last hope of the traitors came to naught. Faithfully carrying out the directives of the Central Committee of the CPA, the General Command of the National Liberation Army resolutely rejected the repeated requests of the Anglo-American Mediterranean Command for permission to send paratroops and special army units to Albania allegedly for the purpose of jointly fighting the Germans. The ANLA was capable of liberating the entire country with its own forces and had no need of assistance from foreign troops. When British commandos entered Saranda after the ANLA brigades had wiped out the German garrison there, the General Command compelled the British General Staff to remove its forces without delay from the Albanian shores.

Thus the great danger which a landing of Anglo-American troops in Albania would have meant for the people's revolution, was averted. The Central Committee, the General Secretary of the CPA and Commander-in-chief of the ANLA, Enver Hoxha, displayed maturity, wisdom and revolutionary courage in face of the strong and continuous pressure by the Anglo-American allies and did not allow them to interfere in any way in the internal affairs of the Albanian people. Such a consistent principled stand and the revolutionary spirit of the war demolished all the attempts made by the governments of Great Britain and the USA and their military missions in Albania to seize the leadership of the Albanian National Liberation Movement, to destroy the National Liberation Front and the Communist Party, and to occupy the country through landing their armed forces in Albania.

Foundations of People's Democracy Strengthened

The liberation of the major part of the country made it possible to expand and strengthen the people's power, to enliven the activity of the national liberation councils to an unprecedented degree. The Anti-fascist Committee, along with its duties toward the armed struggle against the invaders, carried out extensive activity for the organization of the state and social order, for the reconstruction of the devastated country, the revival of the economy, and the development of trade. In all the liberated regions and cities economic life was activated. Labour detachments and battalions set about the task of rebuilding war-damaged bridges and roads, burnt down schools and houses. Schools and the health service started functioning. The national liberation councils placed under their administration all projects of special economic importace and all building materials.

The Anti-fascist Committee took the decision to confiscate all the liquid and fixed assets of the traitors. It issued instructions for the registration of lands and the preparation of statistics on arable lands and cattle, on their ownership and on the number of landless peasants. This was the first measure in preparation for the agrarian reform, which would be carried out immediately after the liberation of the country.

The masses of the people backed the activity of the Anti-fascist Committee and the national liberation councils with all their strength. Displaying their loyalty to the Anti-fascist Committee, they insisted that it should immediately assume its real title as the Democratic Government of Albania. This demand was dictated by the heightening of the authority of the Anti-fascist Committee as the only government of the Albanian people and by the fact that the complete liberation of Albania was now very close.

This question was taken up at the 2nd Session of the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council, which was held from October 20 to 23, 1944 in the liberated city of Berat.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation Council took the unanimous decision to change the Anti-fascist Committee into the **Democratic Government of Albania**. The Democratic Government adopted a program, approved by the meeting of the Council, in which it pledged before the Albanian people that it would loyally carry out the decisions of the Congress of

Përmet. It undertook to carry on and further intensify the war for the speedy and complete liberation of Albania, to safeguard the independence of the Albanian state, to strengthen the authority of the national liberation councils and to guarantee and defend the rights of citizens. The government would reconsider the political, military and economic agreements concluded by the Zog regime with foreign states, and would annul all those that harmed the interests of the Albanian state and people. Its program also envisaged the establishment of close relations and collaboration with the Soviet Union and all the members of the anti-fascist coalition. The government assumed the obligation of organizing, after the liberation of the country, democratic elections for the Constituent Assembly which would determine the definite form of the regime and draft the Constitution of the new Albanian state.

The Berat Meeting approved the Law on the National Liberation Councils and the Law on the Election of Councils. Until that time the national liberation councils had been organs both of the state power and of the National Liberation Front. Thenceforth they were to function only as organs of the people's democratic power. The National Liberation Front was to create its own organs.

Among the important decisions taken at the Berat Meeting was the approval of the «Declaration on the Rights of Citizens». All citizens were guaranteed equal rights before the law, freedom of meeting, of speech, of association, of the press, freedom of religion and of conscience, equal rights for women and men, the right to elect and be elected for persons above 18 years of age, the right of appeal, etc. The «Declaration on the Rights of Citizens» was a constitutional document of the new state of people's democracy.

The decisions of the 2nd Meeting of the ANLC were the execution and further concretization of the historic decisions of the Congress of Përmet and a new political victory of the Albanian people over fascism and internal reaction. They were another blow to the attempts of the Anglo-American imperialists to establish their control in Albania.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party the revolutionary war had destroyed the quisling landlord and bourgeois state, root and branch.

By the time the Berat Meeting was held the whole ANLA

had been changed into a regular army of the people and of the new Albanian state. By now it had 70,000 fighters organized in brigades, divisions and army corps. Of these 9 per cent were women, about 80 per cent young people and nearly 90 per cent peasants.

The units of the National Liberation Army were now engaged in the final operations against the German troops in Albania and in Kosova. Of these operations the most important was that for the liberation of Tirana. The order of the Commander-in-chief was to wipe out the enemy, to stop the plunder and destruction of the city by the Germans and to liberate Tirana at all costs. The operation was to be led by the Command of the 1st Army Corps.

The operation for the liberation of the Capital lasted 19 days. On November 17, the flag of victory was raised over Tirana. This operation demonstrated the high level of organization, discipline and morale of the National Liberation Army. The people of the city took an active part, together with the shock brigades, in the battle for the liberation of Tirana.

Meanwhile, the forces of the ANLA operating beyond the state borders in close collaboration with the brigades of Kosova, by November 18 had cleared the entire Dukagjin Plateau of Hitlerite troops and, after hard fighting, had liberated the towns of Junik, Deçan, Gjakova, Prizren and Peja, extending their actions in the greater part of Kosova.

The Brutal Interference in the Internal Affairs of the CPA by the Leaders of the CP of Yugoslavia

The 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPA was held in Berat on November 23, on the eve of the complete liberation of the country. At this time the Party had grown to about 2.800 members. The holding of the Plenum was indispensable in order to sum up the work and victories of the Party and of the people in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, and to define the tasks for the new stage of the revolution which would begin with the liberation of Albania.

The proceedings of the Plenum, however, were completely distorted through the brutal interference of the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia (CPY) in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Albania.

Militant fraternal relations were created during the Second World War between the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia in their heroic struggle against the common enemy, the fascist invaders. Close links were established between the CPA and the CPY.

At the request of the CC of the CPY, a number of cadres of the CPA were sent to organize the Party and the struggle against the fascist invaders in Kosova. In the towns of Dibra, Gostivar, Tetova, Kërçova and their surroundings, the CPA organization of the Dibra region gave great assistance in organizing the liberation war.

In order to maintain liaison between the two parties, Miladin Popović, a Yugoslav internationalist communist whom the Albanian communists had released from a fascist concentration camp in Peqin in the autumn of 1941, remained in Albania. In the relations between the CPA and the CPY he always upheld the internationalist stand of the CC of the CPA.[1]

The leadership of the CPY tried to exploit the close ties between the Albanian people and the peoples of Yugoslavia in order to dictate its will to the CPA and to carry out its chauvinist aims with regard to Albania.

In summer 1943, Vukmanović-Tempo, one of the principal leaders of the CPY who had come to Albania on the special mission to create the «Balkan Staff»,[2] in an absolutely impermissible and unjust manner accused the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania of an opportunist attitude toward the Balli Kombëtar. This gross slander was made for the purpose of creating the opinion that allegedly the CC of the CPA was incapable of independent leadership, that it could not avoid serious mistakes without directives from the «experienced leadership» of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia!

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1 Miladin Popović was withdrawn from Albania in September 1944 by order of the leadership of the CPY. He was assassinated in March 1945 in Prishtina by the Yugoslav secret service.

2 The creation of the «Balkan Staff» was undertaken on the initiative of Tito. Through this organ the Yugoslav leaders aimed at bringing the liberation armed forces of Greece, Albania and Bulgaria under their own command. The attempts to set up the «Balkan Staff» did not meet with success on account of the opposition it aroused in the communist parties of the Balkans.

This diabolical accusation was rejected by the CC of the CPA as absolutely unfounded. Nevertheless, this first attempt of the Yugoslav leaders to subdue the CPA did not pass by without leaving certain traces. Koçi Xoxe, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee, and Sejfulla Malëshova, candidate member of the Central Committee, supported Tempo's distorted view and were ready to submit to the line and orders imposed by the chauvinist Yugoslav leaders. From that day onward Koçi Xoxe began, in fact, to serve the Yugoslav leadership as its agent within the CPA.

Vukmanović-Tempo openly manifested his chauvinist concepts in the autumn of the year 1943. Imbued with these concepts, he considered the truly internationalist activity of the CPA organization of the Dibra region in the towns and regions beyond the Albanian state borders inhabited by Albanians and Macedonians, and the great authority which this organization and the ANLA Staff of the Dibra region enjoyed among the people of those regions, a danger to the Yugoslav aims. Furious at this situation, Vukmanović-Tempo sent the CC of the CPA two successive letters from Macedonia. He accused the Albanian communists and partisans, the commander of the ANLA regional staff Haxhi Lleshi and the CC of the CPA itself of «unbounded chauvinism» and of «Greater Albania» aspirations. He demanded in a most brutal way that all the Albanian partisans resident in Yugoslav territory should be withdrawn from the battalions of the ANLA of the Dibra region and be placed under the command of the Yugoslav Staff; that Haxhi Lleshi should leave the city of Dibra and come there only when the Yugoslav Staff called on him for assistance; that the National Liberation Council of Dibra should sever its connections with the Albanian Staff and should place itself under the authority of the Yugoslav Staff. «Otherwise,» threatened Tempo, «there will be clashes in which the communists, too, will take part.»(!)

The Central Committee of the CPA outraged by such impermissible interference, rejected Tempo's calumnies and accusations and expressed its great amazement at the harsh and not in the least communist tone of his letters and his monstrous fabrications. At the same time it warned Tempo that it in no way accepted that outsiders should give orders to Albanian partisan detachments or dictate to the Communist Party of Albania.

Pronounced chauvinist manifestations were observed among Yugoslav military and party leaders in Kosova, too. They took no account of the wishes of the Albanian population and in various ways combated the idea, so widely spread during the war, of the self-determination of peoples, and often carried out acts of discrimination and extermination against the Albanians in Kosova and Montenegro, just as the četniks of Mihailović had done. The Central Committee of the CPA and the party organizations of Shkodra and Tropoja had several times drawn attention to and criticized the chauvinist actions of different Yugoslav leaders as attitudes which greatly hindered the prosecution of the war against the Italian and German invaders in Kosova.

Meanwhile, the Communist Party of Albania took a consistent internationalist stand and did not allow itself even the slightest manifestation of chauvinism. It assisted the prosecution of the anti-fascist war in Kosova with all its might and fought for the fraternization, on a Marxist-Leninist basis, of the Albanian people with the peoples of Yugoslavia. As to the problem of Kosova and other regions of Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians, the CPA had never accepted the fascist slogan of «Greater Albania». It saw the correct solution of this problem in the victory of the people's revolution in both Albania and Yugoslavia. The CPA had declared publicly that, through the victory of the revolution in both countries, the Kosova people would win the right to decide their own fate. Otherwise, they would fight against any Yugoslavia that would try to oppress and enslave them.

At that time the CPA did not as yet suspect the leadership of the CPY of chauvinist intentions, because it could not conceive that the leadership of a party, which called itself Marxist-Leninist, could have such intentions as are held only by social-chauvinist parties, by imperialists and their stooges. It thought that the chauvinist manifestations of Tempo and some party leaders and of partisan detachments of Serbia and Macedonia during the war were only distortions by isolated persons, and not actions expressing the policy of the CPY.

In 1944 the CPY increased its pressure on the CPA. It tried in diverse ways to create among the Albanian people the opinion that everything, even the founding of the CPA and the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, were due to the «aid» of the CPY, to Tito, and that the new Albania ought to

see its future as linked with the fate of Yugoslavia and Yugoslavia alone!

This anti-Marxist policy of the Yugoslav leadership encountered the just opposition of the CPA.

To the Yugoslav leadership, the main obstacle to carrying out its plan in Albania was the Marxist-Leninist line of the CP of Albania, its General Secretary Enver Hoxha and the other members of the CC who resolutely defended this line and did not admit outside interference in the internal affairs of their Party and country.

The CC of the CPY attempted to overcome this obstacle at the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA held in November 1944.

Pursuing its objectives, the Yugoslav leadership sent Velimir Stoinić to Albania as chief of the Yugoslav military mission and liaison officer between the CPY and the CPA. As soon as he arrived in Albania, Velimir Stoinić began the attack on the general line of the CPA, rejecting its political line as absolutely wrong and demanding that radical changes should be made without delay both in the line and in the leadership of the CPA. This slanderous accusation and interference in the internal affairs of the Party were opposed by the General Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha, but, on the other hand, were supported by the members of the Political Bureau Koçi Xoxe and Nako Spiru.

The perfidious attack of the Yugoslav leadership found strong support in the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA, especially after Sejfulla Malëshova and Pandi Kristo were co-opted as members in transgression of the organizational rules, thus assuring a pro-Yugoslav majority in the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA.

Behind the back of the Central Committee and its General Secretary, Velimir Stoinić together with these ambitious careerists, worked out the platform with which they would come out in the Plenum in opposition to the tested Marxist-Leninist line of the CPA.

The banner of the attack against the Party at the Plenum of the Central Committee was carried by Sejfulla Malëshova and the Yugoslav representative[1] and fully supported by Koçi Xoxe and the other accomplices in this secret plot.

1 Velimir Stoinić was invited to take part in the Plenum as a representative of a sister party. With the assistance of the conspira-

The CPA, which had fought with such heroism and scored decisive victories in the revolutionary war, was described by the plotters as «not a true communist party», as having a «non-Marxist-Leninist line and leadership». Its glorious road, tested in the heat of battle, which had led to the liberation of the Homeland and to the establishment of the people's power, was denigrated as *«a* road full of mistakes and distortions» which vacillated continuously (from sectarianism to opportunism and vice versa). Enver Hoxha, the founder and teacher of the Party, the leader and hero of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, was presented by the renegades as «the synthesis of all errors». Sejfulla Malëshova raised the need for a «chairman of the Party», a post that should be occupied by a man «with profound theoretical preparation»(!), having himself in mind.

Velimir Stoinić described the work of Miladin Popović in Albania as erroneous activity which could not be sanctioned by the leadership of the CPY. He presented a «new line» which this leadership «recommended» to the CPA.

Labelling as sectarian the work which had been done for the popularization of the CPA as the leader of the Albanian people, he raised the question that in the future not the Party as such, but the National Liberation Front should be popularized. He demanded that influential representatives of the reactionary borgeoisie and of the high clergy, regardless of their inimical stand during the National Liberation War, should be drawn into the leading organs of the National Liberation Front. Recommendations of this kind on the part of the Yugoslav leadership were in concord with the plans of the Anglo-American imperialists who were exerting pressure on the Democratic Government of Albania to have it admit representatives of reaction into its ranks and into the Anti-fascist Council, with a view to making use of them later to overthrow the people's power.

The Yugoslav delegate completely blackened the activity of the national liberation councils, of the National Liberation Army, of the political commissars, and demanded that the Army should have «a strong political head» and «a strong

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tors in the ranks of the CC of the CPA, he interfered brutally in the internal affairs of the Party, violating all the norms of relations between communist parties.

military command». He concentrated especially on Yugoslav-Albanian relations on the basis of the «Balkan fraternization». «Albania,» declared Velimir Stoinić, «cannot build its economy and develop independently, it is just a morsel for imperialism,» therefore «there is no other course for Albania but to link itself with Yugoslavia in a confederation, or even more completely!» To attain this end, he said it was essential that the Albanian popular masses should be prepared for Albania's fusion with Yugoslavia and that Tito be popularized as a «symbol of the liberation of the peoples of the Balkans and of Europe.»*

With the plotters attacking the general line of the Party, the urgent problems with which the CPA was confronted for the further development of the revolution after the liberation of the country was completed, went almost entirely undiscussed at this Plenum. The Yugoslav delegate and Sejfulla Malëshova declared that for a long time yet Albania «would not carry out the socialist revolution and would not go over to socialism»!

Knowing nothing of the plot organized behind the scenes and of the diabolical aims of the Yugoslav leadership, a number of members and candidate members of the Central Committee wavered at the Plenum and, to a certain extent, accepted the theses of the Yugoslav emissary and the anti-party group.

In this way, the meeting of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA was subverted by the interference of the CC of the CPY. The directions given and the decisions taken at this Plenum were harmful to the interests of the Party and the Albanian people.

The only correct decision the Plenum took was to expel Liri Gega from the ranks of the Central Committee for sectarianism and pronounced adventurism. The plotters, however, without any foundation whatsoever, but for a set purpose, attributed all that to the line of the Party, and designated sectarianism as the principal danger threatening the CPA! In the Plenum it was decided to enlarge the Central Committee by adding 7 new members and 11 new candidate members.

The Plenum of Berat dealt a heavy blow to the unity of the party leadership. The way was opened for the introduction of revisionist anti-Leninist organizational norms and methods of the Yugoslav leadership into the Party. A favourable

* Minutes of the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the CPA, November 1944. CPA.

terrain was created for large-scale interference by the Yugoslav revisionists in the internal affairs of the Party and of the country.

The plot of the Titoites in Berat failed to achieve all its objectives on account of the resolute stand taken by Comrade Enver Hoxha and other members of the Central Committee who defended the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party. The Yugoslav leadership could not achieve its main objective of deposing the General Secretary, because the majority of the members of the Plenum rejected the demand of the plotters to remove him from this position and recognized the great merits of Comrade Enver Hoxha as the founder and leader of the CPA and the National Liberation War. Nevertheless, this plot was the first attempt to undermine the foundations of the Albanian Marxist-Leninist Party and a serious threat to the independence of Albania and to its people's revolution.

While the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee of the CPA was meeting in Berat, the National Liberation Army was bringing to an end its operations to clear the Albanian soil of the nazi invaders. Keeping the routed enemy forces under heavy pressure, on the 29th of November the ANLA liberated Shkodra, the last city, and the whole of Albania. The power of people's democracy was now established throughout the country. **November 29, 1944 marks the complete liberation of the Homeland and the victory of the people's revolution.**

Immediately after the liberation of Albania, by decision of the CC of the CPA and by order of the Commander-in-chief of the ANLA Enver Hoxha, two divisions of the ANLA (the 5th and 6th) continued the pursuit of the Hitlerite troops into Yugoslav territory. The Albanian and Yugoslav soldiers, fighting shoulder to shoulder against the nazi hordes, in December 1944 and in January-February 1945 liberated Montenegro, Sandjak and the southern part of Bosnia. With their profoundly internationalist stand, their communist behaviour and unparalleled heroism in battle, the Albanian partisans won the deep respect and admiration not only of the Albanian, but also of the Macedonian, Montenegrin and Sandjak populations of Yugoslavia as well. In the battle for the liberation of the peoples of Yugoslavia, hundreds of fighters of the ANLA laid down their lives.

10. THE BALANCE-SHEET OF THE ANTI-FASCIST NATIONAL LIBERATION WAR AND THE REASONS FOR ITS TRIUMPH

The National Liberation War against the Italian and German invaders as well as against the traitors, which continued for more than five and a half years, is the most heroic and triumphant war the Albanians have waged throughout their history.

The one-million Albanian people tied down more than 15 Italian and German divisions and put out of action some 70,000 enemies killed, wounded or captured. As one of the most active participants of the anti-fascist world coalition, relative to the size of its territory and its population, Albania gave a valuable contribution to the historic victory over fascism. It bore a very heavy burden on its shoulders. During the Second World War on the 28,000 sq. kilometres of Albanian territory there trod about 700,000 fascist soldiers who caused enormous damage and devastation. Albania was one of the countries that suffered the heaviest losses in human lives and, particularly, in material values during the Second World War.

But the heroic efforts made, the blood shed and the huge losses suffered by the Albanian people in the war, were crowned with absolute victory over their external and internal enemies.

On November 29, 1944, with the complete liberation of the country and the triumph of the people's revolution, fascist domination in Albania came to an end. At the same time, all dependence on the imperialist great powers was done away with, and all enslaving links and relations with these powers were severed; the Albanian people won their full national independence; likewise, the political domination of landlords and the bourgeoisie was overthrown. Albania broke away for ever from the world capitalist system.

This was the greatest victory ever achieved by the Albanian people throughout their entire history.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War remained to the very last an anti-imperialist and democratic revolution. However, within its framework, elements of the socialist revolution evolved as well, such as the divestment of the bourgeoisie of political power, the establishment of the leadership of the Communist Party as the sole leadership in the new Albanian state, and so on. This came about as a consequence of the

continual intensification of the struggle against the principal exploiting classes of the country and the combination of this struggle with the war against the invaders, a thing which still further enhanced the revolutionary character of the National Liberation War.

The Communist Party did not encourage the sharpening of the class struggle within the country, did not issue slogans for struggle against the landlords, clan chieftains and the bourgeoisie; to the end it directed its main blows against the fascist invaders. The class struggle was exacerbated by the open treachery of the exploiting classes.

The political organizations which represented these classes such as the Balli Kombëtar, the Legaliteti, etc., were crushed by the National Liberation Army only because they placed themselves at the service of the fascist invaders. Through their undisguised anti-national and anti-people stand, the former ruling classes lost any right to participate in the political power.

The new political power which was established in Albania even before the National Liberation War had ended, was entirely in the hands of the democratic revolutionary forces with the Communist Party as their sole leader. During the war this power did not consist simply of a democratic dictatorship of revolutionary forces, but was a power which contained within itself rapidly developing elements of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the historic victory in the National Liberation War the revolution had been carried out only in the political field. The economic and social problems of the democratic, anti-imperialist revolution remained to be solved after the war.

The main motive social forces in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War were the working class and the poor and middle peasantry. The urban petty and middle bourgeoisie also took part in the war.

The working class played the leading role in the National Liberation War. It played this role through the Communist Party of Albania.

The Albanian working class was small in numbers, dispersed, not yet formed as an industrial proletariat, but it was the most progressive class, which had the future before it. Above all, no other class in the country succeeded in forming a party with a sound organization, with a correct policy built

on scientific foundations, as the working class had done in creating its own Party.

Both in the leading organs of the National Liberation War and in the composition of the Party, the number of workers was small. However, this did not prevent the working class from fulfilling its leading role in this war. Although a good number of its members came from the petty bourgeoisie, the Communist Party of Albania educated them, especially those from the ranks of the peasantry, in a profound proletarian revolutionary spirit, imbuing them with a rare determination to defend the interests of the proletariat, of socialism. In the concrete circumstances, these interests were fused and became one with the interests of the National Liberation War, with the interests of the entire people and the enslaved Albanian nation.

The peasantry became the well-spring and the main armed force of the National Liberation War, the soundest support of the working class and of the Communist Party of Albania.

The Albanian peasantry constituted the overwhelming majority of the population. It is true that it was backward from the economic and cultural standpoint, but if preserved in its bosom great revolutionary capacities developed through its unremitting struggle for freedom and for land, against the oppression and exploitation of landlords and usurers, against the former anti-people regimes and, particularly, against foreign rulers. The peasantry, more than any other class or social stratum in Albania, was endowed with sound patriotic fighting traditions. Taking all these things into account, the Communist Party made a very correct assessment of the decisive role of the peasantry in the war. «In the conditions of our country, the war would be won by that class which had the peasantry with it,»* said Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The peasantry accepted the program and the leadership of the CPA after having been convinced by its own experience that this was the only political organization for resolute war against the invaders, which matched its words with deeds, capable of ensuring victory over the fascist invaders and traitors and of realizing the dreams of the peasants for freedom and land. Under the leadership of the Party, the peasantry displayed great patriotism and heroism.

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 17, p. 434, Alb. ed.

All through the period of the National Liberation War the Communist Party upheld the slogan of the mobilization of all the peasants without class discrimination. However, the well-to-do peasants, the village gentry as a class, did not accept the program and the leadership of the CPA. In general, they aligned themselves with the traitor organizations of the bourgeoisie and landlords, with the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, and became their support in the villages, hoping thus to be able to preserve their privileges after the war.

The urban petty and middle bourgeoisie took part in the National Liberation War without the intermediary of a political party of their own, just like the peasantry. They did not and could not create a political party of their own, because they were too heterogeneous and economically powerless and, in particular, because they lacked determination, maturity and experience in the political struggle. For this reason, they were unable to play any leading role in the National Liberation War. They accepted the program of the Communist Party, because they saw that this program expressed their immediate political demands.

The petty bourgeoisie which constituted the vast majority of the urban population, though in appearance none too resolute or prepared to make sacrifices, almost entirely joined the National Liberation War and displayed outstanding patriotism. Many of them linked themselves closely with the Communist Party.

The middle bourgeoisie displayed great vacillations. Among them there were tendencies to compromise with the invaders. However, finding themselves in the grip of occupation laws, under the pressure of foreign capital and under the influence of the traditional patriotism of the Albanian people, most of them opposed the occupation regime and took part in the anti-fascist war, but did not display any great activity. Only a few of them sided with the invaders, by joining the ranks of the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti.

In general, **the Albanian intellectuals**, the majority of whom came from the upper and middle strata of the population, proved to be patriots and anti-fascists. The more progressive of them were distinguished for their patriotism, for their resoluteness and profound revolutionary spirit. They embraced the line of the Communist Party and strove to carry it out. Only a small number of intellectuals imbued with the fascist

bourgeois ideology aligned themselves with the invaders. They served as the ideologists of the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti.

The most active force of the National Liberation War were the youth. They stood in the forefront of the war against the invaders and traitors in the towns, the villages, and in the people's army.

The vast majority of these young men and women stood out for their lofty sentiments of patriotism and, at the same time, for their profoundly revolutionary progressive spirit. They aligned themselves closely with the Communist Party and became ardent fighters for the great ideas of Marxism-Leninism.

The first to join the liberation struggle were the worker and school youth of the cities.

The school youth came mainly from the ranks of the middle and petty bourgeoisie of the towns. Together with the worker youth and resolutely fighting in the ranks of the Communist Youth Organization, they made an important contribution to the propagation of the line of the CPA among the masses of the people. At the same time, they acted as intermediaries in exerting the influence of the Party on the petty and middle bourgeoisie of the cities.

But the bulk of the anti-fascist youth came from the peasantry. Next after the city youth they hurled themselves into the war with rare courage and revolutionary determination. The young peasants made up the majority in the National Liberation Army.

The Albanian women played a major role in the anti-fascist war. They took part in this war on a scale unprecedented in the former liberation wars. The Albanian women embraced the line of the Communist Party and fought vigorously side by side with their menfolk for its application, because in this line they found not only the sure road to the national and social liberation of the people, but also the road to winning equal rights with men, to free themselves from all the fetters of the past that held them in bondage.

The great victory of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War was achieved, first and foremost, through the self-sacrifice and lofty heroism displayed by the Albanian people at war. Never before had they been so united, so resolute and so sure of victory as in the war against the Italian and German

invaders and traitors. Never before had they been so deeply conscious of the objectives of the war, nor so willing to make sacrifices and undergo privations for the sake of victory.

During the National Liberation War the creative capacity of the masses of the people in the political and military life of the country revealed itself with all its force. Their inexhaustible strength and great capability were demonstrated in the fire of fierce battles. From the flesh and blood of the people, from the ranks of ordinary folk, workers, peasants, patriotic intellectuals, emerged the wonderful fighters and leaders of the masses, commanders and commissars, members of councils and ministers. These men and women of the people, often with inadequate schooling, excelled in ability and valour and defeated the enemy generals and officers from military academies and the professional politicians of the former landlord-bourgeois regime.

«Our liberation war,» wrote Comrade Enver Hoxha on the eve of Liberation, «placed the people at the head, and herein lies the reason for the victory.»*

Through the heroic war they waged, the Albanian people liberated the Homeland and themselves.

The brilliant patriotic and fighting traditions, the rich experience which the Albanian people had acquired through the centuries in their struggle for freedom and independence, which were further developed and reinforced in the National Liberation War, played a very important role in the achievement of victory.

The Communist Party of Albania was the inspirer, organizer and leader of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the architect of victory.

In the former liberation wars the Albanian people had not. succeeded in creating a monolithic, consistent leadership. This was the primary reason why they had been unable to achieve their complete freedom and independence in the past, and why the fruits of their efforts had been seized by the imperialists, the feudal lords and the bourgeoisie of the country. But from their struggles, from their suffering and misery, they had learned the great lesson that without a revolutionary

* Enver Hoxha, The historic decisions of the 2nd Meeting of the ANLC. November 1944, Works, vol. 2, p. 375, Alb. ed.

leadership, their bloodshed and toil could not bring them final victory. With the founding of the Communist Party of Albania, which was born, grew up and was tempered in the war, the people's dream of a leadership became a reality. Emerging from the bosom of the Albanian people, this Marxist-Leninist Party inherited from them magnificent patriotic traditions and a rich experience in war. It knew how to gather and develop these traditions and this experience, to give them profoundly revolutionary substance and apply them in practice in order to secure freedom and national independence and bring about the victory of the revolution.

The Communist Party worked out a correct policy based on the fundamental Marxist-Leninist principles and on the objective internal and external conditions, a policy which directly responded to the pressing political demands and fundamental interests of the people, the Homeland and socialism, and applied it consistently, resolutely and with revolutionary courage.

It was the Party that implanted among the masses such a high consciousness of the objectives of the war and of the correctness of its policy. It was the Party which discovered, developed and employed in the war against fascism all the energies and creative abilities of the masses of the people.

The masses were convinced by their own experience that the Communist Party was the real champion of their interests and the interests of the Albanian nation, the loyal and consistent fighter for national independence, liberty, democracy and the land.

With rare mastery the Communist Party solved three tasks which were the key to victory: the union of the broad masses in the National Liberation Front; the organization of the general uprising, the arming of the people, the creation of the regular National Liberation Army; the destruction of the state power of the occupiers, the landlords and the bourgeoisie, the organization and establishment of the state power of people's democracy.

The Party secured many powerful foreign allies for the Albanian people whom it educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, of fraternal friendship with all the peoples who fought against fascism. Toward the foreign allies it pursued a correct policy built on revolutionary principles. It taught the people to differentiate between them and to link their war, first and foremost, with the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet

Union. At no time did the Party allow any of the allies to interfere in the internal political and military affairs of our country. It foiled the plan of Anglo-American imperialist reaction which attempted to prevent the victory of the revolution and to establish its own control of Albania. While maintaining a sincere stand toward all allies and properly appreciating the assistance and support from abroad, the Party never expected others to bring freedom to the Albanian people. It resolutely applied the principle of self-reliance, and taught the people to realize clearly that liberty is snot granted but is won with bloodshed, with many hardships and sacrifices.

The Communist Party of Albania was born, grew up and proved itself a leader of unrivalled ability and authority in the revolutionary war against the invaders and traitors. It did not wait to learn the Marxist-Leninist theory before throwing itself into the struggle. It learned this theory and applied it faithfully and in a creative manner in the heat of battle, in complicated situations.

The decisive external factor of the historic victory of the Albanian people was the Great Patriotic War of the Soviet Union and its great victory over fascism, irrespective of the fact that the Red Army did not come to Albania. Under the leadership of J.V. Stalin, the Soviet Union bore the brunt of the Second World War and played the principal role in the destruction of fascism. The victories of the Red Army over Hitlerite Germany created suitable conditions for the Albanian people to rise up as one man and through their own heroic fight to secure their complete national independence and establish the people's power.

CHAPTER III

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF ALBANIA IN ITS STRUGGLE TO REBUILD THE COUNTRY AND DEVELOP THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION

(December 1944-1948)

1. THE DEFENCE AND CONSOLIDATION OF THE PEOPLE'S POWER

Immediately after the war, the people's state power, which was established in Albania during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Under the indivisible leadership of the Communist Party, this state power ensured the safeguarding of the victories of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and its immediate, uninterrupted development to the socialist revolution. In this way prospects which ensured rapid progress in healing the wounds of the war and overcoming the backwardness inherited from the past, the vigorous development of the people's economy and culture and the liberation of the working masses from exploitation and poverty were opened to the country.

In order to carry out the major tasks that emerged after Liberation, the Party, of course, had to take the internal and international situation into account.

The Radical Change of the Ratio of Forces in the World in Favour of Socialism

When Albania was liberated from the foreign invaders, the Second World War was still going on. It came to an end with the unconditional surrender of Hitlerite Germany on May 9, 1945 and of militarist Japan on September 2, 1945.

Great changes took place in the world.

The socialist Soviet Union suffered greater human and material losses than any other country, but it emerged from the war stronger politically and militarily. Its authority and international prestige were greatly enhanced.

As a result of the triumph of the revolution, new people's democratic regimes were established in a number of countries of Europe and Asia.

The detachment of these countries from the world capitalist system marked a radical change in the ratio of forces in favour of socialism on an international scale.

In these conditions, the national liberation and anti-colonial movement surged ahead. The process of disintegration of the colonial system involved vast areas. A series of new national states came into being in Asia and Africa.

These major changes greatly deepened the general crisis of capitalism, thus creating more suitable conditions for the triumph of socialism on a world scale.

Changes which upset the equilibrium within the world capitalist system also occurred in the ratio of forces among the imperialist powers. Germany, Japan and Italy, which were defeated in the Second World War, lost their former political and military positions. Their economies were destroyed. Great Britain and France, too, were greatly weakened economically, militarily and politically. They no longer played their former role as great powers.

Only the United States of America emerged stronger from the war. Its economic and military might was enormously increased and it now became the hub of the capitalist world.

The imperialist powers could not reconcile themselves to the growth of the socialist and democratic forces in the world and the upsurge of the anti-colonial liberation movement. Led by American imperialism, which set in motion its gigantic bureaucratic state machine, its huge financial-economic and military potential, these powers mobil-

ized all their forces and means and aroused the whole of world reaction in fierce struggle against the socialist Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy, against all the revolutionary, democratic and anti-imperialist forces.

A major feature of the post-war international situation was the creation of two camps: the anti-imperialist democratic camp and the anti-democratic imperialist camp, with diametrically opposed strategic objectives.

The aim of the anti-imperialist democratic camp with the Soviet Union at the head was to defend socialism, democracy, freedom and national independence in all those countries which had won them, to support the revolutionary and national liberation movements, the aim of which was to liquidate the bourgeois and imperialist domination and preserve peace in the world. This would be attained in irreconcilable struggle against imperialism and international reaction, against all their lackeys, by uniting the world proletariat, the democratic and progressive forces and the freedom-loving peoples in this struggle.

The anti-democratic imperialist camp was led by the USA, The aim of this camp was to rescue and safeguard the old capitalist order, to revive West-European and. Japanese capitalism, to suppress any revolutionary and national liberation movement and to restore capitalism in the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy. American imperialism itself aimed to establish its hegemony everywhere in the world.

Pursuing this aim, international imperialism, with the USA at the head, organized frenzied hostile campaigns, one after another, against the anti-imperialist democratic camp and against the communist parties in the capitalist countries. Through direct armed intervention it drowned the insurgent democratic movement in Greece in blood. At the same time it dealt heavy blows at the revolutionary democratic movements in France, Italy and elsewhere. The USA began to pursue an openly aggressive, militarist policy, and prepare for a new world war. The «Truman Doctrine» and the «Marshal Plan» were expressions of this policy and these preparations which included all the main political, economic and military directions. The American imperialists set up military bases in many foreign countries, in Europe, Asia and elsewhere, and in particular, used their temporary monopoly of the atomic bomb as a means of pressure and intimidation. Their aggressive, impe-

rialist and reactionary policy was associated with anti-communist ideological aggression and wide-ranging subversive activity to undermine the Soviet Union, the countries of people's democracy and the communist and workers' parties from within, in order to bring about their bourgeois degeneration.

The imperialists also exterted strong hostile pressure on new People's Democratic Albania.

Difficulties of the Internal Situation

Liberation found the country in a lamentable situation. Its economy had been shattered to its very foundations. There was no electric power and the mines had been made unusable. Those few factories which had escaped destruction could not work for lack of raw materials. All the bridges, big and small, had been blown up. The roads, ports and telephone network were in ruins. Unemployment was widespread throughout the country.

Agriculture, too, was in a very grave situation. Part of the land had been left untilled, and 1/3 of the cattle, especially draught animals, had been slaughtered.

Trade was at a standstill on account of shortages of goods and lack of means of communications. The treasury was empty. The gold reserves in the bank had been plundered by the invaders. Inflation had reached unheard-of proportions. The people were in great need of clothing, housing and food. The threat of famine and disease was hanging over the whole country.

This situation was further aggravated by the struggle which internal reaction and foreign imperialist reaction, in close counter-revolutionary alliance, waged against the people's power.

The American and British missions which remained in Albania even after Liberation, on the pretext of preparing for the recognition of the new government, were turned into centres of espionage, plotting and sabotage.

Internal reaction, supported by the American and British imperialists, centred its activity mainly on the organization of counter-revolutionary armed uprisings, using the bands of fugitive war criminals that were spread throughout the country, especially in the northern regions. These bands tried to create insecurity, to intimidate the peasantry and to obstruct the establishment of law and order. They committed terrorist attacks

against communists and activists of the people's state power. In January 1945, remnants of the reactionary forces mounted an assault on Koplik, but they were routed within a few hours.

Representatives of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords set up secret hostile groups such as the «monarchist», «social-democrat», «christian-democrat», and other groups which were directed by the British and American missions in Tirana. These groups carried out sabotage and wrecking activities in the economy.

After Liberation, the Albanian people rightly looked forward to the establishment of normal state relations with all the allies of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War. But the governments of the United States and Britain obstructed the establishment of such relations in every way. Their main aim was to overthrow the people's state power in Albania.

To this end, the American and British imperialists planned to undertake an armed intervention. In January 1945 they sought permission to expand their military missions in Tirana and, in May-June, to bring to Albania 1,500-1,700 officers and technicians of the Military Liasion (M.L.), who would be engaged, allegedly, in the distribution of their «aid». These requests were firmly rejected by the Democratic Government of Albania.

The imperialists also made use of monarcho-fascist Greece against new Albania. Immediately after Liberation, on the direct instigation of the USA and Great Britain, the Greek government launched a widespread campaign in support of its time-worn claims to annex Southern Albania, organized systematic border provocations and made all-round preparations for an armed aggression to be associated with the landing of British forces on our coast.

In the face of the new peril threatening the country, our people closed their ranks more tightly around the Party to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the Homeland at all costs and, at the same time, to carry out the tasks of the further development of the revolution and economic reconstruction.

The Party's leadership of the people in fulfilling these tasks was no less important or less difficult than its leadership of them in the National Liberation War. But the Party was fully confident that it would overcome all the difficulties and cope with the new tasks successfully. This confidence was based on its determination to carry the revolution through to the

end, on the revolutionary experience it had gained during the war, on its close links with the masses of the people, and on the great enthusiasm that had swept the masses.

The Central Problem: Safeguarding and Consolidating the People's Power

In these circumstances, the most crucial of the many tasks facing our Party was to safeguard and strengthen the people's power. «After every war and revolution,» instructed the CC of the CPA, «the most important and the most difficult question is the taking and maintenance of power. For us, too, for our Party, the most important question is that of state power: this is our central problem. Accordingly, our main objective today is... to strengthen the state power and, with it, to pass from victory to victory, from reform to reform.»*

In order to attain this objective, the strengthening of the political foundation of the state power — the national liberation councils, so that they became thoroughly capable of fulfilling their role as the «driving force in each step forward in the political, economic, and social fields,» was of particular importance. The elections to the local organs of power, which were held throughout the country in May 1945, served precisely this purpose.

During the election campaign, the Party carried out extensive political work with the masses to make clearer to them the popular character of the new power and its duties. It exposed the propaganda of reaction about the «incompetence of the state» and its aim to place the leadership of the councils in the hands of «experienced» representatives of the overthrown classes.

Persons tested in the war, resolute, loyal to the interests of the people and who enjoyed their confidence were elected to the councils.

Besides this, the Party organized the complete reconstruction of the state apparatus, new both in form and content. Administrative institutions and the people's courts were set up on a new basis; the People's Police was created; the State Security organs were reorganized and strengthened, etc.

The Party appointed its best cadres to the new state apparatus. Although these cadres lacked experience in administrative work, they were resolved to implement the line of

* Circular letter of the CC of the CPA. December 1944. CPA.

the Party to the letter. They would master the art of governing in the course of work.

At the same time functionaries of the former administration, persons politically linked with the Party and with the people, although imbued with bourgeois culture, practices and mentalities, were also appointed to the new state organs. They gave their assistance to run the new state organs, but along with this they unconsciously introduced into the method and style of work of the new apparatus elements of the method and style of the old apparatus, some bureaucratic organizational forms of work which were incompatible with the revolutionary character of our state power.

The main armed force of the revolution and of the state was our National Liberation Army. The overthrown classes and the foreign reactionaries regarded the army as the principal obstacle to attaining their objectives to the detriment of the people's power. The enemies aimed to eliminate it by demanding that it should be demobilized because allegedly Albania was not threatened by any danger, and because it was a heavy burden on our state and the whole economy of our country!

Our Party considered the maintenance and strengthening of the army as a matter vital to the revolution, for the defence of the people's power, and the freedom and independence of our country. So that our army could fulfil its lofty mission, the CPA demanded that it be perfected, modernized and become «a model army, endowed with all valuable qualities, and worthy of... the task of protecting the peoples and their power set up at the cost of such sacrifices and bloodshed.»* Any sacrifice made by the people and the state for the people's army was fully justified.

In line with the instructions of the Central Committee, the army began systematic training to master the principles of modern warfare. In order to raise the military and political capability of army commanders and commissars, schools and regular training courses were opened. Compulsory military service was introduced. The Party accompanied the strengthening and modernization of the army with wide-ranging all-round political work to enhance the revolutionary consciousness of the fighters.

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* Enver Hoxha, Our National Liberation Army. November 1944, Works, vol. 2, p. 416, Alb. ed.

Under the leadership of the Party, the army became the reliable defender of the new people's democratic state.

A pressing task was to carry out a radical purge of the remnants of traitor, forces in the country. The Party turned this task into a great political action, setting all the people in motion. With the support of the peasants, the organs of the state and the military detachments wiped out the main armed bands of reactionaries. People's revolutionary tribunals imposed on the war criminals the sentences they deserved. These trials were turned into a great national indictment of the line of treachery pursued by the exploiting classes. They dealt a heavy blow not only at the internal reactionaries but also at their imperialist supporters.

The Democratic Front of Albania

The new historic tasks which confronted the Party could be carried out only if the unity of the masses of the people around the Party, which was achieved during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, was maintained and further strengthened.

In the new conditions, besides the broad masses of the people who had taken an active part in the war for national liberation, this union should include also all those elements from the people who had stood aloof, or had been deceived by the reactionary chieftains.

The National Liberation Front that had played a decisive role in the victory over the enemies had completely justified itself as a very suitable revolutionary organization to bring about the militant unity of the broad masses. The experience acquired in this field would enable the Party to further develop the tradition of the unity and direct leadership of the masses in the Front under its leadership.

The further strengthening of the Front was the most appropriate and democratic course which would lead also to foiling the attempts of internal and external enemies to create a reactionary «democratic» party for the purpose of splitting the people and robbing them of the victories attained.

In August 1945, under the slogan of national unity, the CPA convened the 1st Congress of the National Liberation Front. The Congress defined the tasks for the **Democratic Front of Albania**, as it was now called, and the measures for its further consolidation.

As an embodiment of the unity of the people around the Party, the Front was the mainstay of the people's power in its struggle to safeguard freedom and national independence, to reconstruct the country, and achieve its socio-economic and cultural development on the road of socialism.

Expressing the will of the people, the Congress of the Front called for elections to the Constituent Assembly. Following the establishment of the people's democratic state at the Congress of Përmet, and now that the country had been liberated, the Constituent Assembly was to sanction the form of the political regime and proclaim the Constitution. This task had already been laid down at the 2nd Meeting of the ANLC in October 1944.

The Congress and the elections of new councils of the Front enlivened this organization and enhanced its role in the life of our country.

Nevertheless, the line of the Party regarding the Front was distorted by the opportunist attitude of Sejfulla Malëshova and by the interference of the leadership of the CPY. Under the mask of «the struggle against sectarian trends» the doors of the Front were opened even to hostile elements. Reaction took advantage of this to introduce its henchmen into the Front, in order to undermine it from within and, from these positions, to carry on the struggle against the people's power. However, the vigilance of the Party and of the broad masses of the people proved to be an insurmountable obstacle to the inimical activity of the reactionary elements within the Front.

The leading force in the Front was the **working class**, to which wide vistas of increasing in numbers and becoming an industrial working class with high socialist consciousness, were now opened. In February 1945, it had created its own professional organizations **(trade-unions)**. The trade-unions were charged by the Party with playing an important role in the communist education of workers and employees, and with becoming «the pillar of the Democratic Front and the people's power.»*

* Instructions of the CC of the CPA on the preparatory work for the 1st Congress of Trade Unions, September 2, 1945. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 326, Alb. ed.

As always, **the labouring peasantry**, which had borne the main burden in the National Liberation War, remained the broadest base of the Front. With the establishment of the people's power all the premises were created for the realization of their age-old dreams: to take over the land and emerge from poverty and backwardness.

The Albanian Anti-fascist Youth Union and the Albanian Anti-fascist Women's Union, which operated within the Democratic Front, played a special role as powerful levers of the Party in the mobilization and political education of the masses.

Now it was up to the **Albanian youth**, as the most vigorous and militant section of the people, to take the lead in new battles for the rebuilding and socialist construction of our country. In his address to the 2nd Congress of the Anti-fascist Youth Union, Comrade Enver Hoxha, assessing the great role played by the youth, said: «The Democratic Government, which has placed its hopes on you, is confident that you will always be in the vanguard, will throw yourselves into work just as you threw yourselves into the war; that you will learn and educate yourselves with great zeal for your own good and for the benefit of the people, strengthen and help our army, the steel-like shield of the people's interests, and defend the people's power for which you shed so much blood...»*

Through their participation in and contribution to the war the **Albanian women** had demonstrated that they were an essential factor for the development of the political and social life of our country. The first major step toward their emancipation taken during the war should serve as a basis for the complete emancipation of all the masses of women in order to make them a mighty force in building the new society. The Party demanded that the equality of woman with man, already sanctioned by the Meeting of the ANLC in Berat, should now become a reality. To achieve this, the Central Committee instructed the Party to strive untiringly to raise the political level of women, to enable them to acquire education and culture, to eliminate sectarianism in admitting them to party membership and hesitation in promoting them to posts of responsibility. A decisive role in the emancipation of women

* Enver Hoxha, Speech to the 2nd Congress of the Youth Union, April 16, 1945, Works, vol. 3, p. 38, Alb. ed.

was to be played by their active participation in the economic life of the country, first of all, in productive labour.

Foreign Policy

The strengthening of the new democratic people's state power required the strengthening of its international position gained thanks to the contribution the Albanian people had made to the common cause of victory over fascism. The new Albania could no longer be a token for barter in the exchanges of imperialist great powers. It entered the international arena as a free and sovereign state.

Friendship with the Soviet Union and with the countries of people's democracy was the foundation of the foreign policy of the Democratic Government. The Party regarded friendship and close collaboration with these countries as a very important external factor to ensure freedom and national, independence, to strengthen the international position of the new democratic state. In particular, the Party appreciated the political and moral support in the international arena and the economic aid from the Soviet Union. At that time the Party also attached great importance to the establishment of relations of friendship and cooperation with the new Yugoslavia, as the peoples of Yugoslavia and the Albanian people were bound closely together by the blood shed in their common war against the fascist invaders.

The Communist Party of Albania followed with anxiety the development of events in Greece, where internal and international reaction had launched a frenzied attack on the Greek National Liberation Front with which the Albanian people had also been linked in their common fight against fascism. The Party and the Democratic Government of Albania took an internationalist stand, giving aid and support to the Greek progressive forces in their just struggle to resist reaction and establish democracy.

The CPA was for the establishment of normal state relations with the capitalist countries, too, on the basis of respect for national independence and territorial integrity, non-interference in internal affairs and mutual economic benefit. On this basis, our Democratic Government tried to normalize its relations with the USA, Great Britain and other countries, but encountered the aggressive policy of the American and British imperialists.

Because of the hostile perfidious stand taken by the USA and Britain, Albania was not invited to the Conference of San Francisco for the founding of the United Nations Organization. It was not invited to the London Conference on war reparations from Italy, either. The British and American representatives tried to bar it from participating at the Paris Conference on war reparations from Germany. But this time they failed to achieve their aim. Albania's right to war reperations from Germany was recognized. Again, Albania was not invited to take part in the talks to draft the peace treaty with Italy. In all these cases, it ought to have taken the place due to it, which it had earned at the cost of its blood.

The USA and Great Britain threatened the independence and sovereignty of the country. Through slanders they tried to present the small new Albania, which was waging a resolute struggle for peace, freedom and the independence of the peoples against the aggressive and war-mongering imperialist policies, as a country which was disturbing the peace and security of the Balkans. But all the attempts of the American and British imperialists to undermine the international position of the new Albanian state failed.

The Albanian people, led by their Party, resolutely resisted the imperialist pressure. The courageous defence of their independence and legitimate rights, the course they had taken, their alignement with the anti-imperialist democratic camp, strengthened the international position of new Albania.

2. MOBILIZATION OF THE MASSES FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE COUNTRY. THE FIRST SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the circumstances of the devestation left after the war, one of the most pressing problems was the reconstruction and normalization of the whole economic and cultural life of the country.

Great material and financial means were needed to solve this problem. The CPA was faced with the question of where to find these means.

Relying on Internal Forces The American and British imperialists hastened to offer their «aid» with the intention of exploiting the difficult economic situation in Albania. The CPA categorically rejected this enslaving «aid» and chose the course of building the country by relying, first of all, on the internal forces as well as on the fraternal help which the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy would give.

The Party made the problem of the reconstruction and the economic and cultural development of our country a matter of concern of the whole people. The workers, peasants, intellectuals and women set up squads, detachments, battalions and brigades for voluntary work everywhere. In order to ease the sufferings of the war victims, they were provided with money, food and clothing, and people shared even their last morsel with them. The supply of Soviet wheat also helped our government to ensure the daily bread of the people.

Faced with a desperate lack of technical means and cadres, under extremely difficult conditions, our people worked self-sacrificingly, first and foremost, for the reconstruction of the demolished bridges and highways and for the speedy re-establishment of communication lines.

Through the efforts of workers, during the year 1945, some of the factories, power stations and mines were put into operation. The Party mobilized the peasantry to sow the arable land and rebuild the burned-down houses with large-scale assistance from the state. Work began in education and cultural institutions. New schools were opened, especially in the countryside. A great campaign was launched to do away with illiteracy among adults, a very grave problem inherited from the past. The old teachers and thousands of new ones who were trained in special courses, threw themselves into this campaign voluntarily.

During the reconstruction work the lack of technical cadres of different branches was felt very acutely. To fill this gap quickly, training and qualification courses for technicians and workers were opened.

The youth shouldered the heaviest burden of the reconstruction. Young men and women from town and countryside were the first to fill the ranks of the voluntary labour brigades. They were always in the lead in the actions for rebuilding roads, reconstructing blown-up bridges and burned-down

houses. They were in the forefront of the campaign to spread education and culture.

Through war profiteering, the capitalists had accumulated large amounts of capital, mainly in gold and merchandise. In these circumstances the government deemed it reasonable and necessary that a good part of those profits should be taken over by the state and used for the needs of the people and the reconstruction of the country. For this reason, in January 1945, the Law on Extraordinary Taxation on War Profits was passed. The taxation was progressive. The law provided also that the property of all those who did not pay these taxes was to be confiscated without compensation. This measure was directed at the same time against the economic power of capitalists.

The merchants, manufacturers and all those who were taxed made many efforts to evade the payment of the taxes imposed on them. They hid their hoards of merchandise and gold. They tried to depict this measure as «robbing the people»* and resorted to every trick to save the riches they had accumulated at the expense of the working people.

The Central Committee instructed the party organizations not to make any concessions and to fight persistently for the strict application of the law. Any leniency on this issue would only impair the authority of the people's power.

Backed up by the masses of the people, the respective commissions compelled the merchants and other capitalists to pay the taxes according to the law. In 1945, the revenue from the extraordinary taxation on war profits accounted for more than half the state budget income.

All those capitalists who did not pay the taxes had their property confiscated. Through these measures our state amassed a big quantity of various goods which enabled it to open the first state-owned shops. This marked the birth of the socialist state sector in trade.

Besides the Law on Extraordinary Taxation on War Profits, a number of other revolutionary measures were also taken. A law was passed on requisitioning food products and other materials needed for the reconstruction of the country. A system of fixed prices was enforced, instead of free market prices. Prices were supervised by the people themselves, and a vigorous campaign was conducted against speculation and the black market. Private accumulation and selling of grain was prohibited.

A state monopoly of the accumulation and selling of grain was established and unified prices for buying and selling grain were fixed. Old banknotes were overprinted to check, to a certain extent, the inflation the occupiers left behind them, and control over the old paper currency in circulation was established. The introduction of state control over foreign trade, which later on was to be changed into a state monopoly, reinforced these measures.

In this manner, the financial problems were settled temporarily to facilitate the reconstruction of the country, the normalization of its economic life, while, at the same time, the economic positions of the bourgeoisie were weakened.

Creation of the Socialist Sector of the Economy

The people's state power could not be maintained on the old socio-economic base. The tasks of the reconstruction and even less those of the development of the country on the road of socialism could not be accomplished successfully on this base.

This development made profound socio-economic changes and the construction of the new socialist base of the economy essential.

It is true that immediately after Liberation, transformations of a democratic, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal character, as an inevitable and logical continuation of the people's revolution, remained an urgent task in the field of socio-economic transformations.

However, in the new political conditions, when the people's state power had begun to perform the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party could not and did not wait for all the democratic tasks to be completed before beginning to accomplish tasks of a socialist chacarter in the socio-economic field. The ratio of political class forces in Albania permitted transformations of a socialist character to be undertaken immediately along with democratic transformations.

Of all these transformations, the socialization of the main means of production, through their nationalization, was the most important and decisive.

State control of production and distribution which was established in December 1944, was the first preparatory step toward the nationalization of the principal means of production. State control was at the same time a form of worker

control. It included the enterprises owned by Albanian and foreign capitalists, which were important to our whole people's economy.

The control was exercised through state-appointed commissars.

Guided by the Party and aided by commissars, the workers took part vigorously in the organization of production and the management of enterprises. Thus they had the opportunity to test their forces and gain experience in managing production. Through the worker control, the production capacities of enterprises, the sources and reserves of raw materials and fuel were assessed. This prepared the ground for the working class to take over the enterprises and run them once they were nationalized.

In December 1944, the mines and the property of political fugitives were nationalized. A month later, the Law on Confiscation of the Property of Italian and German citizens in Albania came into force. With the application of this law, the National Bank and other banks, as well as the property of 111 share-holder companies owned by foreign capitalists, were transferred to the Albanian state without compensation as common property of the people. In April 1945, all privately-owned means of motor transport were requisitioned with fixed compensation.

These nationalizations were of great importance. The elimination of the economic positions of foreign capital put an end to economic dependence on the imperialist powers, and this further strengthened the political independence of the country.

From the standpoint of their form, the nationalization measures of the year 1945 were of a generally democratic character, while from the standpoint of their economic and social content, they represented transformations that went beyond this limit. The nationalizations were carried through in the interests of the working masses, and the nationalized means were put completely and directly at their service. Therefore, these nationalization measures were in essence a socialization of the principal means of production and had a socialist character. On their basis the state socialist sector of the economy came into being.

In July 1945 consumer cooperatives for workers and employees began to be set up in the towns. They were the first economic organizations of the masses. At a time when the state sector in trade was still very small, they played a

big role in supplying the working people of the town regularly and in fighting against speculation and the black market. Alongside the establishment of consumer cooperatives, the Party also did a great deal of explanatory work to persuade the artisans to set up cooperatives.

The creation of socialist sectors of the economy, was accompanied with important measures in favour of the workers and employees. The 8-hour working day was instituted. The principle of equal pay for equal work, irrespective of age and sex, as well as the right to 15 days annual holiday on full pay, were established. Unemployment was almost completely eliminated.

These revolutionary victories somewhat improved the living conditions of the workers and cleared the ground for new victories in the economic and social development of our country on a socialist basis.

Doing Away with Old Agrarian Relations

In the field of agriculture, the most acute and pressing problem was the elimination of former agrarian relations. This problem had to do with the radical solution of the antagonistic contradiction between the working peasantry and the big landowners, that is to say, with the biggest democratic change which remained to be carried out. This was now the main field for strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry. Therefore, the Party devoted special attention to solving this problem.

In the first half of 1945, some measures were taken to alleviate to a certain extent the grave economic conditions of the working peasantry. A law was passed to annul all the old land rents which had remained unpaid, whereas rents of the years 1944-1945 were to be reduced to 75 per cent. This was a half-way measure, which did not find the approval of the poor peasantry, which paid no rent at all. More important mesaures were: the nationalization of the irrigation system (formally private property) which was given to the peasantry for their common use; the cancellation of all debts on which interest was payable (incurred before the liberation of the country), and which were a crushing burden on the poor peasants.

The CPA considered these to be transitional measures, while the fundamental measure to change the situation in favour of

the working peasantry was the Agrarian Reform which would give it the land. Immediately after Liberation, the Party launched the slogan: «The land to those who till it!»

The Law on Agrarian Reform was promulgated in August 1945. According to this law, state-owned land, the estates of religious institutions and all areas of private land exceeding defined limits were expropriated and alienated. The limits laid down were as follows: up to 40 hectares when the owner had an exemplary economy which he managed himself, 20 hectares when the owner tilled or managed the land himself, 7 hectares when the proprietor did not till the land himself but would have to do so not later than within two years' time.

In the conditions of Albania, where the area of arable land was very limited, the 20-40 hectares of land left to private proprietors was far too much. With this amount of land quite a number of landlords still retained their positions in the countryside; the economic power of the rich peasant (the kulak) was not affected at all, while many poor peasants remained without land. These shortcomings of the Law on Agrarian Reform arose directly from the influence of Sejfulla Malëshova with his opportunist views and the representatives of the CPY.

The expropriation of land exceeding the defined limits was carried through without compensation. It was distributed without cost as private property to the landless and landpoor peasants. Up to 5 hectares of land were allotted to each head of a family. Selling, buying, or leasing of land were prohibited.

Part of the expropriated land was turned into state property. The state farms set up on these lands marked the birth of the socialist state sector in agriculture. Apart from this the forests, water sources and all underground riches were proclaimed the common property of the people.

Before and after the Law on Agrarian Reform was proclaimed, the Party did a great deal of work, especially with the communists of villages and with the working peasantry, to explain to them the objective of this Reform.

It warned that the reaction would employ every means to hinder the application of the Agrarian Reform, to dampen the enthusiasm of peasants, and to make the people believe that the Democratic Government was incompetent. The Central Committee instructed that the Agrarian Reform should be regarded as a great political action. Implementation of it would link the peasantry even more closely with the Party.

To ensure fair and speedy implementation of the Agrarian Reform the Party set up poor peasants' committees. They played an important role in working out accurately the lands of the state, the big landowners and the enemies of the people, and in compiling lists of peasant families with little or no land. They helped in the division of the expropriated land, especially in mobilizing the working peasantry to expose and fight the hostile activity of the landlords and other reactionary forces who rose against the Agrarian Reform from its very start. The formation of the poor peasants' committees and their entire activity greatly assisted to raise the political class consciousness of the poor peasantry.

3. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE STATE OF PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY AS A FORM OF THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT

In September 1945, the Anti-fascist National Liberation Council promulgated the Law on Elections to the Constituent Assembly.

According to the law, the elections, which would take place on December 2, 1945, were to be democratic, free, general, equal, direct and secret. All Albanian citizens, men and women, over 18 years of age enjoyed the right to vote. The fighters of the National Liberation Army enjoyed this right irrespective of their age. Excluded from the right to vote were ex-ministers of the quisling government, the war criminals, and all those who had lost their civil rights.

The Determination of the People to Proceed on the Road of the Party

The elections to the Constituent Assembly were the most important political action for the Party, a great test of its political maturity and of its organizational capability, of the strength of its links with the masses and of the determination of the people to proceed on the road of the Party. The CPA was mobilized completely to win this new political battle under the slogan «For the People's Republic».

At the 4th Plenum of the CC, which discussed the question of the elections to the Constituent Assembly, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «The people must see concretely that those

who liberated the Homeland from the invaders and traitors are also able to govern, are able to reconstruct and to improve the economic and social life of the country. The communists should emerge from the electoral campaign with a great experience, it should be a school for them and equip them to solve the other major problems that lie ahead.»*

The Party gave the instruction that the elections to the Constitutent Assembly should be turned into a great people's plebiscite with the participation of all those entitled to vote and ensure complete victory for the Front. It decided to present a single list of candidates of the Front. However, as a result of the opportunist deviations of Sejfulla Malëshova, this list included a number of representatives of reaction, while a coalition in the elections was proposed to the Catholic clergy.

Internal and foreign reactionary forces tried to exploit the election campaign for their own purposes.

Taking advantage of the provisions of the law, internal reaction decided, at first, to present its own list of candidates for elections as a bloc in opposition to the Front. When this first attempt failed, for lack of support from the people, it changed its tactics and decided to boycott the elections, calling on the people to abstain. It tried to justify this stand with the alleged «lack of democracy», «the dictatorship of a single party». To this end, Gjergj Kokoshi, one of the principal spokesmen of reaction, a former member of the ANLC, demonstratively left the Front. The illegal organization «Bashkimi Shqiptar» (Albanian Union), directed by the reactionary Catholic clergy, resorted to terror in collaboration with fugitive war criminals.

Other representatives of reaction who had remained within the Front, did not feel strong enough to create an open opposition. Therefore, they decided to remain in its ranks until the elections were over, with the objective of being elected to the Constituent Assembly under the banner of the Front. Then they would set up a group within the Front, organize a «legal» opposition, or even found an independent party.

The direct instigators and organizers of the hostile activity of the internal reaction were the American and British imper-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, October 17, 1945. Works, vol. 3, pp. 164-165, Alb. ed.

ialists who left no stone unturned to defeat the Front at the elections. They launched a propaganda campaign against the Front and the CPA and went to such lengths as to demand that the Democratic Government allow the officers of their militiary missions in Tirana unrestricted control of the election campaign, and so on. They employed the question of the recognition of the Democratic Government of Albania as a special means of pressure. The American and British governments announced that they would recognize the Albanian government only when «they had satisfied themselves that the elections would be free». This was an attempt to interfere in our internal affairs, because, in fact, the law and the entire activity of the people's state power guaranteed completely free elections.

The American government put forward another condition: it demanded recognition of all the agreements concluded between the United States of America and Albania prior to April 7, 1939. The CPA resolutely rejected all the new attempts of the imperialists and did not permit any interference in the internal affairs of Albania. It exposed the aims and tactics of the external and internal reaction, succeeded in isolating the opposition forces and further strengthened the political unity of the people around itself.

When the election campaign was in full swing, in November 1945, the government of the Soviet Union officially recognized the Democratic Government of Albania. Yugoslavia and Poland, followed by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, France and other countries, also recognized it. This strengthened the international position of the people's power in Albania and increased the confidence of the popular masses in the future of their country.

About 90 per cent of voters took part in the elections of December 2, and 93 per cent of them cast their ballots for the candidates of the Democratic Front. These were the first fully democratic nation-wide elections ever held in Albania. They were a great school for the political education of the people, the Front and the Party itself. The CPA scored a sweeping victory while reaction was defeated.

With this victory the free and sovereign Albanian people expressed their full approval of the policy of the Party and their determination to proceed undeviatingly along the road the Party indicated.

The Proclamation of the People's Republic of Albania

On January 11, 1946 the Constituent Assembly, expressing the will of the people, unanimously proclaimed Albania a People's Republic and formed the new government with Comrade Enver Hoxha at its head.

The Party presented the draft Constitution drawn up by the government to the judgment of the whole people. The discussion of the draft lasted two months. The proposals made by the masses of the people were a valuable contribution to strengthening the revolutionary content of the Constitution. On March 14, 1946 the Constituent Assembly adopted the Constitution. Its task accomplished, the Constituent Assembly was turned into the People's Assembly as the supreme organ of state power in the PRA.

The new democratic Constitution sanctioned the historic victories achieved and reflected the changes which had taken place in the political and economic order of the country after the establishment of the people's power. It embodied the started process of the development of the country on the road to socialism and opened wide vistas for further economic and social changes.

First of all, the Constitution defined the fundamental principle of the structure and the activity of the people's power: **the power derives from the people and belongs to the people**.

On the basis of the Constitution, the main means of social production comprised the common property of the people, the cooperativist property and the private property. The private sector was subject to state control.

The social property (the socialist sector of the economy, the state and cooperativist sectors) was defined as the foundation of the social and economic order. With a view to the uninterrupted development and strengthening of the socialist economy, the Constitution defined the right of the state to restrict and expropriate private property when the general social interest required it. On this basis entire branches of the economy or seperate economic enterprises could be nationalized. The formation of monopolies, trusts and cartels was prohibited.

To protect the vital interests of the people and raise their level of well-being, the state was charged with directing the life and economic development of the country on the basis

of a general plan. The state would rely on the direct participation of the working masses for the fulfilment of this plan.

The Constitution described work as an honour and duty for everybody. It proclaimed the principle that each citizen was entitled to be paid according to his work and ability.

The Constitution upheld the principle of free elections, universal and equal suffrage and direct voting by secret ballot. It gave the electors the right to demand the recall of their representative from the various organs of state power, guaranteed freedom of assembly, organization, speech and belief and the necessary conditions for the protection and implementation of these rights.

Such were some of the fundamental principles of the first Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. **With the adoption of the Constitution, the process of the political organization of the people's democratic order, as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was fully accomplished.**

The dictatorship of the proletariat, as the Marxist-Leninist theory defines, is a universal law, historically indispensable for the transition from capitalism to communism. In Albania, too, it would serve as the main weapon for the destruction of the old exploiting landowner-bourgeois order and for the construction of socialist society without the exploitation of man by man, for carrying this society forward to communism, in which classes completely disappear.

The distinguishing feature in our country was that here the dictatorship of the proletariat was born and developed in the form of the state of people's democracy.

This form was dictated by the historical conditions of the revolution, which assumed a broad, profoundly popular character, as an anti-imperialist democratic revolution during its first stage and which, developing uninterruptedly, was transformed immediately after the national liberation of the country, into a socialist revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat in the form of the people's democracy was the outcome of this uninterrupted people's revolution, a continuation of the people's power created during the National Liberation War, after smashing the foundations of the state apparatus of the occupiers and the main reactionary landowner-bourgeois classes.

The people's councils, the direct continuation of the national liberation councils, became the political basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The alliance of the working class with the peasantry, which constitutes the supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, was embodied in the Democratic Front, the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front.

Therefore, the anti-imperialist democratic revolution and the socialist revolution in Albania are links of a single revolution carried out under the sole and undivided leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party of the working class. The achievement of complete national independence and the establishment of the democratic power, which was the strategic objective of the anti-imperialist democratic revolution, laid the foundations and created the necessary conditions for the immediate transition to the socialist revolution. The strategic objective the Party set for the new stage of the revolution was the **liquidation of the economic base of capitalism and the building of the bases of socialism** by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

4. THE PARTY'S ORIENTATIONS ON DEEPENING THE REVOLUTION AND BUILDING THE BASES OF SOCIALISM. THE ELIMINATION OF THE OPPORTUNIST MANIFESTATIONS

The socio-economic changes of the year 1945 had laid the first foundation stones for the development of Albania on the road of socialism. Now the question was to push ahead more rapidly on this road.

However, the solution of this problem was hindered by opportunist viewpoints and attitudes which had appeared in the implementation of the line of the Party. The bearer of them was Sejfulla Malëshova, former member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the Party. Sejfulla Malëshova's opportunism was a direct expression of his submission to the strong pressure exerted by the overthrown classes and, particularly, by the American and British imperialists, on the Democratic Government and the leadership of the CPA.

His opportunist manifestations had been criticized and severely condemned at the meeting of the Political Bureau in December 1945, but Sejfulla Malëshova, though he had found no support, stubbornly continued to defend his standpoints.

The 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA

To define the orientations of the Party in connection with carrying the revolution and the construction of the bases of socialism further, the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was convened in February 1946.

The Plenum pointed out that the line of the Party had been severely damaged by the thoroughly opportunist views which Sejfulla Malëshova had advocated in the political and economic fields.

Sejfulla Malëshova expressed the view that the new democratic order established in Albania should be an order of bourgeois democracy. He called for slackening the class struggle, overestimated the strength of the overthrown classes, and had no confidence in the strength of the Party and the people. He was for complete freedom of activity for the private capitalist sector, for its uncontrolled and unrestricted development and against supporting the cooperativist sector in town and countryside. In essence, he was against the construction of socialism and a defender of the free development of capitalism.

In the field of foreign policy, he made the fate of the freedom and independence of Albania, the fate of the people's power, dependent on the political and economic concessions which should be made to Anglo-American imperialism. He demanded that no discrimination should be made between the USSR and the USA and Great Britain, that the stand taken in our relations with them should be the same.

With his right opportunist views, Sejfulla Malëshova had become a mouthpiece and defender of the interests of the local bourgeoisie and imperialism within the Party; he had turned into one of their lackeys. If these views were not exposed and combated, the line of the Party and the construction of socialism in Albania would be endangered and obstructed. Their elimination had become an urgent and vital question.

The 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA firmly condemned and rejected these views. Since Sejfulla Malëshova persisted in his mistaken views, the Plenum removed him from the Political Bureau and from the Central Committee of the Party.

While smashing the opportunism of Sejfulla Malëshova the Central Committee guided the Party toward carrying the socialist revolution further in the political, economic and ideological fields. It defined in broad outline the main directions for the construction of the bases of socialism.

First and foremost, industry, internal wholesale trade and all foreign trade were to pass entirely into the hands of the state. Producers and consumers' cooperatives were to be set up in cities and villages. The state was to exercise strict control over the private sector and unremittingly restrict the capitalist elements. Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the course the Party would pursue in the economy as follows: «Everything to strengthen the state sector, merciless struggle against private capital, and the greatest state aid possible to producers and consumers' cooperatives...»*

For the development of the productive forces and the exploitation of natural resources, a general direction was given that socialist industry should be created, the existing mines and industries should be exploited and new mines and enterprises opened.

On the course begun for the elimination of the former relations in the countryside it was decided to carry the Agrarian Reform through to the end and to set about the collectivization of agriculture. Simultaneously, model state farms were to be set up. The state should assist the labouring peasantry with financial means and implements and restrict the kulaks. The mechanization of agriculture, the elimination of its one-sided character, the spreading of new crops, the development of animal husbandry, land drainage and reclamation, were designated as the general lines along which the productive forces in the countryside were to be developed.

To develop the revolution in the field of education and culture as a constituent part of the socialist revolution, the 5th Plenum instructed that education should be reformed on these principles: education and culture were to become the property of the broad masses of the people, and not remain the privilege of a minority, the school should be stripped of the old spirit and imbued with a new revolutionary spirit. But, above all, it was necessary to wipe out illiteracy.

The training of a new intelligentsia imbued with the Marxist-Leninist world outlook was of decisive importance for the construction of socialism.

In the field of foreign policy, it was stressed that the Party

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* Enver Hoxha, Report submitted to the 5th Plenum of the CC of the CPA, February 21, 1946. Works, vol. 3, p. 272, Alb. ed.

was to fight to defend the freedom and independence of the country, to strengthen the friendship with the USSR and the other countries of people's democracy, and peace in the world. The 5th Plenum especially emphasized that a clear-cut, resolute and principled attitude should be taken toward American and British imperialism, which represented the main danger to national independence and the people's democratic order.

The people's power would always remain a decisive weapon to cope with the new tasks of socialist development. The 5th Plenum directed that the state power should be strengthened and democratized, not only in its content, but also in its structure and the composition of its administrative apparatus. The old specialists who worked in this apparatus should be kept under constant supervision to prevent the introduction of bureaucratic methods. To strengthen the Democratic Front a radical purge of hostile elements from its ranks was ordered.

Finally, the carrying out of all tasks for the deepening of the revolution and the construction of the bases of socialism made it absolutely necessary to strengthen the Party, to raise its leading and organizational role in the entire life of the country to a higher level. For this reason the idea of the 4th Plenum (October 1945) to convene the 1st Congress of the Party was accepted. It was decided to hold the congress on May 25, 1946. However, due to the intervention of the leadership of the CPY, this decision was not put into execution and the congress was postponed for an indefinite period.

The Deepening of Socio-Economic and Cultural Transformations

The directives of the 5th Plenum of the CC were reflected at once in the Constitution of the PR of Albania, the draft of which was being discussed at that time by the people.

After the Plenum, a new phase of nationalizations began. The power stations, the building materials industry, the entire existing light and food-processing industries, mainly owned by the local bourgeoisie, became state property. At the end of the year 1946, the principal means of production in the cities had been turned into social property, and 87 per cent of the volume of total industrial output was contributed by the state sector. By the end of 1947 production by private capitalist industry was almost entirely eliminated.

The socialist socialization of the principal means of pro-

duction put an end to the economic domination of the bourgeoisie. It laid the economic foundations of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist property, socialist relations in production and the socialist sector of the economy in industry, trade, transport and finance were born precisely on the basis of this socialization. The nationalized enterprises became socialist enterprises.

The nationalization of the principal means of production in Albania was done quickly and without compensation. It took place as a result of the deep class differentiation which was made during and after the Anti-fascist National Liberation War which had led to the elimination of the political domination of the bourgeoisie. This also removed the principal obstacle to the elimination of its economic basis.

The timely measures which the Party and people's power had taken caused the nationalizations to be carried out without economic disturbance or damage.

Alongside the state socialist sector, the cooperative sector was set up and developed. During 1946 many new consumer cooperatives in towns and buying and selling cooperatives in villages were created. By the end of that year the handicraft cooperatives included more than half of the artisans.

To ensure the supply of the population with bread, in June 1946 the state system of purchase, procurement and sale of grain was established. This measure deprived private merchants of any possibility of speculating with the people's bread.

In July 1946 the Monetary Reform was carried out, establishing the maximum limit of old banknotes which one family could exchange for new ones. Through this measure a good part of the monetary means was taken from the hands of capitalist elements, and the grave consequences of inflation which affected the working masses were eliminated.

To ensure a more equitable and regular distribution of foodstuffs, in September 1946 the ration system was introduced.

The establishment of the ration system was necessary at a time when food supplies were limited. It ensured the fulfilment of the primary needs of the working masses and blocked the road to speculation with rationed food-stuffs. The Party was conscious that the ration system was a temporary measure which would be withdrawn as soon as suitable economic conditions were created.

With the creation and the expansion of the socialist sector,

the planned direction and regulation of the entire economic life of the country became indispensable. In August 1946, the Law on the General Economic State Plan and on the Planning Organs was adopted. The Planning Commission, created in 1945, was reorganized and the work of drafting the general economic plan for the year 1947 began immediately.

In May 1946 amendments were made to the Law on Agrarian Reform, which gave it a deeper revolutionary content. All the lands, vineyards, olive groves, gardens, buildings and agricultural inventories owned by those who did not cultivate the land themselves, were expropriated. All farmers and proprietors who cultivated the land themselves were allowed no more than 5 hectares of land. The sale and purchase under any title whatsoever and the mortgaging of land were prohibited.

With these amendments the principle «the land belongs to him who tills it» was fully applied, large-scale land ownership was eliminated and a blow was dealt at the economic position of the kulaks.

These amendments encountered fierce opposition from the exploiting classes. The big landlords and wealthy peasants used all means to impede implementation of the Agrarian Reform. They warned the peasants against taking the lands allotted to them by the Reform and frightened them with the slogan: «The government will not be recognized by the Great Powers and the people's power will soon be destroyed». The reactionary clergy preached that the land is «sacred» and that «whoever lays hands on it will be punished by God». In particular, inimical activity was carried out by some of the bourgeois technicians and representatives of the overthrown classes who had wormed their way into the poor peasants' committees, the state apparatus and the organs of agriculture. They attempted to leave the landlords and wealthy peasants the best of the land or more than was due to them. The wealthy began to slaughter their cattle and to destroy their implements which were to be distributed to the peasants. In some instances, they even passed to overt terrorist actions against the militants of the Party and the state. The American and British missions in Tirana, which tried to sabotage the Reform, especially in Myzeqe, gave them direct aid.

For the full application of the Agrarian Reform the entire Party was set in motion. It aroused the poor peasant masses and organized a stern struggle against the class enemies. The

city workers also came to the aid of the peasants. In November 1946 the Reform was completed in the entire Albania. The peasants became truly the masters of the land on which they had toiled and sweated generation after generation. The Party fulfilled their age-old dream. About 90 per cent of the total area of expropriated land, half of the olive-trees and all of the draught animals were distributed gratis among 70,000 landless or land-poor peasant families.

The Agrarian Reform was the first revolution in the socio-economic relations of the countryside. Its essence was the democratic change of agrarian relations in the countryside. It eliminated large-scale land ownership, and swept away for ever the remnants of feudalism and the landlord class in Albania. With the restriction of private ownership of the land, and the prohibition of the sale and purchase, leasing or mortgaging of land, the polarization of the peasantry was hindered and the extent of its exploitation by the kulaks was greatly reduced. Such being the case, the Agrarian Reform contained, at the same time, elements of an emphatically anti-capitalist character. This occurred because the reform was applied by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In these circumstances, though the Agrarian Reform preserved small-scale private land ownership by the working peasants and increased the number of middle peasants, it limited the terrain for the development of capitalism in the countryside.

The application of the Agrarian Reform demonstrated that only the working class and its party are capable of carrying out radical changes in agrarian relations after the seizure of political power.

The Agrarian Reform further strengthened the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry on an economic basis and also strengthened the people's power itself, which had this same alliance at its foundation. The working peasants closed their ranks around the Party and formed a more profound conviction in the correctness of its political line. All this was a support of great importance for the Party to set out on the road of gradual socialist changes in the countryside. The work of the CPA for spreading the idea of collectivization among the peasants resulted in the setting up of agricultural cooperatives of production in 1946. The first cooperative was set up at Krutje of Myzeqe.

The socio-economic changes created new conditions which

facilitated the development of the cultural revolution, whereas the new tasks of the socialist construction required that this revolution develop with rapid strides. The cultural revolution found its expression, first of all, in the Educational Reform of August 1946. According to this reform, education became universal, free, equal, secular and was given in the mother tongue. The school was given a completely state and unified character. Tuition fees were abolished. Primary education became obligatory in the entire Republic. Plans, programs and textbooks with a new content were drafted. Primary schools were opened in every village. Along with this, the campaign for the elimination of illiteracy was intensified.

A fundamental problem of the cultural revolution and of the socialist revolution in general was the creation of the new intelligentsia. The solution of this problem, in the circumstances when the Albanian intellectuals comprised a very small number, was of vital importance. For this purpose, many sons of the people were sent abroad for higher studies, especially to the Soviet Union. Despite the economic difficulties, the state provided the specialists with suitable conditions for work, creative activity and living. The constructive work, the educational work and the ardent support of the Party enabled many of the old cadres to be re-educated, to embrace the Marxist-Leninist ideology and to accept the leading role of the Party.

The new socialist changes in the economic, social and cultural fields were accompanied by a purge of enemy elements from the organs of the people's power and the organizations of the Democratic Front.

By special laws, the rights and the duties of the local organs of power were extended and the State Control Commission was created. Through this commission, the control of the working masses over the state organs and their activities would be increased.

Through the new revolutionary measures, the Democratic Front improved its own social composition. The Front now represented a political organization entirely of the working masses.

The socialist changes and the revolutionary drive of the masses made it possible for the main works, destroyed by the war, to be reconstructed during the year 1946. At the end of that year output in industry as well as in agriculture reached the 1938 level. Apart from this, relying mainly on voluntary

work, new projects were also undertaken. The youth built the Kukës-Peshkopia highway. The Maliq swamp was drained, new irrigation and drainage canals were dug, and so on. In enthusiastic work for the reconstruction of the country, the initiative and creative activity of the working masses were developed, socialist emulation was organized, and the shock worker movement came into existence as an expression of the new stand toward work.

Theses for the Re-examination of the Berat Plenum

The 5th Plenum of the CC, which worked out the fundamental directions of socialist construction and dealt a heavy blow at opportunism did not, however, discover and eliminate the source of this opportunism: the erroneous assessments and orientatioins of the 2nd Plenum of Berat. It did not condemn nor avert the Yougoslav intervention in our internal affairs, did not re-establish unity and collective leadership in the Party. Consequently, the leadership of the entire life of the Party and of the country by the Central Committee encountered great obstacles. Through their agents in the CPA, the Yugoslav revisionists exerted every effort to remove the General Secretary from leadership of party affairs on the pretext of his heavy burden of state affairs as Chairman of the Council of Ministers. In fact, the entire direction of the Party was concentrated in the hands of Koçi Xoxe, Organizational Secretary of the CC. Thus a party-state duality had been created. In reality, however, using the authority of the Party, Koçi Xoxe attempted to take over the leadership of the state power as well. He had managed to create such a system that orders, decrees and laws could be put into execution only after special instructions of the CC apparatus signed by him, had been issued. This method of work had greatly weakened the role of state organs, nurtured bureaucracy and impeded the speedy and correct solution of problems.

In this situation there was no guarantee that the Party could safeguard the purity of its general line or successfully accomplish its great tasks of building socialism and defending national freedom and independence.

Comrade Enver Hoxha, who had never been convinced of the correctness of the conclusions and decisions of the Plenum of Berat, had come to the conclusion that they should

be re-examined and corrected. Only in this manner could the unity in the leadership be re-established, could the Political Bureau and the Central Committee function normally as leading organs of the Party and the life of the country, and the implementation of the directives for the construction of the bases of socialism issued by the 5th Plenum, be assured.

With this intent, in June 1946 he submitted at the Political Bureau a special report advocating re-examination of the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee.

The principal theses of this report were:

— The preparations for the proceedings of the 2nd Plenum gravely violated the norms of the internal life of the Party. The problems which had been submitted at the Political Bureau for discussion prior to the Plenum had not been proposed in a comradely and communist manner, but had been decided outside the Political Bureau, without a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis, but with passion and prejudice, without submitting them to a free exchange of opinions. They were put forward in the form of a «coup d'etat».

— The assessments and conclusions of the 2nd Plenum of Berat were wrong from start to finish.

— The brilliant stage of the National Liberation War was «blackened, belittled and condemned» by the Plenum of Berat.

— The independence of the CPA was seriously violated.

—The principal persons responsible were Velimir Stoinić and Sejfulla Malëshova. «Velimir Stoinić trifled with our Party and our people.» He «directed the proceedings of the Plenum and made them take a wrong course.»

— The orientations of the 2nd Plenum of Berat had grave repercussions for our Party and, if they continued, would become a great danger to it.

Comrade Enver Hoxha knew nothing, as yet, of the behind-the-scenes dealings in Berat, of the plot which had been concocted by the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, or of all the accomplices in this plot. He considered Velimir Stoinić and Sejfulla Malëshova the principal persons responsible, because it was they who had carried the banner of the anti-party assault at the 2nd Plenum of the Central Committee. The others, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Nako Spiru, were merely criticized in the report for the support they had given Velimir Stoinić and Sejfulla Malëshova. Although unware of the

behind-the-scenes dealings, Comrade Enver Hoxha, by analysing the proceedings of the Plenum of Berat with a Marxist eye, had formed the absolute conviction that at this Plenum the line of the Party had been condemned unjustly and without any reason whatsoever, that the Party had not made political mistakes and that its line had been correct. Therefore, he demanded that the decisions of this Plenum should be rejected, the historic truth re-established and the peril which menaced the independence of the Party and its Marxist-Leninist line averted.

These correct theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha were opposed in the Political Bureau and were rejected by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo. They feared that a detailed discussion and approval of these theses would bring to light their anti-party work and the inimical intervention of the CPY in the internal affairs of the CPA.

As for Nako Spiru, he did not have the courage to make an open disclosure of his own activity and that of the other participants in the organization of the back-stage manoeuvres. Thinking that his mistake in Berat would be covered by the lapse of time, and that he would make amends for his offense through work, after Comrade Enver Hoxha presented his theses, Nako Spiru began to change his stand and to uphold the correct views of the General Secretary on all occasions. Thereafter, he fought with determination for the line of the Party on the question of the construction of socialism.

As the theses put forward in the report were not approved, with the aim of creating conditions for correcting the mistakes and establishing unity in the Political Bureau, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that the Political Bureau should be broadened by the admission of new members tested in battle and work. But this proposal, also, was opposed by Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo, and was not approved in full.

Efforts to Normalize the Internal Life of the Party

The new conditions which were created in the country after the triumph of the people's revolution and the new historic tasks which confronted the Party required the elimination of wartime limitations in the internal democracy of the Party, the application of all Marxist-Leninist norms in its organizational life. But the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership, the copying of its Trotskyite-revisionist

forms and methods by Koçi Xoxe, prevented any such thing, and resulted in marked deviations and shortcomings in the organizational line. To correct these shortcomings and to normalize the situation, Comrade Enver Hoxha proposed that an analysis should be made of the organizational work of the Party and of the relations between the Party and the state power. Koçi Xoxe was charged with presenting a report on this question to the Political Bureau. However, on the instigation of the leadership of the CPY he dodged this report and never presented it. This was to prevent an attack on Koçi Xoxe, as directly responsible for distortions in organizational questions, so that the intervention of the Yugoslav leadership would not come to light and the distorted line it was imposing on the CP of Albania would not be changed.

On the persistent demand of Comrade Enver Hoxha and other comrades of the leadership, the Central Committee, nevertheless, took certain steps to normalize the organizational life of the Party. Lacking a Constitution, it issued detailed instructions which regulated the internal life of the Party, the admission of new members and the relations of the Party with the state and the organizations of the masses. In these instructions, however, no mention was made of elections to party organs. Later, in March 1947, the Central Committee decided that elections should be held only for the secretaries of the cells. But even here not all the organizational regulations were observed. The secretaries were elected by open ballot. No elections took place for the party bureaus and committees.

Of special importance to the internal life of the Party were the purge of its ranks (the verification) which was carried through during the year 1946, and the distribution of membership cards. As the result of the verification 1,246 people, constituting 10 per cent of the total number of members and candidate members, were expelled from the Party. Amongst them were many who were not worthy of the proud title of party member. However, the verification was not carried out completely according to Marxist-Leninist organizational regulations. Through a series of errors, some persons who did not deserve to be members still remained in the Party while others were expelled unjustly.

After the verification, the number of party members began to increase more rapidly. Within one year this number increa-

sed more than three and a half times. On the one hand, this indicated the growth of the authority of the Party, on the other, it weakened its composition and militant spirit, for in admission to membership attention was paid only to the increase in. numbers, and the question of quality was largely neglected. This once again brought entirely alien and even hostile persons into the. Party. While for the admission of women, especially in the countryside, a sectarian attitude was maintained.

Hand in hand with efforts to normalize the organizational life of the Party, the Central Committee took steps to raise the theoretical level of the communists, which was quite low. This became more urgent, because many party organizations did not feel that the study of Marxist-Leninist theory was absolutely necessary. For this purpose theoretical courses and circles were opened and individual study was organized. Besides this, agitation and propaganda among the masses of the people was extended, using new forms and methods.

The Sharpening of the Class Struggle

The deepening of the revolution encountered fierce resistance from the class enemies. The imperialists and internal reaction, despite the defeat they had suffered in Albania, could not reconcile themselves either to the existence of the people's power, or to the revolutionary socio-economic changes. After the failure of the objective they had hoped to achieve through the elections to the Constituent Assembly, the American and British governments drafted a new plan of measures against the PRA, in order to create a tense situation in the country. In such a situation events would be manipulated to furnish the imperialists with a pretext for armed intervention from abroad and to justify this intervention before international public opinion.

The imperialist propaganda launched a frenzied campaign against the order of people's democracy, while appealing to the Albanian people to rise against it. In Greece and Italy, American and British agencies assembled fugitive fascists, Zogites and Ballists in special camps, and gave them training in military and sabotage activity in preparation for the coming joint attack to be undertaken from abroad and from within the country against the «communists». British warships patrolled the territorial waters of the PRA in a

demonstrative manner, firing shots time and again in the direction of the Albanian mainland.

Meanwhile the American and British military missions to Albania set in motion the internal reaction. They organized a separate group with a number of reactionaries who had been elected as deputies in December 1945. These deputies began to declare themselves openly against socialist changes and attempted to create all sorts of obstacles to the adoption and enforcement of laws.

The American mission, in particular, had undertaken the task of disrupting our economy by sabotage in the main branches of construction and production. Groups of saboteurs composed of corrupted bourgeois specialists, operated under its direction in Maliq (where the swamp was being drained), on the construction sites of bridges, in the oil fields of Kuçova, in the copper mines of Rubik, and elsewhere.

In September 1946, counter-revolutionary bands launched an armed assault on the city of Shkodra. This attack had been calculated to serve as a starting point for military intervention from abroad. However it did not work out because the reactionary bands were annihilated within the day. In October, the imperialists organized a provocation of an international character against Albania. When a squadron of British warships was cruising along the Albanian coast-line with the aim of open provocation, two of them struck mines left from the time of the war in the Corfu Channel and were damaged. Accusing the Democratic Government of Albania of allegely placing these mines in the Corfu Channel, the American and British governments attempted to use the Corfu incident as a means to prepare public opinion to justify the landing of their military forces in Albania. Meanwhile, the Greek monarcho-fascist government launched more frequent territorial and aerial provocations along the state borders with the PRA.

The intensification of the activity of the imperialists and internal reaction had increased the peril which threatened the people's revolution in Albania. However, the CPA and the working masses who had acquired great experience in the struggle with internal and external class enemies, stood vigilant and always prepared to cope with any danger. The «group of deputies» and other enemies within the country found no support among the masses of the people. The working

people of town and countryside took part actively, together with the organs of State Security and military detachments in detecting enemies and in exterminating them. The traitors and the saboteurs were brought before people's courts where they gave an account of their actions and received the sentences they deserved. They were obliged to bring to light the entire plan hatched up by the American and British governments against the PRA and to admit their treason publicly.

At the same time, the aim which the imperialists tried to attain through the Corfu Channel provocation was foiled. Although they set in motion the international organizations, their obedient instruments, such as the Hague Court, etc., they did not succeed in convincing international public opinion that Albania was really to blame for the Corfu Incident. The Democratic Government of the PRA proved before the whole world that no blame could be attached to it over that incident, that the whole affair was a provocation organized by the British government for hostile aims against the PRA

The conviction of the Albanian people that the USA and Great Britain were acting as their arch-enemies was strengthened also by the persistent efforts of the American and British governments to deny the PRA its lawful place in the United Nations Organization. They used their veto in the Security Council against the admission of Albania to that organization.

The American and British imperialists also tried in every way to prevent the participation of Albania in the Peace Conference which was held in Paris in July 1946, but they did not achieve their aim.

In order to voice the standpoint of the Albanian government on the Peace Treaty with Italy, a delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha went to Paris. The delegation demanded: Italy should be compelled to respect not only the sovereignty and independence of the Albanian state as **proposed** in the draft treaty, but also its territorial integrity; the gold seized by the German invaders should be returned to Albania and reparations for war damage should be paid by Italy; the PRA should be considered as an associate power. These legitimate demands were rejected by the Peace Conference under the pressure of the British and American delegations, but,

through the persistence of the Democratic Government, the Albanian demands were approved by the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Allied Great Powers in November 1946.

The British and American delegates tried likewise to compel the Peace Conference to discuss the territorial claims of Greece against Albania and to describe the latter as a «defeated. state», but the clear-cut stand of the Albanian delegation foiled this attempt, too.

«I solemnly declare,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «that neither the Paris Conference, nor the Four Power Conference, nor any other conference whatsoever can take up for discussion the boundaries of our country, within which not even an inch of foreign land is included. Our boundaries are indisputable and nobody will dare violate them ... Let the whole world know... that the Albanian people have not sent their delegation to Paris to render account, but to demand that an account should be rendered to them by those who have caused them so much damage and against whom the Albanian people have fought so fiercely to the end.»*

An important role in bringing about the achievements of the PRA in the international arena was played by the support given by friendly states, especially by the Soviet Union.

The CPA drew lessons of major importance from the experience gained in the struggle against reaction during the early years after Liberation. The communists were convinced in practice and, at the same time, had convinced the working masses that the revolution can be developed and socialism can be built only through *«a fierce and merciless struggle against our internal enemies and their foreign imperialist supporters.»***

The Party was never carried away with the successes scored by the masses of the people under its leadership nor by the defeats suffered by the enemy. The Central Committee taught that «the enemy's work should be taken seriously, and this calls for constant revolutionary vigilance.»***

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* Enver Hoxha, Declaration made to the representatives of the press in Paris, September 16, 1946. Works, vol. 3, pp. 448-449, Alb. ed.

** Instructions of the CC of the CPA, June 17, 1947. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 456, Alb. ed.

*** Ibidem, p. 458.

Changes in the Economic and Social Structure and the First Results of the Socialist Development of Our Economy

The socialization of the principal means of production and the Agrarian Reform changed the economic and social structure of the country in favour of socialism. Now the economy consisted of three main forms: the socialist form, that of small-scale commodity production and the capitalist form.

The socialist form included industry, mining, the power stations, transport and communications, the financial system, foreign trade, internal wholesale trade, the state and cooperative enterprises of retail trade, the state and cooperative agricultural economies, machine and tractor stations, the forests, waters and underground resources. By the end of 1947 this form held the commanding positions of the economy and accounted for 95 per cent of overall industrial production.

Small-scale commodity production included most of the working people employed and represented about 80 per cent of the overall volume of production of the national economy. It comprised the economies of the poor and middle peasants and of the artisans who did not employ hired labour. All these people lived mainly on the income from their own toil.

The capitalist form comprised the economies of the kulaks in the countryside, the merchants and dealers, and the small tradesmen and owners in the cities who employed hired labour. They accounted for about 5 per cent of the overall volume of production of the national economy. It was concentrated principally in the field of circulation. In 1947 private trade represented about 80 per cent of the total volume of the circulation of retail goods.

Corresponding to these three forms of the economy were three social classes: the working class, the working peasantry and the bourgeoisie. The working class and peasantry had become the two main classes of society. Having lost its political power and the main means of production, the bourgeoisie was turned into a secondary class, but in order to safeguard its own class interests it carried on a stern struggle against the people's power and against the socialist construction of the country. In this struggle it had the backing of international imperialism.

But the Party was confident that it would emerge triumphant over the local and foreign class enemies and would

successfully accomplish the great tasks of the socialist construction.

The decisive factors which ensured the accomplishment of these tasks were: the correct Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and its undivided leadership over the entire life of the country; the dictatorship of the proletariat; the sound union of the working masses of town and countryside around the Party within the framework of the Democratic Front; the revolutionary tempering of these masses, gained in the war for national and social liberation and through the victories achieved in this war. The experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy, their political, economic and moral support, as well as the support of the world communist and workers' movement and the liberation movement, were a great aid to the Party.

At the same time the Party also kept in mind the obstacles and difficulties which resulted not only from the counter-revolutionary activity of the class enemies, but also from the objective internal and external conditions in which socialism had to be built, such as: the semi-feudal agrarian condition of the country, the marked educational and cultural backwardness of the population, the lack of a developed industrial working class; the shortage of engineers and technicians; the scanty material and financial resources; the encirclement of the country by the imperialists and by those neighbouring states which maintained a hostile attitude.

In these circumstances, in order to build socialism, our Party put forward as a primary task the rapid development of productive forces, by putting into operation and using all the internal possibilities and resources. The achievement of this task comprised, at the same time, a decisive condition for the restriction and elimination of the capitalist element, the construction of the material base of socialism and the extension of socialist relations of production.

The changes in the economic and social structure of the country enabled the CPA to take concrete measures for the planned development of the economy and culture. The first plans, in 1947 and 1948, aimed at strengthening the socialist economy, by developing mining, in the first place, and the branches of light industry. In the field of agriculture, they envisaged extension of the area under cultivation, increased production of bread grain and the introduction of new indus-

trial crops. In the field of culture, priority was given to the extension of schooling, the elimination of illiteracy and the training of specialists.

To cope with the tasks of the planned management of the economy, the CC of the Party and the government took a series of measures during 1947. The state industrial enterprises went over to a basis of economic accounting. This was a new method of planned management of the economic activity of enterprises, which required that they should cover all the expenses incurred for production with the revenues assured by the sale of their products and, at the same time, yield returns for accumulation.

The going over of economic enterprises to this basis was supplemented also by the organization of work with norms and the new system of pay according to work done.

For the centralization of accumulation and distribution, a reorganization of the financial system, the budget, taxation and the function of the bank was carried out. Instead of its almost administrative character, the budget was turned into the principal financial plan of the entire people's economy. Taxes also lost their fiscal character. The main form of budget income was defined as taxation on the turnover of economic enterprises and their surplus profits. The bank became the only centre of credit and accounting.

The rights and the duties of workers were defined in the new Law on Labour and Workers' Social Insurance. This law also regulated the conclusion of collective contracts between the management of the enterprises and the workers, rates of pay, hours of work and rest. It especially protected the rights of juveniles and of women as workers and as mothers. Every worker was entitled to social insurance benefits which were accorded by the state in cases of illness or of accidents at work, in old age, during pregnancy and at childbirth.

Making a correct assessment of the role of the cooperativist sector in building the socialist economy, the Party attacked the distortions which constituted an open deviation from its economic line.

In the artisans' cooperatives, the distribution of all the profits among the members without laying aside something for the expansion of production was prohibited and payment for work on a socialist basis was established.

The consumers' cooperatives in the cities were categorically

prohibited to resell goods they had accumulated to private merchants, as had happened in certain cases.

The trading cooperatives were charged not only with supplying the countryside with industrial goods, but also with the wholesale purchase of agricultural products for the regular supply of cities. This measure did away with private dealers and speculators.

The adoption of these measures in the cooperativist sector was of economic and political importance. It helped to put the cooperative movement on a correct and sound basis and to stop capitalist elements, who opposed the economic line of the Party for the construction of socialism, to exploit shortcomings.

Without underestimating the role and significance of cooperation in the field of circulation, the Party considered it merely as a first step, as a starting-point to pass over to cooperation in the field of agricultural production. Accordingly, during the years 1947-1948 work continued for setting up agricultural cooperatives of production on a voluntary basis.

To become modern and exemplary socialist economies, the first agricultural cooperatives needed an advanced material-technical base. For this purpose the first machine and tractor stations (MTS) were set up in 1947.

From the very start the MTS's were created as state socialist enterprises in agriculture. They were employed as a special form of the great aid the state gave the peasantry in an organized manner for the establishment and strengthening of the new cooperativist order in the countryside. The MTS's were the foundation stone of the new material-technical base of socialist agriculture. They were a powerful economic, political and organizational means for the socialist transformation of the countryside.

A great economic and political problem for the Party and the state was that of providing bread grain. In order to solve it, the people's power had been compelled to issue special ordinances, under which peasant farmers were obliged to sell all their surplus grain to the state, after deducting the necessary amount for seed and for their families' food, as fixed by law.

In this way the state succeeded in accumulating the necessary grain. The enforcement of the ordinances, however, encountered difficulties caused by the opposition of the peasant producers and by the endeavours of enemies to exploit this opposition to their advantage. On the other hand, this system

of procurement did not arouse any interest in the peasant or give him any material inducement to increase his sown area and agricultural production. For this reason, in 1948 modifications were made in the system of procurement of grain. Now, each peasant economy was obliged to deliver to the state a fixed amount of grain at a standard price. The peasant could keep for himself any surplus or sell it to the state at a higher price than that of the compulsory quota. This system created a certain degree of material incentive for the peasant to increase agricultural production. But it did not solve the problem completely, because it was open to distortions which led either to the obligatory procurement of all the surplus production, or to leaving the producers with greater quantities of grain than the ordinances envisaged.

The frequent modifications of the procurement system during the years 1946-1948 were the consequence not only of the difficulties of ensuring supplies of bread grain, but also of the lack of experience in finding the most appropriate forms of economic links between town and countryside, as well as of Yugoslav interference.

During the years 1947-1948 the working masses exerted great efforts to fulfil the plans. During these two years new industrial projects and the Tirana-Durrës-Peqin railway were built, and the productive capacities of mines were extended. In 1948 the total industrial output was twice as much as in 1938.

At this time agricultural production also surpassed the pre-war level. With the introduction of new industrial crops, slowly but surely, the old structure of agriculture began to change. The first steps were taken for the reclamation of swamps and drainage and irrigation of the land.

The economic and social changes of a democratic and socialist character which were carried out in Albania immediately after the liberation were rapid, impetuous and far-reaching. This constituted a proof of the leading force of the Communist Party and the vitality of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also of the breadth of the social base of the socialist revolution. The activity of the Party and of the state for the revolutionary change of the country was supported not only by the working class and the poor peasantry, but also by the middle peasantry and the petty-bourgeoisie of the cities.

The utter military and political defeat suffered by the landlords and the reactionary bourgeoisie in 1944 and the firm base of the people's power among the broad masses of the population did not permit the overthrown exploiting classes to turn their class struggle into a civil war after Liberation despite the many efforts, especially of the American and British imperialists. After Liberation these classes suffered another major defeat in the political and economic-social sphere.

5. THE DEFEAT OF THE HOSTILE INTERFERENCE OF THE YUGOSLAV REVISIONISTS. THE UNMASKING OF THE ANTI-PARTY ACTIVITY OF KOÇI XOXE'S GROUP

The successes achieved during the early years after Liberation would have been still greater had it not been for the blatant interference of the leadership of the CPY in the internal affairs of the CPA and of the Albanian state. With its hostile activity it caused great damage to the building of socialism in Albania.

Basing itself on the consistent internationalist policy of the CPA, which aimed at strengthening fraternal relations with the Soviet Union and the other countries of people's democracy, in July 1946 the government of the PR of Albania concluded with the Yugoslav government the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the PFR of Yugoslavia. A few months later an Economic Convention was also signed.

The CPA had confidence in the alliance between the Albanian people and the Yugoslav peoples who had fought shoulder to shoulder against the same foe and for the same objectives. The Party considered the close cooperation and the mutual assistance between the PR of Albania and the PFR of Yugoslavia as an external factor of importance for the construction of socialism in Albania and for the protection of the national independence of the country.

Nevertheless, the General Secretary and the other comrades of the Central Committee viewed with concern the interference of Yugoslav representatives in the domestic affairs of the Party and the Albanian state. But they did not suspect

as yet that this interference was being done on the instructions and with the approval of the Central Committee of the CPY. While objecting in every instance when the Yugoslav diplomats and military men in Albania meddled in the internal matters of the Party and state, they tried to eliminate any misunderstandings or obstacles in the relations between the two countries and the two parties.

However, these efforts ran up against the anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian stand of the Yugoslav leadership. In this stand, which the Yugoslav propaganda attempted to present as a policy of «disinterested fraternal aid», lurked their intention to eliminate the independence of the CPA and the Albanian state.

The Resistance of the CPA to Yugoslav Interference

The agreements concluded on the basis of the Economic Convention were put into effect at the beginning of 1947. The first step foreseen by these agreements was the parity of currency. Right from the start the Central Committee and the Albanian government, on the initiative of Comrade Enver Hoxha, opposed this measure in principle because there were many obstacles which prevented the achievement of real parity. The level of economic development between the two countries, wages and the prices of commodities were not equal. However, the leadership of the CPY declared this objection out of order and described it as an expression of distrust toward the spirit of the Convention. After the pressure exerted by the CPY the *lek* was brought to parity with the *dinar* on a completely arbitrary basis to the advantage of the *dinar*.

The second measure which was put into effect was the unification of prices. On this measure also the Central Committee of the Party and the Albanian government raised objections based on the fact that in industry, agriculture and other branches of material production of the two countries, the fundamental funds were of different structures. Labour productivity and the cost per unit of product were likewise different. The leadership of the CPY described these factors as unimportant. As a result of the pressure exerted by it, an accord was reached to the effect that similar norms of accumulation were to be determined for the commodities of both countries and that these commodities should be exchanged at domestic and not at international market prices.

The third measure was the customs union. The CPA tried to ensure that this union served to facilitate the exchange between the two countries. Meanwhile, the leadership of the CPY distorted the content of the agreement and, after exerting pressure, succeeded in ensuring that any Yugoslav enterprise or private merchant had the unrestricted right to buy commodities on the Albanian market, and that the *dinar* exchanged freely with the Albanian *lek*. Consequently, Yugoslav firms and private merchants took everything they found on the Albanian market. The resulting drain on the market created an extremely difficult situation for the economy and the workers of Albania. This was why the country was threatened with a new inflation and there was a general rise in prices on the free market.

A special commission was set up for the purpose of coordinating economic plans and the execution of other economic agreements. The Yugoslav leadership demanded that this commission should enjoy such rights and functions as, in fact, would turn it into a government above the Albanian government. These demands were rejected by the Central Committee of the CPA.

In the framework of economic agreements, joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were set up. They covered the most important branches of our people's economy. These companies were set up allegedly on the basis of equality. However, while the Albanian side, according to the agreements, paid its full quota to the fund of the joint companies, the Yugoslav side did not invest even a penny for the fundamental funds. Thus the companies were kept running on the fundamental investments of the Albanian state alone, while the Yugoslav side appropriated half of the profits.

All these agreements infringed even the most elementary norms of relations between two sovereign states and inflicted heavy losses on the economy of the PRA.

According to the economic agreements, the Yugoslav government had promised Albania a credit of 2 billion *leks* for the year 1947. Less than half this credit was made available, while those commodities which were supplied by Yugoslavia on credit were calculated at prices two to four times higher than world prices. The entire so-called Yugoslav aid consisted of four small, altogether out-of-date and long written-off factories. Besides this, the credit was employed as

a means to exert pressure on the Albanian Party and state and to arouse distrust in them as being allegedly incapable of directing the planned development of the economy. All this made it very difficult to fulfil the plan for 1947, which was drafted relying also on Yugoslav aid. The Yugoslav government did not provide the PR of Albania with the credit promised for the year 1948, either.

In order to meet the needs of the plan, our government was forced to use all the reserves it had in raw materials, building materials and consumption goods. Since these were scarce, the economic and financial situation of the country deteriorated.

Hand in hand with its attempt to seize important positions in the economic domain, the leadership of the CPY extended its interference with a view to getting hold of the Albanian army. Having secured a footing in the Political Directorate, it concentrated its attacks on the correct line of the Party in the military domain and the independence of the People's Army. In military matters, too, its views and demands encountered the objections of the sound part of the Central Committee of the Party led by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

In order to crush the resistance of the CC of the CPA, in June 1947 the leadership of the CPY sent it a provocative letter. In this letter, Tito, General Secretary of the CPY, openly attacked the Central Committee of the CPA, accusing it of distorting the line of the Party and claiming that «a second line in an anti-Yugoslav spirit was crystallizing» in Albania. By means of this accusation, the Yugoslav leadership intended to strengthen its weakened positions in the CPA and to give its agent Koçi Xoxe a weapon to combat **the** General Secretary and the other sound comrades of **the** leadership, whom it indirectly blamed as the main culprits for the distortion of the line of the Party.

The letter of the CC of the CPY was taken up for discussion in the Political Bureau. Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo did not oppose the accusation of the Yugoslav leadership, but did not dare to come out openly in defence of it, either. The Political Bureau rejected it. The Bureau instructed Comrade Enver Hoxha to reply to the Central Committee of the CPY, describing the accusation as absolutely unfounded and as open interference in the internal affairs of the CPA.

After this the situation became even more tense. The

leadership of the CPY increased its interference and pressure against the CPA. For this it created new pretexts.

At the beginning of 1947, the CC of the CPA issued directives to the state organs to begin the drafting of a two-year plan (1948-1949) of economic development. The Party proceeded from the actual state of affairs in Albania: the internal possibilities, the scale of studies which had been made and the experience which state organs had managed to acquire for drawing up a plan of not too long a term.

Without taking any account whatsoever of this situation, the leadership of the CPY demanded with persistence that Albania too should work out a prospective five-year plan, just as Yugoslavia was doing. Moreover, it even recommended to the government of the PRA the orientation for this plan, dealing with Albania as if it were a Yugoslav republic. According to this orientation, the economy of the PRA should not be developed independently, but should be integrated into the economy of Yugoslavia. Albania should not create and develop its own national industry, but should confine itself only to the production of agricultural and mineral raw materials which would be processed in Yugoslavia. In exchange, Albania would receive from Yugoslavia the necessary industrial commodities. This orientation aimed at subjugating and exploiting the Albanian economy and reducing it to an appendage of the Yugoslav economy.

The Central Committee of the CPA immediately rejected this orientation. It agreed to the drafting of a five-year plan, but instructed the government that the plan should aim at creating and developing our national industry, the electrification of the country, the development of agriculture on socialist foundations and that this plan should be based mainly on the internal resources as well as on the aid of the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

The Party took concrete steps to strengthen and extend the political and economic relations of the PR of Albania with the USSR and the countries of people's democracy. But these steps encountered the opposition of the leadership of the CPY which aimed to keep Albania isolated from the Soviet Union and the countries of people's democracy.

In July 1947, a delegation of the Albanian government went to Moscow for talks with the Soviet government. The delegation was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha. As a result of

these talks, the Soviet Union accorded the PR of Albania a credit for the equipment of agriculture with tractors and other agricultural machinery and also for the construction of several important industrial works.

Using as an excuse the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, the Yugoslav leadership attempted to hinder the conclusion of the agreement with the USSR. It went so far as to have the Yugoslav representative in Moscow demand that the Albanian representative office there should hand to him copies of this agreement, asserting in a threatening manner that nothing should be concluded without the approval of the Yugoslav government. The Albanian government protested against this new interference in its internal affairs.

The correct orientation which the CC of the Party gave the government for the drafting of the plan and the visit of the Albanian delegation to Moscow were used by Tito as a pretext for formulating the second accusation against the CPA. In November 1947, he accused the Albanian government of having drafted an autarkic, unrealistic five-year plan which separated the economy of Albania from the economy of Yugoslavia. Indirectly he condemned the acceptance of direct material and moral assistance from the USSR, and openly accused Comrade Enver Hoxha of having altered his policy toward Yugoslavia after his return from Moscow. The orientation toward the Soviet Union he described as anti-Yugoslav. The Communist Party of Albania was charged with the crime of having allegedly allowed the creation of an anti-Yugoslav front in Albania, of wrecking the relations between the Albanian and Yugoslav peoples. Finally, Comrade Nako Spiru in particular was accused of being a collaborator with the enemy!

These further accusations were another very heavy blow to the CPA. They profoundly upset the leadership of the Party and aggravated to the extreme the tense state which had been created in the Political Bureau. These accusations placed in the hands of Koçi Xoxe's faction the dynamite with which to blow up the very foundations of the Party. And, in fact, Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and Kristo Themelko[1] became most ardent defenders of the Yugoslav theses. Koçi Xoxe did not

1 Kristo Themelko acknowledged his faults and made self-criticism before the Party after the treachery of the leadership of the CP of Yugoslavia had been entirely disclosed in June 1948.

invite a number of the members of the Political Bureau to the meeting which discussed these accusations, with the aim of depriving Comrade Enver Hoxha of all backing and support.

Besides this, instead of disclosing the reasons for the Yugoslav leadership's interference and rejecting its false accusations, Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo supported them and put all the stress on Nako Spiru's «treason». This was a manoeuvre aimed at hiding the heavy blow which was being dealt at the CPA and at its General Secretary by the Yugoslav leadership, as well as its objective.

In this very tense situation, Comrade Nako Spiru proved unable to face up to the very difficult circumstances as a communist should, and committed suicide.

In order to strengthen relations with the countries which had embarked on the road to socialism, in December 1947, a government delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha went to Sofia, where the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between the PR of Albania and the PR of Bulgaria was signed.

The leadership of the CPY attempted to prevent the conclusion of this treaty. Through Koçi Xoxe, who was a member of the Albanian delegation, it tried to have the treaty framed in such a way that any common action of Albania with Bulgaria should have the prior approval of Yugoslavia. This persistent demand by Koçi Xoxe was rejected. Since it was impossible to stop the conclusion of the treaty or alter its sound spirit, the Yugoslav leadership exerted every effort to diminish its importance.

Pronouncing itself in favour of strengthening relations with the sister communist parties on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism, the October 1947 Plenum of the CC of the CPA fully endorsed the Declaration and the Resolution of the Warsaw Consultative Meeting of a number of communist and workers' parties, held at the end of September 1947, and approved the creation of the Information Bureau, which emerged from the Consultative Meeting. The CPA expressed its readiness to exchange experience and, in case of need, to co-ordinate its actions with those of the sister communist and workers' parties. At the proper time, the Central Committee would seek membership for the CPA in the Information Bureau.

Disclosure of the Anti-Marxist and Anti-Albanian Schemes of the Yugoslav Leadership

Nako Spiru's suicide seriously damaged the Party and further aggravated the already tense situation which had been created in the party leadership. It gave the Yugoslav revisionist clique the opportunity to use this event as «a proof of the truth» of its accusations and to undertake a new assault on the line of the CPA, on its unity and on the General Secretary.

In these circumstances, Koçi Xoxe, with the direct help of the leadership of the CPY and masquerading as the «saviour» of the Party, prepared the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. The anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian theses of the CC of the CPY expressed in the form of a program in a speech delivered by Koçi Xoxe at the Party School, served as the platform for this Plenum. During preparations for the Plenum, Koçi Xoxe stepped up the persecution of sound and tested cadres of the Party who defended its correct line and launched a campaign of disparagement against communist intellectuals. Through the State Security organs, which were under his direction, he collected and trumped up charges against leading cadres who were undesirable for him and who were to be condemned at the 8th Plenum.

Precisely at this time, the Yugoslav leadership, through Savo Zlatić, its representative in the People's Republic of Albania, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA its plan for the «union of Albania with Yugoslavia on a federative basis.» «The other peoples of the Balkans and, particularly, Bulgaria» were also to be included in the federation. According to this plan, at first the federation would be concretized in the «economic relations» by «fusing the national economies» and by «drawing up joint plans». Likewise, «the armies would be merged into one.» Enventually «the creation of a single state» which would be allegedly the «will of peoples and parties»[1] would be considered. Koçi Xoxe's group made the theses of this scheme the basis of the preparations for the coming plenum.

The hostile activity of the Titoites and of their agents

1 The theses of Savo Zlatić on the union of Albania with Yugoslavia, submitted to the Central Committee of the CPA, December 5, 1947. Notes on talks. CPA.

headed by Koçi Xoxe against the CPA reached its culmination at the 8th Plenum of the CC of the CPA which was held in February 1948.

In fact Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo called Comrade Enver Hoxha the main culprit for the allegedly wrong course the Party had taken. Koçi Xoxe concocted the so-called faction at the head of the Party which operated «under the nose of the General Secretary!» He even implied that Comrade Enver Hoxha personally was at the head of the faction! This was a serious attack on the position of Comrade Enver Hoxha and on the unity of the Party.

The Plenum agreed to such forms of economic ties between Albania and Yugoslavia which would have led to the elimination of the Albanian state. The concept of the unification of the Albanian army with the Yugoslav army was launched. Open attempts were made to divide Albania from the Soviet Union, and anti-Soviet tendencies were manifested.

The 8th Plenum made mistakes in the structura and internal life of the Party even worse. The use of military and police methods in place of the organizational methods of the leadership of the Party became even more pronounced.

At this Plenum the resistance of the CC of the CPA in defence of the line of the Party was broken by the pressure of the Yugoslav leadership. The Plenum endorsed Tito's charges put forward in November 1947. The correct political and economic line of the Party was seriously violated. National independence and sovereignty were directly endangered. The 8th Plenum prepared the ground for the implementation of the Yugoslav plan for the colonization of Albania. This Plenum is a black stain on the glorious history of the CPA.

Following the Plenum Koçi Xoxe's group set to work with all their might to put the Yugoslav scheme into effect. They stepped up their preparations aimed at discrediting and even at the physical elimination of those leading cadres of the Party and state, who opposed the interference and pressure of the Yugoslav revisionists.

The direction and activity of mass organizations took a distorted course. Tendencies were manifested to dismantle the youth organization. A series of functions were withdrawn from the Trade Unions; they were turned into an altogether bureaucratic apparatus.

Police methods were introduced in the state apparatus. The State Security organs were placed above the Party.

Thinking that now they had completely subjugated the CPA, the Titoites interfered in the internal affairs of the Party and of the Albanian state in a more brutal and flagrant manner. The commission for the co-ordination of plans was transformed virtually into a second government. The joint Albanian-Yugoslav companies were turning into purely Yugoslav enterprises. A special control commission came from Yugoslavia with the task of helping to merge the Albanian economy into the Yugoslav economy, which was to serve as a basis for the political union of the two countries. Meanwhile Koçi Xoxe's group launched a broad propaganda campaign for «union and fraternization» with Yugoslavia with the aim of presenting this union as an act allegedly carried out by the will of the Albanian people.

The Yugoslav leadership and Koçi Xoxe's faction persistently demanded from the CC of the Party and the government that the Soviet military advisers be withdrawn. Finally, in the Political Bureau of the CC of the CPA they raised the question of the unification of the supreme command of Albanian and Yugoslav armies with Tito at the head, and demanded approval of the plan for the union of Albania with Yugoslavia. Despite the grave situation which had been created in the Political Bureau and the extraordinary pressure from the Titoites and their supporters, after Comrade Enver Hoxha's resolute and principled opposition, these anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian demands were not adopted.

The Yugoslav leadership, feeling that its intentions might soon be disclosed and taking into consideration the resistance put up by the CPA, tried to attain these aims by means of intimidation. As a pretext it invented the danger to Albania from an imminent attack by Greece and sought to dispatch several divisions of the Yugoslav army urgently to Albania. In this way the military occupation of Albania would become a fait accompli. This would permit the Titoites to overcome the opposition they would encounter in the annexation of Albania. Koçi Xoxe and his group supported this demand. Koçi Xoxe and Ranković, one of Tito's closest collaborators, had even prepared a project to publicize the arrival of Yugoslav troops, after they had established themselves on Albanian soil, as an act carried out on the basis of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid!

However, this Yugoslav scheme, too, came to naught. Comrade Enver Hoxha raised this question in the leadership of the Central Committee. On his proposal it was decided not to accept the stationing of Yugoslav divisions in Albania. This historic decision saved the country from the bloodshed which the entry of Yugoslav troops and a new enslavement would have caused.

Comrade Enver Hoxha informed J.V. Stalin about the demand of the Yugoslav leadership to send some divisions to Albania and the refusal of this demand by the Central Committee of the CPA, as he had previously informed him of the other serious interferences by Tito and various Yugoslav functionaries in the internal affairs of the Communist Party of Albania and the Albanian state.

The Party and the state were going through exceptionally difficult moments. Precisely at this time, the CPA was informed of the letters which the CC of the CPSU had sent to the CC of the CPY.

In these letters the Yugoslav leadership was severely criticized for its anti-Soviet attitude, for following an opportunist line which led to the re-establishment of capitalism, for violations of the Leninist norms in the internal life of the party, and for the arrogance and conceit of the leaders of the CPY.

These letters had great importance for the CPA and the Albanian people. «At the most critical moment of the fierce conflict which existed between the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania and the leaders of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, a conflict caused by the anti-Marxist Yugoslav leadership, the help of the Bolshevik Party of the Soviet Union..., which was extended to our Party and to all other sister communist parties, was the salvation of our people, of our Communist Party.»*

In the light of these letters, the character and the aims of the Yugoslav interference in Albania now became quite clear to the CC of our Party.

The meeting of the Information Bureau, which was held in June 1948, made a contribution of major importance to

* Communique of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Albania, June 29, 1948. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 476, Alb. ed.

the unmasking of the revisionist and chauvinist activity of the leaders of the CPY. The Information Bureau reached the correct conclusion that the leaders of the CPY had departed from Marxism-Leninism and had taken the road of revisionism, had betrayed socialism and gone over to the positions of bourgeois nationalism. Proceeding from this situation, it condemned the leaders of the CPY as traitors to the cause of socialism and proletarian internationalism.

The CC of the CPA fully endorsed the resolution of the Information Bureau «On the Situation in the Yugoslav Communist Party.» In a special communique it condemned the treacherous, anti-Soviet and anti-Albanian course taken by the leadership of the CPY.

This stand of the Central Committee was endorsed by the entire Party. At their meetings all the party organizations expressed their unshakeable trust in the Central Committee and in the General Secretary, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA. Defeat of Yugoslav Interference and Koci Xoxe's Hostile Activity

Following the exposure of the hostile aims of the Yugoslav revisionists, the economic and political relations between Albania and Yugoslavia had to be purged of any spirit or content of exploitation and subjugation. To this end, the CPA demanded that, with the exception of the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid, all the other agreements should be revised. However, the Yugoslav leadership turned a deaf ear to this just demand. This being the case, the Albanian government was obliged to abrogate the economic agreements concluded between the PR of Albania and the PFR of Yugoslavia.

In order to eradicate the Yugoslav interference and the distortions in the political and organizational line of the Party, the 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA was held in September 1948. Those members and candidate members, who had been unjustly expelled by the 8th Plenum, took part in this plenum.

The 11th Plenum thoroughly analysed the political line of the Party and its activity, disclosed the causes of the mistakes and determined the measures to effect the change dictated by the new historical circumstances.

The Plenum considered that the political line which the

Party had pursued since its foundation had been correct. The particular distortions which had appeared after Liberation were consequences of the Yugoslav interference. This interference and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity caused the organizational line of the Party in the post-war period to take a generally incorrect course.

The main decisions of the 2nd Plenum and all the decisions of the 8th Plenum were described as anti-Marxist, harmful and, as such, were denounced and invalidated.

The Plenum discussed in detail the relations of the Party and the Albanian state with the Yugoslav Party and state. It sternly condemned the national-chauvinist and colonialist intentions of the Yugoslav revisionists toward the PR of Albania. On the other hand, the Central Committee made self-criticism for the excessive trust it had placed in the leadership of the CPY.

The Plenum declared the Party's remaining in a semi-illegal state, even after it had become the leading party in power, to be incorrect. The facts that the party program was hidden under the program of the Democratic Front, that party members kept their membership secret and that the directives of the CPA were published as decisions of the Democratic Front, were all described as serious errors. These forms borrowed from the CPY weakened the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country and led toward its elimination.

The lack of a party Constitution, which had allowed the arbitrary introduction into the Party of anti-Marxist forms and methods of the Yugoslav leadership, was regarded as harmful, and therefore the need for the preparation of this fundamental document was stressed.

The 11th Plenum charged Koçi Xoxe with grave responsibility for the unreserved support he had given the Titoites and for the distortions in the organizational line of the Party. Holding the functions of Organizational Secretary of the Party and Minister of Internal Affairs simultaneously, Koçi Xoxe used his position to put the Party under the control of the State Security organs, to apply police methods in the Party. This had brought about a serious violation of democratic centralism and the stifling of principled criticism and self-criticism. The leading organs of the Party were not elected, but appointed from above. They did not regularly render account to the mass of communists. The membership had no control over the leading organs. In many cases, the

rights of party members were trampled underfoot. Discipline was mechanical rather than conscious. The collective spirit in the party leadership had been replaced with individual orders and instructions.

There were serious shortcomings and errors in the policy of cadres. Sectarianism, localism and personal friendship predominated. The cadres were not appreciated as the Party's invaluable treasure. The work to educate and raise their capacity was almost entirely neglected. All the old, capable cadres with authority had been gathered in the centre, whereas the local party and state organs had been greatly weakened.

This grave situation within the Party had left deep marks on the entire life of the country. As Minister of Internal Affairs Koçi Xoxe had allowed serious violations of socialist law and the democratic rights of the workers. The organs of Internal Affairs, especially of the State Security, had been turned into all-powerful organs which were not subject to any control. Through their arbitrary and harmful actions, these organs were divorcing themselves from the people.

In various instances, wrong political stands had been taken by the Party and the organs of the Party and the state toward the patriotic petty bourgeoisie and the stratum of intellectuals. Harsh economic measures against small merchants, which led to their premature elimination, had been taken through administrative acts. Patriots from the ranks of the middle strata of cities and villages, who had fought for the liberation of the Homeland under the leadership of the Party, had been unjustly declared enemies. On account of the inimical activities of individual intellectual elements, a broad circle of intellectuals had been arbitrarily persecuted.

All these were errors with very serious consequences, which created a feeling of insecurity among the masses of the people and were weakening the links of the Party with the masses and with the Democratic Front.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA put an end to all these distortions and mistakes in the political and organizational line of the Party.

It rehabilitated Comrade Nako Spiru as a militant of the Party and took punitive measures against Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and several other participants of the factionalist group. It was decided that all those who had been promoted to leading posts in the Party or state in the spirit of the 8th Plenum should return to the positions they had occupied

before, whereas all those who had been unjustly punished were rehabilitated and returned to their former posts. Those who had been expelled contrary to the rules of the Party were readmitted to its ranks.

The 11th Plenum reaffirmed the unshakeable determination of the Party to follow the policy of friendship and close fraternal collaboration with the Soviet Union and with the Bolshevik Party led by J. V. Stalin, which stood at the head of the socialist camp and of the entire workers' revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist movement in the world. The Party stressed that it was a duty to study the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet Union and to apply it in a creative manner in the conditions of Albania.

The party organizations were charged with the task of carrying out large-scale propaganda work in order to make it clear to the working masses that the chief enemies of the PRA and of all humanity were the American and British imperialists, to explain to them the treachery of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership headed by Tito to Marxism-Leninism and the socialist camp, as well as its hostile activity against the CPA and the PR of Albania.

The Plenum decided to recommence publishing «Zëri i popullit», organ of the CC of the Party.

In order to normalize the life the CPA it was decided to legalize the Party at once, to call its 1st Congress and to apply Marxist-Leninist principles in organizational matters.

The 11th Plenum of the CC of the CPA marked the beginning of a sharp turn in the life of the Party and in the destiny of the country. It re-established unity in the leadership and immeasurably raised the authority of the Party. The decisions of the 11th Plenum which, for the first time were published in the press, shook up all the party organizations and set them in motion, stimulated the initiative and the courage of communists and enhanced their confidence in their own forces.

Various measures were taken to eliminate the influence of the Yugoslav revisionists on the socialist sector of the economy. A new Constitution for the agricultural cooperatives was drawn up and new laws to regulate and step up the economic development of the countryside on the road of socialism were enacted. Some elements of capitalist cooperation borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists were eliminated. The

system of distributing incomes in the agricultural cooperatives on the basis of the area of land contributed was abolished, remuneration was applied only to the work done, and the number of livestock and the size of personal plots of the cooperativist members was limited. The care of the state to ensure good organization and management of agricultural cooperatives was augmented.

At this time all the attention of the Party and the working people was concentrated on the preparations for the 1st Congress of the CPA. There was a great upsurge of the creative work of the masses in order to go to the Congress with the economic plan fulfilled. The revolutionary enthusiasm which had seized the whole people greatly assisted the Party to prepare itself at a high level for its Congress.

CHAPTER IV

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY TO TURN ALBANIA FROM A BACKWARD AGRICULTURAL COUNTRY INTO AN AGRICULTURAL-INDUSTRIAL ONE

(1948-1955)

1. THE 1st CONGRESS OF THE CPA — A HISTORIC TURNING-POINT IN THE LIFE OF THE PARTY AND THE COUNTRY

The 1st Congress of the CPA was held in Tirana from the 8th to 22nd of November 1948 with the participation of 563 delegates with deliberative vote and 299 delegates with consultative vote, representing 29,137 members and 16,245 candidate members.

The Report on the Activity of the Central Committee was delivered by the General Secretary of the Party, Enver Hoxha. In this report he analysed the entire activity of the Party since its founding. At the same time he outlined the policy of the Party for the coming period. The proletarian party spirit which pervaded the report and the principled Marxist-Leninist stand taken toward the fundamental problems guided the delegates to the Congress correctly and determined the success of its proceedings.

Exposure and Condemnation of the Yugoslav Revisionists

The Congress dwelt especially on the unmasking and condemnation of the anti-Marxist views and practices of the Yugoslav revisionists, because, as was pointed out in the resolution, all the

grave mistakes observed in the life of the Party had their source mainly in the «pressure and illegal interference of the Trotskyite Jugoslav leadership.» Without denouncing and condemning their anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian stands and activities, the change which had begun at the 11th Plenum of the CC could not be carried right through to completion.

The CPA observed that many stands of the Yugoslav leadership after Liberation were incompatible with the Marxist-Leninist theory and scientific socialism, that Yugoslavia did not proceed on the Leninist road of socialist construction. When the CPA acquainted itself with Stalin's letters sent to the CC of the CPY, it became fully convinced that socialism was not being built in Yugoslavia, that capitalism was developing there instead.

The post-war Yugoslav state was not a dictatorship of the proletariat, but a state of a new bourgeois class in alliance with the old Yugoslav bourgeoisie. The army and the Ministry of interior with the UDB had become all-powerful in this state, as in a fascist-type dictatorship.

The CPY, too, was placed under the direct control of the Ministry of Interior and the UDB. Ali the Marxist-Leninist norms of the structure and leading role of the proletarian party had been violated in the CPY. Thus the party, too, had been transformed into a state organ to suppress the working class and the other working masses.

The Congress pointed out that the Titoites had striven with all their might and means to impose their anti-Marxist ideology, policy and methods on the Communist Party of Albania. To this end, amongst other things, they had organized the group of plotters around Koçi Xoxe. As a result of their influence many of their views and practices alien to Marxism-Leninism and scientific socialism, especially in regard to the organizational questions, and in many cases in regard to the economic and political questions, had been introduced into the CPA. A consequence of this influence was the unjustifiable keeping of our Party in semi-illegality in the first years after Liberation. However, the pressure and interference of the Yugoslav revisionists had been unable to damage the proletarian policy of our Party on the class struggle, its economic policy and its revolutionary political line in general.

By exposing and condemning the Yugoslav revisionists, the Congress completed the rout of the traitor group of Koçi Xoxe.

During the analysis of the Resolution of the 11th Plenum in the party organizations, many facts and documents were discovered which brought the hostile activity of Koçi Xoxe, Pandi Kristo and others fully to light and incriminated them even more gravely as lackeys of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. For this reason, the communists considered the punitive measures which the 11th Plenum of the CC had taken against them inadequate and demanded that more severe, radical measures be taken. Expressing the will of all the communists, the Congress expelled Koçi Xoxe and Pandi Kristo from the ranks of the Party, because through their hostile activity, «in complete collaboration and co-ordination with the nationalist-Trotskyite group of Tito and Ranković, they had attempted to destroy our Party, to liquidate the independence of our country and make our People's Republic degenerate into a Yugoslav colony and a vassal bourgeois republic of imperialism...»*

In connection with the stand towards Yugoslavia, the Congress expressed itself firmly in favour of preserving the friendship with the Yugoslav peoples, formed in the common liberation struggle against the fascist occupiers, and of waging an irreconcilable ideological and political struggle against the Tito group of revisionist traitors.**

The Fundamental Directions for the Construction of the Bases of Socialism

While stressing with great force the need to carry through to the end the struggle against the distortions in the political line that had resulted from the hostile Yugoslav interference, the Congress defined the main directions for the construction of the bases of socialism.

The fundamental economic objective was to raise the country from its profound backwardness through vigorous development of the productive forces.

The essence of this task was the socialist industrialization and the electrification of the country. The absolute necessity for industrialization was dictated by the need to create an

* Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 575, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, pp. 563-564.

entirely new material-technical base for the people's economy, to extend the production of goods within the country, to prepare the conditions for the reorganization of agriculture on a socialist basis, to increase the numbers of the working class so as to strengthen its leading position. Socialist industrialization would directly serve the safeguarding of the gains and the development of the revolution, the construction of socialist society.

Socialist industrialization had to be carried out at rapid rates so as to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past within the shortest possible time, to ensure the independent development of the economy and to achieve an appreciable rise in the material and cultural level of the working masses. The fulfilment of this task was based, in the first place, on the most complete utilization of the soil and the underground assets, by improving and reorganizing the existing industry and by setting up a series of new industrial projects and branches.

Besides the socialist industrialization, the 1st Congress attached great importance to the development of agriculture and to lifting it out of its state of backwardness. The only way to attain this objective fully was the socialist reorganization of the countryside. After criticizing the errors committed on the question of collectivization, the Congress orientated the Party «toward strengthening the socialist sector of agriculture (the state farms) and toward the gradual, cautious and voluntary collectivization of the land in the countryside through agricultural labour cooperatives, with the political, economic and organizational support of the state...»* Since the conditions for extensive collectivization were not yet ripe, the activity of the Party in this field would be guided by the slogan «As to collectivization, neither rush it nor mark time.»

The individual farms, which made up the major part of the agricultural economies, were at a low state of development; therefore it was judged necessary to give all-round aid to the individual working peasants so that agricultural production would be increased.

At the same time, the Congress instructed that the danger of capitalist development in the countryside in the conditions of

* Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA, Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 565, Alb. ed.

the predominance of individual farms should not be overlooked even for a moment. It issued instructions that a policy of economic restriction and political isolation of the capitalist elements in the countryside should be applied.

In carrying out this policy in the countryside, the Party was to be guided by the Leninist slogan: «Reliance on the poor peasant, alliance with the medium peasant, struggle against the kulak.»

The development of the country on the socialist road demanded the continuation of the struggle to eliminate the cultural backwardness, to intensify the cultural and ideological revolution. In this connection, all possible measures were to be taken for the application of compulsory elementary schooling, for the extension of secondary schooling, especially vocational schooling, for the creation of all the conditions for the development of higher schooling, and the training of higher cadres at home and abroad.

After criticizing the attempts of the Yugoslav revisionists and the Koçi Xoxe group to introduce the spirit of negating the cultural traditions and values of the Albanian people into the sphere of education, art and culture, the Congress laid down the main directions which would constitute the essence of the development of the cultural revolution in this field. Education and culture should belong to the people and serve the broad masses of the working people relying on the national values. They would be endowed with profound socialist content. In education, art and culture the Party would combat the influence of bourgeois ideology and base itself firmly on Marxist-Leninist science.

The 1st Congress considered and approved the directives of the two-year plan for the economic and cultural development of the country for the period 1949-1950, during which the conditions would be prepared to go over to the stage of developing our economy with longer-term plans.

Primary importance in the two-year plan was given to the development of industry, to which about 47 per cent of all the investment funds for that period were allocated. Priority was given to increasing mineral production and, in particular, oil and bitumen. The development of light industry occupied second place. The two-year plan envisaged the construction of the textile combine in Tirana, the sugar refinery at Maliq, the Selita hydro-power station and a series

of other projects. The further development and cooperation of handicraft production was also to play a special role in overcoming the difficulties of supplying the population with industrial goods.

In the sphere of agriculture the increase of agricultural products was envisaged through the extension of the sown area, increasing yields, extending irrigation and drainage work, agricultural mechanization, etc.

The Further Strengthening and Democratization of the People's State Power

The Congress stressed the imperative need to further strengthen and democratize the regime, to strengthen the People's Army and the State Security service, in order to build the foundations of socialism.

The administrative division of the state power into district and city councils, the former concerned mainly with the problems of the countryside and the latter with those of the cities, was considered wrong in principle. This administrative measure, borrowed from the Yugoslav revisionists, had brought about the artificial segregation of the urban workers from the rural workers. In order to eliminate this weakness, instructions were issued for the immediate amalgamation of district councils with those of towns and cities so that local organs of state power would take up all the problems of the political and economic life of the district.

The dualism between the state and the Party and the abnormal situation created as a consequence of this dualism, which had brought about the underrating and weakening of the role of the organs of state power, increased bureaucracy and delay in solving problems, were criticized. The people's councils and the executive committees were to use all the prerogatives with which they were vested by law. with the purpose of enhancing their role.

The hostile aims and activity of the imperialists and their servants against the PRA, surrounded from all sides by enemy states, put before the Party and the people the major duty of maintaining continuous vigilance and ceaselessly building up the defense potential of the Homeland.

In connection with this, the Congress issued the directive for the all-round strengthening of the People's Army, for raising the fighting readiness of the army and the people. It instructed

that the military and political training of the army should be carried out according to programs compiled on the basis of Marxist-Leninist ideology and Marxist-Leninist military science, the experience of the ANLA and the Stalinist military art, in conformity with the conditions of the country.

One of the most difficult tasks at this time was to eliminate the mistakes in the organs of State Security, putting them on the right path and further strengthening these organs, which in the past years had been influenced more than any other sector by the Yugoslav interference and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity. The Congress approved all the measures that the Party had taken following the 11th Plenum of the CC for the liquidation of police methods in the State Security organs and for purging the persons who had committed grave offenses from them. It especially emphasized that the work of the State Security must be carried out under the direct guidance and control of the Party and that the socialist law must be defended.

At the same time the Congress instructed that the analysis of the errors in the State Security should be made in the party spirit. The State Security had performed invaluable services in defence of the victories of the revolution. The condemnation of mistakes should in no way be turned into an attack against the vital need for the State Security nor take the form of a general condemnation of the State Security men. Those who had erred would be helped by the Party to correct their mistakes. The Congress warned that the class enemy would try to take advantage of the situation to weaken the organs of the State Security, whereas «the Party should work to strengthen the State Security as much as possible, because this is the beloved weapon of the people's power which is led by the Party, and which protects the Party and the state power from the hostile activity of foreign and internal enemies.»*

In conformity with its revolutionary internal policy, the Congress also defined a Marxist-Leninist foreign policy which emanated from the very nature of the socialist state and responded to the interests of the people and the Homeland. This policy was orientated, first and foremost, towards friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist

* Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 567, Alb. ed.

countries, towards the need to assist the struggle of the various peoples against imperialism in order to safeguard and ensure their national independence, and towards the efforts for the preservation of peace and the establishment of good neighbourly relations.

The Constitution of the PLA

The correct political line could be applied only if all the organizational distortions were done away with and a Marxist-Leninist organizational line elaborated. The re-establishment of Marxist-Leninist norms would make the change for the better in the Party complete.

The 1st Congress decided to change the name of the Party from the «Communist Party of Albania» to the **Party of Labour of Albania (PLA)**. This change was linked with the social composition of the country and the Party and did not alter its character or aims. In Albania the bulk of the population (about 80 per cent) was composed of peasants. This was reflected in the Party, too, where the overwhelming majority of its members were toilers of the soil. The PLA was to be the continuation of the Communist Party.

The norms and rules on which the internal life of the Party was constructed were embodied in the Constitution of the Party of Labour of Albania adopted by the Congress.

The aims of the Party: the immediate aim — the construction of socialism, and the ultimate aim — the construction of communism, were formulated in general lines in the preamble of the Constitution.

The Constitution emphasized the leading role of the Party both in the people's state power and in the entire political, economic and cultural life of the country.

The structure and the whole internal life of the Party were based on democratic centralism. The application of this fundamental principle during the National Liberation War had been limited by the circumstances. After the liberation of the country, it was seriously violated through the interference of the Yugoslav revisionists and by the activity of Koçi Xoxe's group. The Congress instructed that this principle «should be applied and safeguarded as the apple of our eye.»*

The Constitution guaranteed the organizational and ideolo-

* Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 570, Alb. ed.

gical unity of the Party, which it described as an indispensable condition for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the working masses around the Party, enabling it to achieve its aims.

This fundamental document formulated for the first time the duties of the party member as the vanguard fighter for the socialist construction of the country, for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people in the Democratic Front, and for the defence of the PRA. It especially emphasized the duty of the communist to be «exemplary in behaviour and morality» as well as his duty to maintain and continuously strengthen his links with the masses, to be outstanding as a leader of the masses.

The Constitution defined the rules for admission to membership of the Party on the basis of the social conditions of the country during the stage of the construction of the bases of socialism. A person who exploited the labour of others could not be admitted to membership in the Party. For the admission of working people to membership requirements graduated according to their social origin and status were envisaged, giving precedence to workers and poor peasants.

The adoption of the Constitution was a major event for the Party which, for seven years on end, had regulated its internal life solely on the basis of resolutions, circulars and instructions.

The Constitution was a sound guarantee to prevent any future violations of the Leninist norms of the internal life of the Party. The Congress laid down the task «of fighting against all manifestations aimed at damaging the organizational rules and principles of the Party defined in its Constitution.»*

In order to strengthen the ideological work, the Congress issued instructions and set out concrete measures for the study of Marxism-Leninism and the History of the Party through forms of education in the Party, through courses at the Party School and through individual study.

The Congress elected the new Central Committee of the Party composed of 21 members and 10 candidates to membership. Nine members were elected to the Political Bureau of the CC. Enver Hoxha was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

The proceedings of the 1st Congress were conducted on a

* Resolution of the 1st Congress of the CPA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 1, p. 573, Alb. ed.

high ideological level, in a healthy spirit of criticism and self-criticism. The broad and lively participation in the discussion of the problems on the basis of Marxist-Leninist principles contributed to the correct solution of the fundamental problems of the policy and internal life of the Party.

While condemning the interference of the Yugoslav revisionists and Koçi Xoxe's Trotskyite activity, the Congress did not permit itself to swing to the opposite extreme. It described as extremely harmful and condemned the attempts made by Gjin Marku to give an entirely distorted direction to the proceedings of the Congress. Speculating on the war that the Party had declared on Trotskyism and revisionism, Gjin Marku attempted to have the entire political line which the Party had pursued in the past rejected, accussed all the principal leading cadres of the Party of being infected with Trotskyism and demanded that they should be placed on the same footing as Koçi Xoxe and punished severely. His aim in this was to change the leadership of the Party, to take up the banner of «the saviour» and emerge at the head of the Party. A few others who had committed grave offences against the Party, also acted in the same way in order to cover up their personal responsibility and emerge free of blame. In his contribution to the discussion, Comrade Enver Hoxha helped the delegates to uncover the real intentions of Gjin Marku and the other unhealthy elements. to avoid any confusion and to preserve to the end the revolutionary and principled spirit of the proceedings of the Congress.

The 1st Congress of the CPA further deepened and set the seal on the change effected by the 11th Plenum of the Central Committee in the internal life of the Party and the country. It provided the Party with a correct Marxist-Leninist general line and armed the working people with a scientific program for the construction of the bases of socialism.

The Congress marked the crowning of the triumph of Marxism-Leninism over opportunism and Trotskyism and armed the Party with a great experience in the struggle against modern revisionism.

It strengthened the unity of the Party and its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

The Congress also foresaw the great economic and political difficulties that the Party would encounter in the fulfilment of the tasks laid down. It prepared the Party to face these obstacles.

The materials of the Congress were taken up with the entire people. The working masses embraced the line of the Party in its entirety, courageously criticized the errors committed in the past, expressed their loyalty towards the Party and their determination to apply its program.

2. THE STRENGTHENING OF THE LINKS BETWEEN THE WORKING CLASS AND THE PEASANTRY IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST DIFFICULTIES

The Central Committee of the Party immediately took a series of essential steps to put into effect the changes decided by the 1st Congress. All the laws, ordinances, etc., were reviewed. Experienced cadres with authority were sent from the centre to the local party and state organs. The uniting of town and district councils put an end to the division created between town and countryside.

The basic party organizations were set up on the basis of production centres. The Party put the mass organizations on the right road. The errors committed in connection with the Front were corrected. The organizational structure and tasks of the Front were correctly defined, and this was reflected in the new Constitution of the Democatic Front of Albania. The Party acted in time against the tendency manifested after the Congress by some communists who thought that the Front should be dissolved, because the political work with the masses was being done by the trade-unions, the organizations of youth and of women! The Democratic Front, as a form of organization of the broad masses, which had become a sound tradition, would play a major role in the future for the preservation and uninterrupted strengthening of the political unity of the people in the struggle for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

On the basis of the direction given by the 1st Congress of the CPA, the Congress of Unification of the Youth held in Shkodra in September 1949 fused the Communist Youth Organization and the People's Youth Organization[1] into a single

1 «The People's Youth Organization» was the name given to the Union of the Albanian Anti-fascist Youth at its 3rd Congress in October 1946.

organization that was named the **Labour Youth Union of Albania**. The Party charged the LYUA with the main task of keeping alive and further developing among the broad masses of the youth the high revolutionary spirit that had characterized them during the war and during the early years after Liberation. Being in the forefront of the socialist construction, the youth of the country were called upon to turn their attention to education, culture and technique, in order to provide new cadres with high ideological and vocational-technical training.

The Party gave greater attention to the education of the working class, which was constantly increasing its numbers in the wave of the socialist industrialization of the country, in order to make it capable of fulfilling its leading role in the construction of socialist society. The 2nd Congress of the Trade Unions which was held in October 1949, served this end.

The Party Policy on Procurement and Supply

The most urgent problem, which constituted the key to the series of tasks at the time, was to strengthen the economic links between the working class and the peasantry and to achieve an immediate rise in the productive forces of agriculture. In a country like Albania, where small-scale peasant economy prevailed, it was impossible to emerge from backwardness and build socialism without improving the situation in agriculture, without its further development and progress. Industry could not be set up without ensuring supplies of raw materials and food-stuffs for the working people.

To achieve this, it was necessary, first of all, to apply a policy which would stimulate an increase of agricultural and livestock products.

The existing system of procurement and supply, far from solving this problem, had become an obstacle to the development of the productive forces in the countryside. Although the law recognized the right of the peasant to sell his surpluses of main agricultural products freely, after delivering his quota to the state, in reality the peasant was left with little or no surplus of grain especially. This resulted in the peasant showing not the proper concern for the increase of production. Another adverse influence was exerted by the out-moded system of rationing on the basis of which the peasants were supplied with coupons for industrial goods. In these conditions, the peasant did not feel obliged to hand over to the buying and

selling cooperatives those products he was not compelled to deliver. Because of the shortage of industrial goods in the free market, the peasants hesitated to hand over their quotas to the state. Those who profited from this situation were the kulaks and speculators. While ensuring goods of prime necessity from the state through their ration cards, these elements developed a black market in agricultural and industrial products and exploited the working masses of town and countryside.

The economic ties between town and countryside were being weakened. The worker began to view the peasant as a speculator. On their part, the organs of the state, in order to collect the compulsory quotas, had often been obliged to take administrative measures against the peasants. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry was in jeopardy.

In order to avert this danger and to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the peasantry, the Central Committee of the Party took a series of important economic measures to aid the peasants by increasing agrarian credits, expanding the irrigation and drainage network, assisting them with the machine and tractor stations, etc. But these measures could not fully solve the problem when small-scale private ownership predominated in the countryside. The alliance of the working class with the peasantry could be further strengthened mainly through the economic ties in the sphere of trade, by the exchange of industrial goods for agricultural produsts. These ties were more understandable and advantageous to the peasant. The Party concretized its policy in this sphere by instituting **a new system of procurement and supply** which was approved by the Central Committee in January 1949.

According to the new system, what the peasant was obliged to hand over to the state was determined by the area and the quality of his land. Only a portion of his surpluses of agricultural and livestock products were taken over, whereas the remainder he could freely dispose himself. This system stimulated the development of the productive forces in agriculture and livestock farming. The peasant, knowing in advance the amount of produce that he was obliged to hand over to the state, would try his best to produce as much as possible in order to obtain as large a surplus as possible.

Through the new system of procurement the state ensured a good proportion of the necessary agricultural and livestock products. The rest was ensured through the new system of sup-

ply, which regulated the exchange of industrial goods with agricultural and livestock products, and the supply of the working people of the city with goods of prime necessity. This system was based on the organization of three kinds of markets. The **state guaranteed market**, on the basis of ration cards, supplied the working people of the city. The **barter market** supplied the peasantry by exchanging the surpluses of agricultural products with industrial goods. The **free market**, where prices were much higher, provided for that category of people who were not supplied with ration cards, and satisfied the demands for goods not included in the guaranteed and barter markets.

The new system of supply differentiated between working people and parasites, encouraged a greater labour force to take part in production, both in town and countryside, and saved a large amount of grain which had been improperly distributed and wasted previously.

The implementation of the new system of procurement and supply demanded the strengthening and envigoration of state and cooperativist trade. The reorganization of trade was effected in conformity with this system. The new forms of trade also served directly in revitalizing and expanding light industry.

To improve the organization of trade, to ensure a fair and rapid distribution of goods, the Party devoted special care to training cadres and launched the slogan: «Communists must learn about trade.»

A new stand was also taken toward the small private traders and private handicraftsmen. At a time when socialist commerce and industry were incapable of meeting all the demands of the working people, the need arose to revitalize, to a certain degree, the small private market. This was done with the aim of meeting the needs of the working people better.

To permit the revitalization of small-scale trade and private handicraft production meant to allow a certain revitalization of the capitalist elements. But any danger that might have come to the socialist economy from the capitalist sector was avoided by the systematic control the state exercised over it. Besides this, the capitalist sector did not have any marked weight in the national economy and was in no position to engage in competition with the socialist economy.

The new system of procurement and supply was a very

important integral part of the economic policy of the Party that directly helped the development of all branches of the people's economy. This system provided the correct solution to the problem of strengthening the alliance of the working class with the peasantry.

In Struggle against Difficulties in the Application of the New System of Procurement and Supply

The application of the new system of procurement and supply encountered major difficulties. This system also embodied the policy of the Party of restricting the capitalist elements of town and countryside in favour of the working masses. The new ordinances imposed supplementary taxes on the kulaks and blocked their way to speculation. This was one of the main reasons why the kulaks opposed the new system of procurement and supply from the start. Taking advantage of the fact that the peasant at first did no recognize the benefits accruing to him from this system and that the propaganda of the Party on this question was still weak, they tried to distort its content and to set the peasants against the people's power. They launched such slogans as «the new system is good for workers and employees only», «the state has left the peasantry without bread and clothing, therefore don't till the land», «the time has come for the poor peasants to die of starvation», «don't hand over your grain»! In order to hide their hostile activity, on the one hand, the kulaks themselves delivered their quotas, while, on the other, they incited the poor and medium peasants not to hand over their products. Spurred on by the kulaks, some peasants refused to plant the planned grain, thinking that in this way they would escape their grain quotas. They did not understand that these obligations were determined not on the basis of the quantity produced, but on the basis of the area of land cultivable.

There was resistance in the countryside, also, to the application of the ordinances of the government to hand over their quotas of other agricultural and livestock products, especially meat. On this question, an adverse influence was also exerted by the fact that, during the discussion of the resolution of the 1st Congress, some party workers, while criticizing the errors committed in the past, had given the impression that there would be no obligations in the future.

Even some communists fell into the trap set by the kulaks. Because they were not aware of the importance of the new system, the perspective that it opened to the development of economy in general and agriculture in particular, they suspected that this system was to the detriment of the poor peasants. There were some secretaries of basic organizations, communists and members of the people's councils, who, under pressure from the kulaks, slipped into opportunist positions and retreated before the difficulties in the application of the ordinances on the procurement of agricultural and livestock products. Others became sceptical and «complained» to the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing their opinion that «the ordinances of the government on procurement are unjust,» that «agriculture is being ruined,» that «the peasants are discontented» etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's Open Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside», published in March 1949 in «Zëri i popullit», was of great importance in changing the existing state of affairs. This letter explained the absolute necessity for the new system, emphasizing especially the perspectives that it opened to the development of agriculture and the entire people's economy.

Comrade Enver Hoxha called the attention of the party organizations to the hostile activity of the kulaks. The kulak was not in a position to carry on the struggle against the people's power with his own forces. He needed allies, people who would adopt and spread his slogans. That is why he attempted to spread his own discontent, to make it a discontent of the entire peasantry and to raise the latter against the people's power. The letter called on all communists to stand in the forefront of the struggle for the application of the new system of procurement and supply, not to yield to the difficulties encountered and, through their explanatory work, to eliminate the influence of the activities of class enemies in the ranks of the peasantry.

Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized those communists who had no clear perspective of the development of the countryside on the road toward progress and prosperity, who remained slaves to the backward mentality, saying that «all our peasant wants is some kerosene and salt which are produced in the country.» He pointed out the reactionary character of this thesis which diverted the peasant from the aim and efforts to

improve his well-being, dimmed the prospects of the development of agriculture and of the construction of socialism in the countryside. He explained that «the Party leads the people towards socialism, towards happiness and abundance, it does not lead them back to the Middle Ages. The Party works for today as well as for tomorrow.» The life of the peasant cannot be improved without the setting up of factories, plants and hydro-power stations, without the all-round mechanization of agriculture, while this cannot be attained if agriculture is not in a position to supply the city with the necessary agricultural products and industry with raw materials.

The root of the evil, Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, did not lie in the content of the ordinances on procurement and supply, but in the weak links of the communists with the peasant masses, in the lack of all-sided explanatory work in the countryside.

The Letter «On Some Problems of the Countryside» intensified the struggle of the basic organizations and the district party committees for the complete and just application of the decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the ordinances of the government on the new system of procurement and supply.

Following Comrade Enver Hoxha's letter, those party committees which previously considered the overall fulfilment of the tasks of procurement impossible shook themselves up and rejected this attitude. All-round measures were taken to convince the peasants of the correctness of the new system and to carry out an organized and more fruitful struggle against the class enemy.

The application of the new system of procurement and supply was hindered also by inadequate state reserves of industrial goods to be exchanged for agricultural products. Besides this, commodities were not being properly distributed owing to shortcomings of the commercial enterprises.

The weaknesses were due to the fact that party organizations showed little concern about economic problems. After the 1st Congress, their attention was centred on the internal party problems which were examined and solved correctly. Meanwhile insufficient efforts were made to carry out economic tasks. On top of this, party organizations still had little experience in the field of economic management. Thus they were lacking in initiative and expected the central organs to solve everything. Often economic problems were regarded narrowly, only from the viewpoint of immediate daily needs.

The Central Committee criticized this erroneous stand and called on the party organizations to centre their attention on an efficient organization and sound political direction of economic questions, doing away with the idea that everything could be solved through mass meetings and manifestations. Also criticized was the mistaken idea, which had begun to spread among party and state cadres, that the economy could be advanced by relying mainly on foreign aid.

In these circumstances, the Party had to engage in all-round work to strengthen the confidence of the cadres and the working people in their own forces, to convince them that the decisive factor for building socialism in Albania was the internal forces and resources, while foreign aid constituted an auxiliary factor.

In order to meet the demands of the working people for industrial commodities and agricultural products the Party took measures to strengthen the handicraft cooperatives. To help increase agricultural and livestock production, the Council of Ministers allocated special credits for the autumn sowing of the year 1949 and reduced procurement quotas 15 per cent through a reclassification of land.

The Party had it clear that the great tasks which it faced could be carried out only by relying firmly on the masses. It told the people openly about all the difficulties the country was going and would have to go through, and called on them to surmount them courageously. In response to this call, thousands of working people of city and country took part in the brigades of volunteers for the construction of the «Stalin» textile combine in Tirana, the Maliq sugar refinery and other projects of the two-year plan. The determination of the people to build socialism was demonstrated also in the case of the first state loan, which was turned into a great political action, demonstrating the unity of the people with the Party and their loyalty to its political line.

Smashing the Plans of Internal and External Enemies

The great economic difficulties the country went through after the historic turning-point of the 1st Congress were exploited in every conceivable way by the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. They believed that the PLA could do nothing to cope with the difficult situation, and that the most propitious

moment had come to carry out their sinister plans regarding Albania, geographically surrounded by hostile states.

The radio and the press of the USA, Great Britain, Yugoslavia, Greece, etc. launched a furious campaign of slanders and lies against the PRA, representing it as an «aggressor». From the air and in other ways imperialist and Yugoslav secret services continually spread leaflets which called on the Albanian people to rise against their Party and the people's power.

Alongside their propaganda activity, the external enemies of our country assembled and organized fugitive reactionary Albanians. With these elements, the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists set up new subversive organizations. Hundreds of political fugitives were sent to Albania to carry out counter-revolutionary activities.

By land, sea and air, all along the state borders provocations were mounted uninterruptedly. All these activities were aimed at preparing the ground for direct armed intervention against the PRA.

The American, British, Italian, Greek and Yugoslav secret services acted against Albania on the basis of co-ordinated plans and efforts.

The Yugoslav revisionist leadership set in motion its agents in Albania through its diplomatic mission to Tirana. This became a centre for organizing subversion and economic sabotage. Propaganda and threats were used to organize the fleeing of Albanian citizens into Yugoslavia.

The foreign espionage centres sent back reactionaries and criminals who had fled abroad to form armed bands of diversionists together with similar elements still in the country. These bands committed acts of terror, assassinating militants of the Party and state, among whom was Bardhok Biba, deputy to the People's Assembly and first secretary of the Party Committee of the district of Mirdita. They set fire to store-houses of the agricultural cooperatives, government offices and schools in the countryside.

The Titoite leaders resorted to all-round pressure and blackmail in the diplomatic sphere and did their best to isolate the PRA. They cut off all air communication between Albania and the other socialist countries, unilaterally broke off the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Aid between Yugoslavia and Albania and, finally, demanded the withdrawal of the Albanian Legation from Belgrade.

Emboldened by the intensification of the imperialist and revisionist activity, the class enemies within the country did their best to create an atmosphere of fear and insecurity. They spread such rumours as «war will break out soon,» «there are disagreements within the government and the Central Committee,» «the situation will change very soon,» etc.

Exploiting the errors made in the past, hostile elements tried to attack the whole line of the Party, the leading organs and cadres of the Party and the state, presenting themselves as «unjustly harmed» by the reforms and laws of the state, pretending to be «complaining in the interests of the people» and that they «wanted to redress any evil which had occurred»! The warning which the 1st Congress gave about the distortions the class enemies might make of the correct struggle of the Party against errors and shortcomings, in order to exploit this struggle for their own benefit, helped to unmask in time the tactics and misrepresentations of the enemies and thus to defend the Party and the state and the Security organs in particular.

In these conditions of a very stern class struggle on August 2, 1949, Greek armed forces, supported by artillery and aircraft, mounted a sudden attack on and penetrated some 300-400 metres into Albanian territory. This provocation was an act of aggression calculated to establish the Greek chauvinist claims on Korça and Gjirokastra. The armed forces of the People's Republic of Albania coped with the aggression, completely smashing and eliminating the enemy.

While the Greek army was violating the boundaries of Albania, the Yugoslav government stepped up its hostile activity and undertook threatening troop movements on the northern boundaries of Albania and in the districts of Ohri and Struga. At the same time the American, British and Italian secret services dropped increased numbers of diversionists from the air with the aim of provoking disturbances in the rear of the People's Army. Reactionary elements within the country were ready to take to the mountains. The Yugoslav government had undertaken to equip them with arms. These groups, made up of the remnants of the Balli Kombëtar and the Legaliteti, were wiped out before they could stage their «uprising».

All these facts proved that the PRA was facing a co-ordinated aggressive activity of the Greek monarcho-fascists, the

Yugoslav revisionists and the Italian neo-fascists under the direction and with the support of the American and British imperialists.

At those difficult moments the Albanian people rallied still more strongly around their Party. They expressed their readiness to defend the victories of the people's revolution at all costs. Thousands of people volunteered to take up arms and fight the aggressors. On a decision of the CC of the Party and government, tens of thousands of peasants were armed and participated together with the forces of the State Security and the Border Guards in wiping out the bands of diversionists and criminals, while the working masses demonstrated their loyalty to the Party and the people's power by throwing themselves with all their might into the fulfilment of the economic tasks.

In strengthening the ties of the Party with the masses and deepening the people's confidence in their Party and people's power an important role was played by the visit of Comrade Enver Hoxha to the northern provinces in September 1949 and his meetings with the local people.

3. PRESERVING AND STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL UNITY, FULFILLING THE TWO-YEAR PLAN

The struggle against the internal and foreign class enemies and against difficulties was combined with the struggle for the preservation and consolidation of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party, with the struggle for the fulfilment of production plans.

Eliminating Distortions and Violations of the Line of the Party

After the turning-point, some distortions and violations of the line of the Party, breaches of discipline and abuses of criticism and self-criticism, due to misunderstanding of the internal line of the Party on democracy and to the pressure of the internal and external class enemies, became apparent.

The Central Committee of the Party took immediate measures to put an end to these manifestations, demanding the rigorous application of the Constitution of the Party.

An unhealthy state of affairs which had been created in the party organization of the Lushnja district, where ambition, arrogance, career-seeking and liberalism toward the kulaks had struck deep roots, a situation that the class enemy had used to its own advantage, was put right. The District Party Committee was dissolved and the main culprits were removed from the leading organs and from the Party. Cadres sent from the CC strengthened the party leadership in the district.

The Party also condemned manifestations of opportunism apparent in the work of some employees of the organs of justice who, speculating on the fact that the organs of justice are independent institutions, underrated the party control and did not keep in mind in their practice that these organs have a class character, and cannot act outside the class struggle and outside the leadership of the Party.

At this time the anti-party group of Abedin Shehu and Niazi Islami was exposed. The distinguishing features of this group were: yielding under the pressure of the bourgeoisie, and defeatism and lack of faith in the economic line of the Party. This group considered the two-year plan unrealistic and spread the spirit of demobilization amongst the cadres and workers. The defeatist work of the members of this group had contributed to the failure to complete the plan in industry, in the oil and transport sector, where they occupied leading positions. Besides this, they did not appreciate the importance of the history of the Albanian people, they scorned the working masses and, especially, the Albanian working class. They had no faith in the defence capacity of the country and in the military preparedness of the People's Army.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the PLA held in February 1950 exposed the views and activity of this anti-party group and took all-round measures to wipe out the spirit of defeatism it had disseminated.

The vigilance of the Central Committee also exposed in good time and smashed the anti-party activity of Gjin Marku and Nexhip Vinçani who were working to destroy the policy and undermine the leadership of the Party in the army.

In order to block the way to violations of the line of the Party, to preserve and strengthen its unity, it was imperative, besides other things, for the Party to rid itself of a number of unworthy members. For this purpose, in January 1950 the Central Committee of the PLA took the decision on the verification of party documents.

The verification of the party documents was an important organizational measure which served to cleanse the ranks of the Party, to ensure complete and exact information on every communist, and establish order in questions of party administration. It helped, at the same time, to strengthen the whole internal life of the Party and became a school for the education of the communists.

Along with this, the Party devoted great care to the ideological and political training of its members, especially of those who had entered the ranks of the Party prematurely, who had a low ideological and political level, but were loyal and determined to apply its line. At the same time, the Party took important steps to raise the educational level of the communists.

The 2nd National Conference of the Party

The 2nd National Conference of the PLA, held in Tirana in April 1950, was devoted to finding ways and means to overcome the difficulties impeding the fulfilment of the two-year plan and to enhancing the leading role of the Party.

The Conference made an assessment of the national and international situation since the 1st Congress of the Party.

Since the end of the Second World War, the ratio of forces in the world had been changed greatly in favour of socialism and the liberation of the peoples and to the detriment of capitalism and imperialism.

The process of revolutionary political and socio-economic transformations in the countries of people's democracy had steadily advanced and had resulted in their turning into socialist countries. The powerful socialist camp, which included the Soviet Union, Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic, Hungary, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, had been created.

China, too, was included in this camp after the triumph of the Chinese revolution and the proclamation of the People's Republic of China on October 1, 1949. Like all the international communist movement, at that time the PLA considered this event the greatest victory since the October Socialist Revolution. But time proved that the Chinese revolution did not go beyond the bounds of a bourgeois-democratic rev-

olution and that China did not proceed on the road of socialist development.

Despite this, the triumph of the Chinese revolution was a great victory for all the anti-imperialist, democratic forces in the world.

Meanwhile, world capitalism and imperialism, with the USA at the head, intensified their efforts to suppress every revolutionary and national liberation movement, especially to smash the socialist camp. For this purpose in 1949 they had set up the aggressive NATO military bloc (North Atlantic Treaty Organization). They also exploited Yugoslav revisionism for the same ends.

The aggressive, subversive activity against socialism was directly linked with the imperialist and revisionist attack against Albania for the overthrow of the people's power. The enemies thought that, because the PRA was not geographically within the socialist camp, it represented the weakest link of this camp. But the Albanian people with the Party at the head foiled the enemy plans. In connection with this defeat of the enemies, Comrade Enver Hoxha said: «There are people in the world who ask: 'How is it possible that a small people like the Albanian people, surrounded on all sides by such fascist wolves, who hurled themselves upon it to tear it to pieces and destroy it, were able to resist heroically, to fight on all fronts and triumph?' The answer is simple: The Albanian people resisted, fought and triumphed and will always triumph over their external and internal enemies, because they are led by their glorious Party...»*

The enemies had failed, stressed the Conference, but they had not laid down their weapons. On the contrary, they would increase their efforts to destroy socialism in Albania. The continuous strengthening of the internal situation from every aspect, political, economic, military, organizational, was the guarantee that their plans would be smashed in the future, too.

Analysing the internal situation, the Conference pointed out that, despite the progress achieved, the plan of industrial production for 1949, especially of oil extraction, had not been fulfilled. This was due to a number of factors. Prior to their departure from Albania, the Yugoslav specialists had blown

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 2nd Conference of the PLA, Works, vol. 7, p. 140, Alb. ed.

off the gas from the oil fields. The defeatist activity of the anti-party group had exercised an adverse influence. Shortcomings in the management of industry and lack of sufficient manpower were other causes.

In agriculture, too, the tasks had not been completed.

To cope with the existing situation and to fulfil the two-year plan, the Conference instructed that the 1950 plan must be overfulfilled in all its targets to cover the deficits of 1949 wherever possible.

In the sphere of agriculture, the Conference set the Party the main task of doing a great deal of patient work to make the political issues clear to the peasants, to organize them and pursuade them to plant those crops of which the national economy was in need and which were included in the state plan.

At the same time, the Conference drew attention to the fact that the problem of collectivization should not be lost sight of, although it was not to be rushed. It demanded that special care should be taken «to strengthen the agricultural cooperatives so that they serve as an example and stimulus for the setting up of new cooperatives in our lowlands zones.»*

With a view to enhancing the leading role of the Party, the Conference instructed that the method of work and collective leadership must be improved, bureaucracy combated and greater care shown for the political guidance of economic and state matters. Criticizing instances when party organizations had replaced state and economic organs, it demanded that the leading role of the Party should be played not through such substitution, but through sound political activity and continuous help and check-up in the party spirit.

The Conference criticized some instances of disregard for the organizations of the masses, and the arrogant behaviour of some communists towards the people. It stressed the need for continuous work to strengthen the links of the Party with the masses, to further enliven the social organizations and the people's councils, to increase the participation of the workers of town and countryside in solving problems of the government and the economy.

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* Resolution of the 2nd National Conference, April 14, 1950. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 156, Alb. ed.

Fulfilling the Two-year Plan 1949-1950. Strengthening the Internal Situation

The decisions of the 2nd National Conference helped to correct many shortcomings in the work of the Party, as well as to bring about a greater mobilization of the communists and all the working people for the implementation of the Two-year Plan.

As a result, the plan of industrial production for 1950 was overfulfilled. Nevertheless, the deficits from the year 1949 were not entirely covered. Thus the Two-year Plan was realized only 91 per cent. However, the average annual rate of increase of 10.5 per cent was a great success considering the extraordinary difficulties of the situation. In 1950 industrial production had increased four-fold in comparison with 1938.

Meanwhile, in the two years 1949-1950 agricultural production had increased at very low rates, respectively 2 and 2.2 per cent. The main explanation for this was the great fragmentation of the land, where the small-scale individual peasant farming prevailed (in 1950 there were only 90 agricultural cooperatives compared with 145,000 individual economies). Despite this, the implementation of the new system of procurement, accompanied with the extensive explanatory political work of the Party with the masses of the working peasantry, brought about that the major part of the state fund of bread grain and other agricultural products was secured.

These achievements in the field of production and procurement led to the improvement of the living conditions of the working masses. In 1950 important reductions were made in the prices of goods in the state market.

In the stern struggle against the difficulties and internal and external enemies for the fulfilment of the political economic cultural, military and other tasks, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, under the leadership of the working class, and the party-people unity were strengthened. This was clearly expressed in the May 1950 elections to the People's Assembly, in which over 99 per cent of the electors participated, of whom 98 per cent voted for the candidates of the Democratic Front, that is for the revolutionary line of the Party.

In July 1950, the People's Assembly decided to make some additions and amendments to the Constitution of the People's Republic of Albania. These were linked with the socio-economic

changes that had taken place in Albania during the four years since the adoption of the Constitution. The following article was added to the Constitution: «The People's Republic of Albania is a state of workers and working peasants.» Another article which recognized the leading role of the Party in the entire life of the country was added to the Constitution.

Meanwhile the Party remained faithful to its revolutionary foreign policy. In July 1950, the People's Assembly decided to associate itself with the Stockholm Appeal of support for the world movement for peace. At the same time, it issued a declaration against the armed intervention of the American imperialists in Korea. In January 1951, it passed a law condemning incitement to and propaganda for aggressive war, describing these as «grave crimes against humanity, against peace among the peoples and against the Homeland.»

Against Manifestations of Conciliation with the Class Enemy

Meanwhile the American and British imperialists and their tools, the reactionary ruling circles of Italy and Greece, as well as the Yugoslav revisionists, continued their frenzied hostile activities against the PRA. The American CIA had worked out a special plan to overthrow the people's power in Albania and to detach it from the «communist bloc». For this purpose, the external enemies stepped up their hostile propaganda, border provocations, the dispatch of diversionist bands, especially espionage agents. The diversionists carried out a series of acts of terror, sabotage and plunder of state and cooperative property. The enemy resorted especially to the tactic of direct pressure on the communists, particularly those in the countryside. To some they sent threatening letters, to others they sent diversionists who surprised them in their homes. They sent the party committees numerous provocative complaints against this or that communist, against this or that severe measure that had been taken «unjustly» and which ought to be annulled. They incited certain party members to transgress communist morality, to misuse and steal socialist property. The kulaks tried to link themselves with the communists through marriages, material «help», etc.

In the face of this pressure, a number of communists wavered, and some submitted. As a result some manifestations

of softening, generosity and concessions toward the kulaks and other class enemies, a trend to conciliation with them became apparent.

Even some members of the Central Committee, among them Tuk Jakova, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CC for organizational problems, capitulated in the face of the enemy pressure. His capitulation was not accidental. His activity as a communist had always been pervaded by profound opportunism, by lack of revolutionary vigilance, failure to be rigorous in the performance of his duties and in raising his ideological level.

At the 1st Congress of the Communist Party of Albania he took advantage of the condemnation of the hostile activity of Koçi Xoxe to pose as one of the most persecuted communists and temporarily succeeded in hushing up his own stand in opposition to the line of the Party.

After the Congress, as he had done before it, Tuk Jakova broke under the pressure of the bourgeoisie and gravely damaged the activity of the Party through his opportunist stand toward the class enemy. To him, the class struggle was dying down, the PR of Albania was under no threat from the American imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists. In various ways he encouraged a soft policy toward the kulaks. He intervened with the state organs to make things easier for hostile elements, to free them from prison. He completely underrated the hostile activity of the reactionary Catholic clergy and supported them in all sorts of ways.

Tuk Jakova was opposed to the economic line of the Party which gave priority to the development of heavy industry and, in particular, to the development of the mining industry. He expressed himself especially against investments in the oil industry. He nurtured the idea that the economic plan in some branches was unrealistic. With such an opportunist and defeatist stand he had obstructed the work of the organizations of the Party and the masses for the fulfilment of the state plan.

Tuk Jakova had committed impermissible mistakes also in party organizational matters. His carelessness and laxity about carrying out the Constitution and the decisions of the Party, and his bureaucratic methods had brought about serious shortcomings in the implementation of the policy of cadres, in the method of work of the organs and apparatuses of the Party

and the organizations of the masses. This had caused also breaches of the rules for admission to party membership, violation of discipline and the weakening of criticism and vigilance.

He had been a supporter of the mistaken belief that the verification of the party documents should be done outside the control of the mass of the communists, without the direct participation of the basic organizations.

The 9th Plenum of the Central Committee held in February 1951, while analysing the political situation and the work of the Party, disclosed the causes of the opportunist manifestations toward the class enemy and showed the ways to combat them. It condemned the anti-Marxist stand and the grave errors of Tuk Jakova, discharged him from his responsibilities as secretary of the CC and removed him from the Political Bureau.

On this occasion the Central Committee made a sound Marxist-Leninist criticism of its own work and immediately corrected the shortcomings it had allowed to occur under the influence of the carelessness and opportunism of Tuk Jakova. Measures were taken to improve the collective leadership, to strengthen criticism and self-criticism, to call all the members of the Plenum to account more seriously, to exercise a more systematic and exacting control over the application of its decisions.

The Party was mobilized with renewed vigour to bar the way to all manifestations and tendencies of conciliation with the class enemy, and the organizations of the Party were put in more militant positions. The Marxist-Leninist analysis which the Central Committee made of the political situation and the work of the Party, the stern, principled stand toward opportunism, helped the communists to understand more profoundly and more concretely the objective necessity of the struggle against class enemies, to guard themselves better against slipping into positions of conciliation with them.

In particular, attention was concentrated on the correct application of the Party's policy for the economic restriction and political isolation of the kulaks, drawing the middle and poor peasants into the struggle against them on a broader scale. The special measures accurately designating all who were kulaks helped in this direction. The kulaks were excluded from all state assistance enjoyed by the peasants. They

were subjected to heavier taxes in money. It was decided that when the property of kulaks was confiscated 25 per cent of it would be distributed free of charge among the poor peasants.

While struggling against conciliation with the class enemy, the Party at the same time attacked all sectarian manifestations which caused political unclarity among the masses and hindered their mobilization to fulfil their political and economic tasks and their active participation in the struggle against enemies. Those party committees that distorted the policy of the Party in practice and permitted premature administrative measures to be taken for the immediate liquidation of the kulaks as a class or, still worse, that even included the medium peasants in the category of kulaks, were strongly criticized. The Party was against any measure leading to artificial sharpening of the class struggle, because only the enemy could profit from such measures.

In the struggle to overcome difficulties, against the imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists and the internal class enemy, as well as against opportunism, the Party preserved and strengthened its ideological and organizational unity and enriched its experience of political leadership in the socialist construction of the country.

Efforts to Lift Agriculture out of Its Backwardness

The backwardness of agriculture continued to be one of the most worrying problems for the Party. Despite their beneficial effects, the measures taken in 1949-1950 could not provide a solution to this problem. Agriculture continued to develop at slow rates, the disproportion between the development of agriculture and that of industry was increasing. This had caused difficulties in meeting the requirements of the working masses for agricultural products and in supplying industry with raw materials.

The problem of lifting agriculture out of its backwardness was taken up at the April 1951 Plenum of the CC of the PLA. However, at this Plenum the problem was tackled in a one-sided manner leading to the erroneous conclusion that the small peasant economies had exhausted all their possibilities for increasing agricultural production. Proceeding from the correct premise that cooperation was the principal means of lifting agriculture out of its backwardness, the Plenum decided

to switch to collectivization of agriculture on a mass scale. But this was a premature decision in which the danger of compromising the collectivization was inherent, because the conditions for the socialist reorganization of the whole of agriculture were not yet ripe. The Party rectified this hasty decision in time. The Plenum of the Central Committee met again in May. It emphasized that in the concrete conditions, the main task was not the extension of collectivization in the countryside, but the strengthening of the existing agricultural cooperatives and the exploitation of all the possibilities of the small-scale peasant economy to increase production.

Making a correct assessment of all the conditions, possibilities and means, the Party reached the conclusion that the best way to advance agriculture at that time was to further strengthen and perfect the economic links between town and countryside and to correct the disproportion between industry and agriculture.

During 1951 the aid to the countryside was increased. Measures were taken to correct the errors made in the registration and classification of the lands. The obligatory grain quota was reduced by an average of 25 per cent and individual properties with small annual incomes were exempted from taxation.

As the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods was such that it did not encourage the peasants to increase production and did not attract the whole of it to the barter market, the CC of the Party took the decision that the prices of industrial goods should be reduced. The new price cuts on these goods in 1951 reduced the disproportion in prices to some degree.

At the same time, work was done to strengthen the buying and selling cooperatives to make them powerful mass organizations helping to link town and countryside economically and politically.

The economic measures aimed at lifting agriculture from its backwardness were accompanied with extensive political and organizational work by the Party.

4. THE 2ND CONGRESS OF THE PLA. TASKS FOR THE TRANSFORMATION OF ALBANIA INTO AN AGRICULTURAL-INDUSTRIAL COUNTRY

The 2nd Congress of the PLA was held from March 31 to April 7, 1952, with the participation of 592 delegates with deliberative vote and 142 delegates with consultative vote, representing 44,418 party members and candidate members. Party membership at this Congress was slightly smaller than at the 1st Congress mainly due to the fact that during the verification of party documents 8 per cent of its members were expelled.

The Directives of the 1st Five-year Plan

The Congress considered that the economic and cultural development of the country on the basis of a longer term plan was now entirely possible. It approved the directives of the 1st Five-year Plan for the period 1951-1955.

Before being approved by the Congress, these directives were discussed for more than two months in the party organizations and at open meetings of the workers of town and countryside.

The plan was based, first of all, on the internal forces and resources, on the experience gained and the abilities of the cadres of our country. It was based also on the help of the other socialist countries, the Soviet Union in the first place. The help which the Soviet Union gave the People's Republic of Albania at that time was aimed mainly at the development of the country's productive forces so that the people's economy could stand on its own feet. The Party valued this aid as an important external factor in the construction of socialism.

The main tasks of the 1st Five-year Plan were: **the acceleration of the rates of construction of the economic base of socialism and of the development of the productive forces so that, at the end of the 1st five-year period, Albania would be transformed from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial one; the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry and the raising of the material well-being and cultural level of the working masses.**

The Party defined the setting up of the new socialist industry as the main link in the fulfilment of these tasks. In fact the industrialization of the country had already begun with the implementation of the Two-year Plan, but an extensive and comprehensive program to lay the foundations of socialist industry was drawn up only at the 2nd Congress.

The Party appreciated correctly the principle that the production of means of production plays the decisive role in the development of industry and the people's economy **as a** whole. In conformity with this principle, great importance was laid on the setting up and development of different branches of heavy industry, but not all branches of heavy industry were included, because the economic and technical possibilities for this did not exist in the country. The necessary machinery was to be procured from the socialist countries through credits and exchanges. Albania was to develop those branches of heavy industry for which it possessed the natural resources, which were economically most advantageous and of special strategic importance. In the concrete conditions of our country, heavy industry would consist mainly of the mining, engineering, electrical and building materials industries. It was envisaged that these branches would be developed as quickly as possible. The mining industry had prime importance.

As the country had great and urgent need for mass consumer goods and with the aim of reducing imports of them, the development of the light and food-processing industry, relying mainly on the exploitation of local raw materials, was given an important place in the plan, too.

To ensure the rapid rise of industrial production foreseen in the plan, investments three times as big as those during the five years 1946-1950 were envisaged.

If the tasks set by the 2nd Congress for the development of industry were to be solved, two main obstacles had to be overcome: first, the low rate of development of agriculture; second, the lack of technical cadres and the low technical and educational level of workers. Special attention was given to overcoming these obstacles.

To accelerate the growth of agricultural production, the Congress further developed and concretized the directives of the Party for the strengthening of agricultural cooperatives, for the strengthening and extension of the state agricultural and livestock enterprises, for the extension of the MTS's and the mechanization of agriculture, for the increase of the state aid

to the working peasantry in the form of agricultural credits and other means. The countryside would be supplied with more industrial articles, and to this end a re-adjustment of the price ratio between industrial and agricultural goods would be carried out.

The principal task of agriculture was to increase the production of bread grain. The extension of the area sown to industrial crops was a logical requirement for the development of industry.

To fulfil the tasks in agriculture it was envisaged to double the investments in comparison with the five years 1946-1950.

The cultural revolution was to be developed at a more rapid rate, in close connection with the development of the economy. During the 1st Five-year Plan the school network would be greatly expanded, the total number of pupils would be increased by more than three and a half times as against 1938, the number of agronomists — more than five times and the number of engineers — 18 times. As well as this, 8,500 middle technicians and about 54 thousand qualified workers would be trained.

The Congress drew the attention of the Party to the backwardness of the regions of the North, such as Kukës, Tropoja, Mirdita, Puka, etc., and recommended that special attention be given to their cultural advancement.

This five-year plan envisaged the abolition of illiteracy.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production would help to raise the well-being of the working masses and would prepare the conditions for the abolition of the rationing system.

The state would spend nearly three and a half times more than during the five years 1946-1950 on raising the material well-being and the cultural development of the people.

The 1st Five-year Plan marked a new phase in the economic and cultural development of the country at rapid rates. Its fulfilment would create the indispensable conditions to enter the final phase of the construction of the economic base of socialism.

Improving the Method of Political Leadership by the Party

The Congress dealt with the problem of perfecting the method of the political leadership of the Party, considering this a problem of very great importance for the accomplishment of the 1st

Five-year Plan and the other major tasks. It criticized opportunist manifestations toward the class enemy, bureaucracy, the monopolization by the party committees of work that should be done by the state organs, the method of work with much verbosity, little real political work, insufficient activation of all communists and the mass organizations, etc. Comrade Enver Hoxha condemned the tendency to solve problems by endless meetings and repeated decisions in the following words: «We hold meeting after meeting which go on for hours and days on end but very little comes out of them.»*

«Decisions are taken, many of them, but not all of them are applied. Then nearly as many decisions are taken again to carry out the previous decisions. New decisions are adopted also on matters already decided upon but forgotten. That is tantamount to trifling with the work and the decisions, to pretend that you are working and bringing out decisions, but in reality you are doing nothing, you are marking time and obstructing the work.»**

Proceeding from the experience gained, the Congress defined the primary condition to ensure fulfilment of the 1st Five-year Plan: «The leadership of the Party in the economy must be improved and strengthened. The work to link economic problems closely with its political work must be improved and strengthened. Continuous, systematic, rigorous control must be exercised over the carrying out of decisions and tasks of the Party and the state. A struggle must be waged for well-organized work and the elimination of bureaucracy in the work.»***

The central and local organs and the party organizations were charged with reviewing and improving their whole method of work. The Leninist principles of collective leadership, of the leading organs rendering account before the mass of the communists who had elected them, of criticism and self-criticism, of the role of the working masses as builders of socialism and of their organizations as powerful levers of the Party,

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 2nd Congress of the PLA, Works, vol. 9, p. 185, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 184.

*** Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, pp. 271-272, Alb. ed.

of the systematic Marxist-Leninist training of the party members, should not remain merely theoretical expressions in general which all accept and propagate, but must be put into practice persistently and completely.

At the same time, the Congress especially instructed the communists to be always vigilant, never to forget for a single moment the danger threatening the Party from the pressure of the imperialists and Titoites from without, the kulaks and other class enemies from within. From the Party's experience of the struggle against deviations and internal enemies after Liberation, especially in the period between the two congresses, the conclusion was reached that the main danger was right opportunism, the offspring of capitulation to the imperialist and revisionist pressure. «The rightist deviation, opportunism, should be considered as the greatest danger to our Party... without in any way forgetting the danger of the leftist deviation... The pressure of the bourgeoisie on our Party should be considered as a very serious danger and combated continuously with the greatest force.»*

Pick in One Hand and Rifle in the Other

The 2nd Congress warned the Party and the people that in their efforts to fulfil the 1st Five-year Plan they would encounter many difficulties which would be surmounted only through all-round moral and material, political and military preparedness.

There were various difficulties. The difficulties of growth were connected with the backwardness the country had inherited from the past, with the lack of experience, with the insufficient technical and cultural training of the cadres and workers in general. These would be overcome through organization, discipline and conviction of the masses in the correctness of the line of the Party and the mobilization of the latter.

The internal enemies would create difficulties. With the support of external enemies they would try to undermine the development of the country on the road of socialism. These difficulties would be overcome through stern, correct, all-round class struggle in town and countryside, against the kulaks,

* Resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 277, Alb. ed.

against the bourgeoisie, saboteurs, thieves, against the bourgeois ideology, bureaucracy, opportunism, and sectarianism. The Congress stressed that everyone must understand clearly that «the class struggle is not extinguished and will not be extinguished as long as classes exist in our country, until the complete triumph of socialism.»*

At the same time, the Party and the people had to be completely prepared to cope with the difficulties the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists would create through their direct all-round and incessant hostile activity against the PRA. The external enemies were framing new plans to wipe out the people's democratic order in Albania. The Yugoslav government together with the Greek and Turkish governments, incited and assisted by the American imperialists, were preparing to rig up an aggressive Balkan pact directed against Albania.

Proceeding from this situation, the Congress stressed the slogan of the Party, which had become the principal motto in the activity of the masses of the people after the liberation of the country, «Let us build socialism **keeping the pick in one hand and the rifle in the other.**»** It called for keen vigilance and for the continuous strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party. Nothing should be spared to build up the defence capacity of the Homeland, to perfect the People's Army, the Border Guards and the State Security.

Condemning the aggression of the American imperialists against Korea and their entire war-mongering and aggressive policy, the Congress instructed that ceaseless work must be done to increase the people's hatred for imperialism, especially American imperialism, and expose it completely. It described the struggle against imperialism as the main condition for the preservation and strengthening of peace.

Solidarity with the international working class and with all the peoples fighting for their liberation from the imperialist yoke was also expressed. The further strengthening of the friendship and cooperation with the socialist countries was another task set. The Congress re-emphasized the absolute necessity of exposing the Titoite clique as an agency of imperialism.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 2nd Congress of the PLA, Works, vol. 9, p. 265, Alb. ed.

** Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 289, Alb. ed.

The Congress elected the Central Committee of the Party composed of 27 members and 12 candidate members. Enver Hoxha was re-elected General Secretary of the Party.

5. FOR THE REDUCTION OF THE DISPROPORTION BETWEEN INDUSTRY AND AGRICULTURE AND IMPROVEMENT OF LIVING CONDITIONS

The fulfilment of the 1st Five-year Plan encountered difficulties which had not been properly envisaged. The plan for the development of the economy during the years 1951 and 1952 was not fulfilled. The anticipated rise of the well-being of the working people was not achieved. The agricultural production advanced at rates slower than the Congress had set. At a time when the area of land planted with agricultural crops had been extended according to the plan, yield rates, especially of bread-grain, lagged behind. There was an appreciable decline in livestock farming. Thus, the disproportion between industry and agriculture, instead of being reduced, as foreseen in the plan, became greater.

The Causes of Disproportion between Industry and Agriculture

This state of affairs caused the Central Committee great concern. It held a special discussion of the matter and disclosed the causes that had brought it about.

The backwardness inherited by agriculture from the past, the low level of education and culture of the peasant masses, small-scale private property in the countryside impeded the extensive use of machinery and the full exploitation of the possibilities created for the growth of agricultural production. The correct instruction of the 2nd Congress for a more rapid development of agriculture and for reducing the discrepancy between industry and agriculture was not kept properly in mind and did not find full reflection in the figures of the plan. The investments for agriculture were smaller than the investments for transport. This did not respond to the task laid down by the Congress to increase agricultural production by 171 per cent at the end of the five-year plan, mainly through increased productivity.

On the other hand, the construction of new industrial projects was expanded beyond the forces and possibilities available. The time limits set for the completion of some of the big projects could not be met. The building of these projects required a very large annual increase of labour power averaging 26,000 persons per year. The recruiting of all this manpower brought about the withdrawal of a large number of peasants from agriculture.

Apart from weaknesses of planning, the peasants' compulsory deliveries to the state which were high and the taxes on agriculture which were still heavy, also adversely influenced the development of agriculture. The peasants could not meet their obligations, especially in the conditions of the severe drought of 1950-1952.

The drought caused heavy damage to agriculture, and led to reduced numbers of livestock. One-third of all the farms of the Republic lacked draught oxen at a time when the areas under cultivation had increased, the variety and volume of agricultural work had been extended, while the agricultural machinery was insufficient.

The yields envisaged for grain production were not attained also because part of the best land was sown to industrial crops. The expansion of those areas was done in an ill-considered manner, often without taking into consideration either the wishes of the peasants or the labour required for growing these crops.

Despite the measures taken by the Party, the disproportion in the price ratio between industrial and agricultural products had not been completely eliminated. Thus, with the income he secured the peasant could hardly afford to buy farming tools. Supplying the peasants with farming tools was made difficult because neither industry nor the artisans had turned out the planned quantities of these implements.

The failure to attain the progress foreseen in agriculture directly obstructed the fulfilment of the tasks for the production of mass consumption goods. This caused difficulties in supplying the people and prevented the improvement of the standards of living of the working people of town and countryside.

Certain other circumstances also hindered the improvement of the people's well-being. Eager for profits, the consumer

cooperatives carried out the wholesale purchase and distribution of agricultural goods as well as the sale of farming tools, mainly through the free market, thus failing to ensure the necessary goods for the guaranteed and barter markets. The big increase in the number of workers from the ranks of the peasants who came to the cities demanded new investments to house and supply them and their families with rationed goods. The attempt to abolish the small private trade prematurely through administrative measures, without taking into account the direction given by the Central Committee on this matter, had also brought about scarcity of goods in the market.

Measures in Favour of Agriculture and of Improving the Well-being of the Working People

The Party could not allow the fulfilment of the 1st Five-year Plan to be endangered and the alliance of the working class with the peasantry weakened. In March 1953, the Central Committee decided to take a number of measures aimed at the liquidation of the obstacles to the advancement of agriculture and at increasing agricultural production. As a consequence, aid to the countryside was increased to some extent, the completion of the land improvement projects on schedule was ensured, the work of the MTS's was improved and the training of cadres for agriculture accelerated.

But time showed that these measures were still inadequate and could not solve the problem in its entirety, because they did not provide new sources for the expansion of the aid of the state for the countryside as the key to the advancement of agriculture.

The Party drew the lesson that the solution of the problems of the countryside had to be understood better by everyone as a major political problem and that more thoroughly studied and more radical measures were required.

Thus in 1953, on the initiative of the Central Committee and under its direct guidance, the Council of Ministers adopted new very important measures favourable to agriculture, in the interest of the well-being of the working people of town and countryside.

The distribution of investments in the 1st Five-year Plan between the main branches of the economy was re-examined. Some premature industrial projects were cancelled. The rates

of construction of some other projects were slackened. The greater part of the investments released from industry passed to agriculture, while the remainder was used to increase the supply of articles of daily consumption and to build new houses.

All the peasants' arrears in the delivery of grain and other agricultural and livestock products up till 1952, as well as all unpaid financial taxes for all members of the agricultural cooperatives and individual farms lacking draught oxen, were written off, while for those that had draught oxen they were reduced 75 per cent. The compulsory quotas of delivery for all categories of land were scaled down. A little later, another general 25 per cent reduction of taxation on the peasant farms was carried out. The prices of locally made farming tools were also reduced, while the prices paid for olives, cotton, tobacco and sugar-beet bought by the state were raised.

At the same time, it was decided to increase the agricultural credits to a considerable extent and to provide agriculture with a greater number of tractors.

The personnel of state administration and the mass organizations was scaled down 30 per cent and a number of cadres of the administration transferred to production work, many of them being sent to the countryside.

The ordinances aimed at abolishing small private trade were annulled and measures were taken for its revival to a certain degree. At the same time, the state and cooperative trade was strengthened. Pursuing the efforts for the improvement of the standards of living of the working people, the Party attached great importance to the development of light industry with the aim of increasing mass consumption goods, without giving up the development of heavy industry. To best meet the needs of the village for industrial goods, private artisan production was encouraged and efforts were made to set up various trades in the villages.

All these measures were a proof of the strength of the Party, of its ability to re-examine its own decisions with a critical eye and make timely corrections to them in conformity with the concrete conditions. The Party understood clearly that its leadership in the construction of socialism could not be conceived without reviewing the tasks time after time, without revoking decisions that had become obsolete, without filling in the gaps found along the road. In his time V.I. Lenin explained that socialism could not be built «without very many repeti-

tions, without retracing one's steps several times, without checking up on the work, without making individual corrections, without new methods...»*

But despite their great importance, the measures which the CC of the Party and the government took in 1953 were still measures from above.

To attain the desired progress in the development of the economy, especially in agriculture, it was necessary to effect an all-round mobilization of resources and manpower, to raise the revolutionary impulse and creative initiative of the masses to a higher level. That could be brought about only if the instructions of the 2nd Congress for a radical improvement of the Party's method for political leadership of our economy were put into effect.

In order to improve the method of leadership, the Party centred its work, first and foremost, on the solution of two important contradictions.

The first contradiction was between the inadequate technical-vocational level of the leading cadres and the ever more stringent requirements for the management of the people's economy in its all-round rapid-rate development. The rate of the training of cadres, the raising of their educational and technical level, the increase of their organizational abilites had to respond to the requirements for a perfect management of economic and state affairs.

The other contradiction existed between the high level of technology of production and the low technical and vocational level of the workers and the engineers and technicians. A new industry, with complex processes of production, based on modern technique, was being set up in Albania, whereas the training of the workers, technicians and engineers was inadequate to meet its requirements. This brought about incomplete exploitation of machine capacities, low productivity of labour and high production costs.

In order to solve these contradictions, the Central Committee of the Party re-examined the training and the qualification of the cadres and workers, criticized the weak points in this field and took measures to place this work on a sounder basis.

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* V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, vol. 31, p. 572, Alb. ed.

It was not long before these measures gave satisfactory and visible results. In 1954 the plan of industrial production was overfulfilled to a greater degree than in any other year. Likewise the planted area and production of grain also increased. The decline of livestock farming was stopped and a considerable increase in herd numbers began. Twenty-seven per cent more living space was provided for the working people than in the year 1953. The total turnover of goods increased over 13 per cent within a single year. Commercial exchanges between town and countryside were expanded.

All these factors brought about the strengthening of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and prepared the ground for the fulfilment of the entire five-year plan.

6. STRENGTHENING IDEOLOGICAL WORK AND SMASHING ATTEMPTS TO REVISE THE MARXIST-LENINIST LINE OF THE PARTY

Following the 1st Congress of the Party and, especially, during the years of the 1st Five-year Plan, the cultural and ideological revolution spread and deepened in all directions. The level of education and culture of the working people rose. Education and culture truly came to belong to the people. The entire country was covered with a dense network of schools, theatres, cinemas, houses and hearths of culture. The first institutions of higher learning were set up. One out of every seven persons in our country was attending school. The traditional patriotism of the Albanian people had been endowed with a new socialist content. Profound changes had been effected in the consciousness of the working people. A new socialist stand toward work and social property had made its appearance, the people had shaken off numerous backward, religious, bourgeois and petty-bourgeois prejudices.

However, the ideological and cultural level of the communists and of all the working people was still quite low. This was apparent in their work and life. Manifestations alien to communist morality, insufficient concern for ideological uplift, the low level of ideological and political work, and retreating in face of the difficulties in the field of education and culture, hindered the socialist construction of the country.

Raising Ideological and Political Education to a Higher Level

The change that had begun in the sphere of production and in the management of economy, the defence and the uninterrupted development of the victories of the socialist revolution demanded the raising to a higher level of the active participation of the masses in the political, economic and cultural life of the country and, as a consequence, the tempering of their socialist consciousness. Albania had embarked on the road of socialist development in the conditions of a great economic and cultural backwardness, with a working class small in numbers, with a low educational and cultural level and a deeply entrenched petty-bourgeois world outlook among the working people. Albania was building socialism under conditions of capitalist encirclement, when imperialism and its agents were exerting all-round, powerful pressure on the people and the Party, and engaging in an extensive campaign of slanders and threats with the aim of overthrowing the people's power.

Considering the Marxist-Leninist ideological and political education of the communists and the working people as a fundamental task, the Central Committee of the Party carefully examined this problem and took steps to organize it better and to place it on a more militant basis.

The tendency to employ administrative methods instead of the method of convincing the masses was criticized. The erroneous idea that when the Party heads the people's power it issues commands and gives orders, was condemned. Instances when some communists in the countryside, instead of working to convince the peasants to hand over their grain quotas, chose the shorter road of arbitrary acts like closing the mills, preventing the peasants from carrying the products home if they had not delivered their quotas, etc, were especially attacked.

The party committees organized more extensive and more concrete work to explain the political line of the Party. The explanatory political work was linked more closely with economic problems, with the tasks for the fulfilment of the plans of the enterprise, the village or the institution. Special attention was given to the education of the working people with the socialist attitude toward work and social property. The class struggle — the principal link in the chain of problems of ideological and political education — was tackled better by the Party. It made the absolute necessity for this struggle even clearer and did

not allow the anti-Marxist idea of the «dying away of the class struggle in the period of socialist construction,» which was spread by the Yugoslav revisionists and which various ideologists in some communist and workers' parties, including the CPSU, had begun to support, to take root in the minds of the communists and the working people. The Central Committee sought to implant deeply in the minds of the communists and the working people the conclusion of the 2nd Congress of the PLA that the class struggle will continue uninterruptedly during the entire period of socialist construction. After losing their power, the exploiting classes never give up their attempts to re-establish their domination, while the main aim of the international bourgeoisie is to prevent the victory of socialism on a world-wide scale and to liquidate the socialist revolution wherever it has triumphed or may break out. In this connection, the Party still further strengthened its propaganda and agitation to expose the aims of the imperialists and their lackeys and the new forms they were using to attain these aims. It made the working people understand better the various forms of class struggle while pointing out to them that theft, damage and misuse of socialist property were an expression of the class struggle.

Measures were taken to improve the work of the press and radio as powerful weapons in the hands of the Party for education and mobilization. The system of party education was reorganized. The publishing of Marxist-Leninist literature was extended. Along with the Works of J.V. Stalin, the publication of which had begun in 1952, it was decided to commence publication of the Complete Works of V.I. Lenin. Special care was given to raising the ideological, educational and professional level of the people working in the party apparatuses and the cadres in the state and economic organs. All the cadres and all the communists were activated better in ideo-political education work, thus doing away with the absolutely mistaken and harmful idea that allegedly this work was the duty only of the organs of propaganda and agitation.

To advance the cultural revolution, the Party concentrated its attention on developing this revolution in depth, while not neglecting its continuous extension. Special care was devoted to strengthening the scientific, ideological and political content of the school.

With the creation of the new intelligentsia and with the

setting up of scientific centres in the country, the Party now put forward the task of linking science more closely with production, so that scientific research might solve the main problems of the socialist development of the country. Special measures were taken to encourage studies in the sphere of the history of Albania and Albanian language.

Just at this time a series of new scientific, cultural and artistic institutions, such as the Institute of the History of the Party, the Institute of History and Philology, the Opera and Ballet Theatre, etc., were set up.

The Vigilance of the Party against the Penetration of Revisionism

At the time when the Central Committee of the Party was examining the strengthening of ideological and cultural work in its April 1955 Plenum, Tuk Jakova attempted to exploit this occasion to attack the general line of the Party, while presenting his own revisionist points of view.

The self-criticism that he had made at the 9th Plenum and repeated at the 2nd Congress proved to be false; he maintained his opposition to the line of the Party. He was still dissatisfied with and markedly hostile to the party leadership and its Marxist-Leninist line. He considered that the campaign of the Party against opportunism and its measures against the class enemy were unjust. Appraising the international events of the recent years from his anti-Marxist, revisionist positions he had started work to revise the line of the Party. For this purpose he had approached elements condemned by the Party for their anti-Marxist activity.

Tuk Jakova demanded the re-examination of the whole political and organizational line of the Party, because, in his opinion, there were big distortions that had to be set right as soon as possible! With the explicit purpose of striking at the leadership of the Party, and in particular at Comrade Enver Hoxha, he raised the notorious hostile thesis of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership that it was they who had created the Communist Party of Albania and made possible all the victories attained in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War of the Albanian people ! He urged the re-examination of all the assessments made by the Party since its founding on the work of the communist groups and insisted especially that the negative aspects of the Communist Group of Shkodra, in the leadership of which he had once taken part, be minimized.

He was opposed to the party policy regarding the class struggle. He defended the thesis of the dying out of the struggle against the class enemy and in general tried in various ways to prevent the struggle against anti-party ideology and anti-party tendencies and manifestations, and thus to make peaceful coexistence with bourgeois views in the ranks of the Party acceptable.

In his hostility against the Party Tuk Jakova had gone so far as to use even the reactionary slogan of dividing the Albanian people into «Gegs and Tosks» (Northerners and Southerners).

Tuk Jakova openly demanded changes in the composition of the Central Committee of the Party so as to place at its head people condemned for grave offences and anti-Marxist activities. At the same time, he called for the rehabilitation of all anti-party elements.

His aims were clear: to replace the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party of Labour of Albania with a new course like that of the Yugoslav revisionists, so that he himself would emerge as «the saviour» and «ardent fighter» for this course, as the person who deserved to be placed at the head of the Party.

Bedri Spahiu associated himself with the revisionist theses of Tuk Jakova.

Bedri Spahiu had been criticized many a time during his life in the Party for pronounced opportunism and gross mistakes in his activity. But every time he had seen the danger of exposure, he had «demanded» to be removed from the leadership of the Party, with the aim of hiding his faults. He had always nurtured bourgeois nationalism and, on the quiet, had supported the opportunist and liquidatory course of Sejfulla Malëshova and Ymer Dishnica.

Bedri Spahiu also was in opposition to the policy of the Party concerning classes and class struggle, had capitulated before the pressure of the bourgeoisie and demanded the extinguishing of class struggle. Like Tuk Jakova, he, too, was for the re-examination of the general line of the Party, for replacement of its leadership with an anti-Marxist leadership that should be headed by Tuk Jakova and be composed of other anti-party elements.

At the 2nd Congress of the Party, Bedri Spahiu was not re-elected as a member of the Political Bureau because of his past grave political errors which were fully revealed during

the verification of party documents. From that time on, his hatred toward the Party increased still further and he was awaiting the favourable moment to vent his spleen upon it.

The opportunist activities and views of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu were exposed and condemned without the slightest hesitation by the Plenum of the CC of the Party that met in June 1955. Tuk Jakova was expelled from the Central Committee and later from the Party, too, whereas Bedri Spahiu, who took a profoundly hostile stand at this Plenum, was expelled right away from the Central Committee and from the Party.

In taking this decision the Central Committee instructed:

«...We must continuously increase our revolutionary vigilance and intensify the fight against opportunism and the opportunists, nipping in the bud every act of theirs detrimental to the Party and the people.»*

Thus the unity of the Party was defended, its Marxist-Leninist general line preserved unsullied. The Central Committee prepared the organizations and all the communists to fight against the views of enemies who sought to develop a dangerous feeling of tranquillity in the ranks of the Party and preached the dying out of class struggle.

The revisionist activity of Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu was not accidental. Its roots lay deep in the all-round diversionist activity of the Yugoslav revisionists against the Marxist-Leninist parties and against the unity of the socialist camp. It was closely linked with the general onslaught the modern revisionists were preparing against Marxism-Leninism and the international communist movement.

After the death of J.V. Stalin in March 1953, the revisionist elements in the communist and workers' parties, including the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, began to revive, to sap the foundations of their parties and to undermine the unity of the international communist movement.

During the first years following Stalin's death they worked to strengthen their positions and get the reins of the party into their hands by removing the sound elements from leading positions by means of slanders, intrigues and plots. To this end, Khrushchev launched the campaign against the so-called «cult of the individual». The PLA, while condemning the cult

* Decision of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, June 17, 1955. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 541, Alb. ed.

of the individual «as an anti-Marxist and harmful practice», did not fall into the trap set by Khrushchev with the aim of having it revise its political line and thus preparing the ground for a change in its leadership. The answer given by the Party on that occasion was: «In the Central Committee and other leading bodies of the Party the collective spirit has always existed and there has been continuous struggle to strengthen the collective work day by day. The Central Committee of our Party is as solid as granite in its unity and leads the Party wisely and courageously on the glorious road of socialism and communism. The unity of the Party is like a block of steel and there is no enemy, either internal or external, strong enough to damage it.»*

In the years 1954-1955 the preparations of the revisionists for their general onslaught against Marxism-Leninism assumed wide proportions. Their activity was concentrated mainly in three directions: in spreading the idea of the dying out of class struggle; in coming to terms with the Titoite clique and rehabilitating it; in replacing the people's struggle in defence of peace with collaboration with the heads of imperialism.

As a consequence of this activity, in Hungary and in a number of other European countries of people's democracy considerable concessions were made to the capitalist elements in the cities and, especially in the countryside, while bourgeois ideology and culture were given free play. Meanwhile in the PRA not only were the class enemies not granted any concessions, but, on the contrary, the fight against them was intensified further.

In the course followed by the Yugoslav leaders the modern revisionists saw the model for their own common course; in the Tito clique they saw their most dependable ally in their struggle against Marxism-Leninism. At that time Khrushchev and, following him, the other leaders of the socialist countries began to praise highly the foreign policy of Yugoslavia, as well as «its efforts to ensure peaceful coexistence and the preservation of peace». Khrushchev tried to prove that the foreign policy of Yugoslavia did not differ from that of the socialist countries. The idea that the issues which united the Marxist-Leninist parties with the Yugoslav revisionists were

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 11, pp. 452-453, Alb. ed.

more numerous and more important than those which divided them, began to circulate. All-round efforts were made to prove the absolute necessity of rehabilitating the Yugoslav revisionist leadership. In May 1955, Khrushchev, without the approval of the other parties, decided to reject the decisions of the Information Bureau and the assessments of all the communist and workers' parties in regard to the betrayal of the Tito clique and to go to Belgrade at the head of a Soviet party and government delegation. Khrushchev tried to impose this unilateral, improper and arbitrary decision on other parties, too. Just two days before his departure he informed the Party of Labour of Albania about this accomplished fact and demanded its approval of the abrogation of the November 1949 resolution of the Information Bureau and the revision of that of June 1948 which exposed the betrayal of the Yugoslav leadership. At the same time, he asked the PLA to approve the text of a «decision» on this matter, which was drawn up by him and was to be published in the name of the Information Bureau, without its holding a meeting! Despite the trust it placed in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee of the PLA viewed this gesture of Khrushchev's with great suspicion and, in a letter addressed to the Central Committee of the CPSU dated May 25, 1955, expressed its opposition to Khrushchev's visit to Yugoslavia and the rehabilitation of the Tito clique. «We are of the opinion,» the letter said, «that there is a considerable difference between the content of your letter dated May 23, 1955 and the main thesis of the common stand we have maintained until now towards the Yugoslavs... The daily experience of our Party in its relations with the Yugoslavs, both before the rupture with them in 1948 and thereafter up to this day, proves in the most complete and clear manner, through many concrete facts, that the content of all the resolutions of the Information Bureau in connection with the Yugoslav problem was entirely correct in principle, with some exceptions of tactical importance. The proposed procedure for the approval of the abrogation of the resolution of the meeting of the Information Bureau of November 1949 seems to us incorrect... In our opinion, such a hasty (and rash) decision on an important problem of principle, without first making a profound analysis jointly with all the parties interested in this matter and, even more so, the publication of it in the press and the announcement of it in the conversations in

Belgrade would not only be premature, but would also inflict serious damage on the general orientation... We are convinced that this general line of our Party in our relations with Yugoslavia is correct, with the exception of some details of secondary importance.»*

The Central Committee of the PLA demanded from the Central Committee of the CPSU the examination of these problems in a meeting of the member parties of the Information Bureau, to which the PLA should be invited to state its opinion.

Persisting in the decision he had taken, Khrushchev went to Yugoslavia, humiliated himself before Tito, confessing that «grave errors had been committed in respect to the CPY and the Yugoslav leadership»(!) and in reality rehabilitated him. This was an unprecedented act in the history of the international communist movement, an open violation of the decisions taken jointly by the fraternal parties, a stand in complete disregard for the other parties.

In the revisionist course of the Tito clique Khrushchev found the embodiment of his desires and efforts for a rapprochement with American imperialism. In his speech delivered in Belgrade he openly expressed this aspiration. The Yugoslav policy of cooperation with the Western countries, he said, «finds full acceptance with us.» In an interview with some American journalists Khrushchev expressed the view that the struggle for peace is a political notion that stands outside the ambit of class struggle, the safeguarding of peace being the concern of both the socialist and the imperialist states. This interpretation which he put on the question of peace in fact negated the well-known Leninist thesis that imperialism is the source of war.

While attempting to raise this anti-Marxist viewpoint of theirs to the level of theory, the modern revisionist tried to paralyse the vigorous anti-imperialist struggle of the masses for peace, and began to preach that the «main fight» to ensure peace was waged in meetings and talks with the chiefs of imperialism. Under the influence of efforts, during 1955 the activity of the international organizations for the preservation of peace suffered a marked decline. Instead of the fight for peace the revisionists were advocating pacifism.

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* Letter of the CC of the PLA to the CC of the CPSU, May 25, 1955. CPA.

Khrushchev described the conference of the heads of the four Great Powers, the USSR, the USA, Britain and France, held in Geneva in July 1955, as a new stage in the mutual relations between states, a turning-point in the efforts to ensure peace. The heads of the participating imperialist governments, he said, were reasonable people who were trying ensure peace. He began to talk everywhere about «the spirit of Geneva».

The revisionist elements, under Khrushchev's influence and instigation, became active in other countries, too. In Hungary, Imre Nagy became a great menace to the Hungarian Workers' Party and to the people's power, coming out openly against the socialist development of the countryside, against the principles of democratic centralism and the leading role of the Party. Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu had wanted to play a similar role in Albania.

At that time, to defend Marxism-Leninism and prevent revisionism from becoming a unified international trend meant to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist line, first and foremost in one's own party, to purge it of revisionist elements and to keep its unity unimpaired.

By expelling Tuk Jakova and Bedri Spahiu from its ranks and smashing right opportunism, the PLA not only barred the way to revisionism; but also prepared itself better for the coming struggle against manifestations of right opportunism in the international communist movement.

The Fulfilment of the 1st Five-year Plan

The fight of the Party on the political and ideological front was closely linked with its struggle for the fulfilment of the 1st Five-year Plan.

The economic measures taken Ho lift agriculture from its backwardness were supplemented with further improvement of the planning of agriculture. Under the new method of planning, the state plan for the development of agriculture determined the volume of obligatory quotas of agricultural and livestock products, the buying of surpluses and the payment in kind for the work of the MTS's. Meanwhile the planning of agricultural production was being done directly by each state, cooperativist, and individual farm, in collaboration with the state organs of agriculture and the MTS's, having in mind the fullest possible utilization of the soil and climatic conditions in each region. The new method released many farming

specialists from bureaucratic routine and increased the responsibility of the state cadres in the districts for the management of agriculture.

All these measures brought about important progress in the increase of agricultural production. In 1955, 53 per cent more bread grain was produced than in 1950.

Industrial production was developed at an even higher rate. During the five-year period this production increased at an annual average of 23 per cent. The total volume of industrial production in 1955 was 15.5 times higher than in 1938.

The rapid development of the economy and the increase of industrial and agricultural production brought about the improvement of the material well-being of the working people. The national income increased about 70 per cent. This created the possibility, at the end of the five-year plan, to adopt the decision on the partial abolition of the rationing system.

Great achievements were scored in the development of culture and education. The network of schools was expanded and the number of pupils and students increased. Illiteracy among people up to 40 years old was virtually wiped out.

The principal objective of the 1st Five-year Plan for the transformation of Albania from a backward agricultural country into an agricultural-industrial one was, in general, achieved. The basis of the new socialist industry was laid, the socialist sector of agriculture was expanded, the prerequisites for the speeding up of the collectivization of agriculture and for completing the building of the economic base of socialism in the forthcoming five-year plan were created.

During the period of the 1st Five-year Plan the Party gained invaluable experience in the leadership of the state and economy for the socialist construction of the country. It also accumulated a wealth of experience in its activity for the mobilization of the masses and in the political and ideological struggle against the internal and external class enemies, as well as against right opportunism.

CHAPTER V

THE PARTY OF LABOUR OF ALBANIA IN ITS STRUGGLE TO COMPLETE THE BUILDING OF THE ECONOMIC BASE OF SOCIALISM

(1956-1960)

1. THE 3rd CONGRESS OF THE PLA. THE DIRECTIVE ON ACCELERATING THE COLLECTIVIZATION OF AGRICULTURE

In December 1955, the Central Committee decided to convene the 3rd Congress of the PLA which would define the new tasks for the coming five-year period. The Central Committee came before the Party and the people with a rich balance-sheet of successes, with a record of a determined struggle of principle for the application of the Marxist-Leninist line, with a clear perspective of the road of the socialist construction of the country. In the preparatory period before the new congress, the PLA found itself facing acute problems which the 20th Congress of the CPSU created for the international communist movement, as well as the pressure the Soviet leadership exerted to impose its revisionist course on it.

The Revisionist Course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU

At the 20th Congress of the CPSU held in February 1956, the Khrushchev group, after three years of preparation, unleashed a fierce attack against the fundamental principles of Marx-

ism-Leninism and against the Marxist-Leninist general line which had been followed by the CPSU under the leadership of J.V. Stalin.

The report of the CC of the CPSU submitted to the congress by Khrushchev presented a number of so-called «new» theses which allegedly represented «a creative development of the Marxist-Leninist theory in the conditions created by the changes in the ratio of world forces in favour of socialism.» In reality, these theses represented a departure from Marxism-Leninism, a revision of it.

Khrushchev distorted the Leninist teachings on war and peace; he elevated «peaceful coexistence between the two systems» to the «general line of the foreign policy» of the Soviet Union and all the socialist states. Lenin taught that the fundamental principle of the foreign policy of a socialist country and of a communist party is proletarian internationalism, and not peaceful coexistence, is «the alliance with the revolutionaries of the advanced countries and with all the oppressed peoples against the imperialists of all hues.»* Khrushchev imposed on the socialist states, on the international communist and workers' movement, all the peoples, the compulsory choice: «either peaceful coexistence or the most destructive war in history. There is no third course.» Thus, for the sake of peaceful coexistence with imperialism on any terms, the Soviet leadership propagated the ideas of giving up class struggle on a world scale, of renouncing the revolutionary liberation struggle of the peoples against the imperialist yoke, and of withholding the all-out aid which should be given to the freedom-loving peoples by the socialist countries and the international communist and workers' movement. It made the solution of the problems of peace and freedom of the peoples conditional on the «establishment of friendly relations between the two great powers of the world, the Soviet Union and the United States of America.»

Thus, on the one hand, he spread the false idea that American imperialism, the biggest and fiercest enemy of peace and freedom, had given up or might give up its predatory and aggressive designs, that socialism would triumph on a world scale through peaceful coexistence and peaceful competition

* V. I. Lenin, «The Foreign Policy of the Russian Revolution», Collected Works, vol. 25, p. 86, Alb. ed.

between the two systems — the capitalist system and the socialist system! On the other hand, the Khrushchev group let the American imperialists understand that the dominating economic and military positions of the USA in the various countries would not be affected at all, that these countries should accept the division and domination of the world by the two great powers which «would ensure peace» through their close collaboration, by using all their huge economic and military potential, all the means of propaganda and the international organs such as the UNO, etc.!

Subordinating the transition to socialism to peaceful coexsistence, Khrushchev laid all the emphasis on «peaceful transition» «through the parliamentary road». «In the present-day conditions,» he declared, «the working class has the possibility of winning a stable majority in parliament and of transforming it from an organ of bourgeois democracy into a weapon of the true will of the people, into an organ of true democracy, of democracy for the working people»! He described the road of the October Revolution as «correct only under those historical conditions»! These theses constituted a negation of the socialist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The report of the CC of the CPSU explicitly described Yugoslavia as a «socialist country» where «in the process of the building of socialism, original and concrete forms of management of the economy and construction of the state apparatus were being developed»! This appraisal tore up all the decisions of the Information Bureau on the betrayal of the Yugoslav revisionist leadership and supported the Yugoslav road of the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and re-establishment of capitalism.

A still more powerful blow was dealt at the party, the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat in the «secret» report «On the Cult of the Individual and Its Consequences» that was submitted to the delegates of the 20th Congress by Khrushchev. This report blackened the glorious road pursued by the Bolshevik Party since the death of V. I. Lenin, calling it a road «full of errors, grave distortions and monstrous crimes.» The responsibility for all this was attributed to J.V. Stalin, who for 30 years had led the Party and the Soviet state with so much wisdom and ability to victories of historic world importance, and who had been acknowledged by the entire international communist movement as a great Marxist-Leninist

and revolutionary. Distorting documents and using declarations made by the enemies of socialism, Khrushchev fabricated the basest slanders and lies to charge Stalin with «arbitrary cruelty», with isolation from life and reality», describing him as a «despot», «terrorist», «ignoramus», At the same time he announced the rehabilitation of enemies of the socialist order who had been condemned as agents of the imperialist states.

The attack was made on J.V. Stalin with the deliberate aim of justifying the liquidation of the Marxist-Leninist line of the CPSU as worked out by its former congresses, of having a new revisionist political line adopted and of revising Marxism-Leninism. To prepare the ground for the attainment of its aims, it was essential for the Khrushchev group to denigrate Stalin who had so resolutely defended Marxism-Leninism and had developed it further under the new conditions created in the world with the triumph of the October Socialist Revolution, with the construction of socialist society in the Soviet Union and with the creation of the socialist camp after the Second World War.

J. V. Stalin had been opposed to the cult of the individual and had often criticized it; he had correctly appreciated the role of the masses and had always upheld the principle of collective leadership of the Party and the Soviet state. But he had not taken adequate measures to restrain the excessive and entirely unnecessary praise the Soviet propaganda had lavished on him, especially in the last years of his life, under the example and sinister instigation of the masked enemies in the leadership of the Party. This was exploited by Khrushchev and company to fabricate the so-called «cult of the individual of Stalin», as a main weapon in the struggle against the revolution and socialism, speculating with the fact that the cult of the individual is alien and detestable to Marxism-Leninism.

Khrushchev and his group declared the revisionist course of the 20th Congress to be the general line of the international communist movement and employed every means to make it obligatory on all the communist and workers' parties.

The conclusions of the 20th Congress became the ideological nourishment for the revisionists of all countries. They were powerful weapons placed in the hands of the imperialists and all reactionaries to fight the socialist countries, communism, and the revolutionary liberation movement. Encouraged by

these conclusions, the enemies of communism launched a furious campaign against Marxism-Leninism, especially against the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They directed their attack especially against the socialist order in the Soviet Union and in the other countries, as well as against the communist parties in capitalist countries. In this campaign the Yugoslav revisionists claim special distinction. They saw that the course of the 20th Congress was in conformity with the road they had long been following. A tense situation was being created in the international communist movement.

Defeat of Attempts to Revise the Line of the PLA

The 20th Congress of the CPSU encouraged and set in motion the anti-party and hostile elements in Albania, too. Great hopes were aroused among them that at last the time had come to change the Marxist-Leninist course of the PLA and to regain their lost positions, i.e., to start the same process as that going on in the Soviet Union and in certain countries of people's democracy. The Tito clique directly assisted these elements, especially through the Yugoslav Legation in Tirana. Under its guidance, the organization of an underground counter-revolutionary movement, aimed at changing the situation and seizing the reins of the Party and the people's power, was commenced. A number of party members who had been punished for grave offenses, and some secret agents of the imperialists and Yugoslav revisionists were included in this movement. The anti-party and hostile elements more than anyone else publicized the 20th Congress, trying to create a favourable atmosphere for the revision of the Marxist-Leninist political line of our Party and for the rehabilitation of Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova, Bedri Spahiu and other enemies of the Party and the people. They played down the political and economic achievements attained under the guidance of the Party, and talked of the existence of «the cult of the individual», of «violations of Leninist norms», of «a harsh stand toward the kulaks and other class enemies», of «hesitation and procrastination in the improvement of relations with Yugoslavia». They called these «consequences of the erroneous views and practices of J. V. Stalin» and put forward the need for the liquidation of this line, for measures against those responsible who had permitted such things! In Tirana the

anti-party elements also took advantage of the lack of vigilance and other pronounced weaknesses within the Party Committee of the city of Tirana.

The revisionists used the Party Conference of the city of Tirana, held in April 1956, to launch their attack on the Marxist-Leninist line and the leadership of the Party. Through their representatives, whom they had managed to have elected as delegates, they put forward their anti-Marxist platform there. At the same time, they demanded the postponement of the 3rd Congress, because allegedly more time was needed to re-examine the line and make new preparations in the spirit of the 20th Congress of the CPSU! As it turned out later, all this had been cooked up behind the scenes by the Yugoslav Legation.

By misusing the internal democracy of the Party, and taking advantage of the passive stand of the delegate of the Central Committee, Beqir Balluku, the anti-party elements created a tense situation at the Conference. The revisionist views were opposed by the majority of the delegates, but there were some among them who were swayed by this subtle demagogy.

The Central Committee rightly appraised the situation as very serious and immediately concluded that the enemies of the Party and socialism had a finger in this. It sent Comrade Enver Hoxha to the Conference. There he unmasked the aims of the revisionists and put forward the firm line of the PLA for the preservation of the purity of its revolutionary policy and practice. The delegates fully supported this stand of the Party and condemned the attempts of the enemies to turn it from its Marxist-Leninist line. The Conference forced the anti-party elements to admit from their own mouths the aims and character of their counter-revolutionary activity. The revisionist plot was defeated.

Drawing lessons from this event, the Central Committee instructed the whole Party: «Therefore, it is impermissible to let vigilance relax in the slightest; we must not allow ourselves to be overwhelmed by the feeling of self-satisfaction and allow enemy activity free rein.»*

With their eyes opened by this event, the communists

* Letter of the CC of the PLA to all the party organizations, April 21, 1956. CPA.

mobilized themselves to fight in a more revolutionary manner in defence of the line of the Party and for the fulfilment of their tasks.

Meanwhile, Khrushchev, for his part, pressed the Central Committee of the PLA to re-examine its general line in the spirit of the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU and to adopt a new line at its 3rd Congress. At first, this pressure was exerted in Moscow through Suslov, a member of the Soviet revisionist group. In the name of the CC of the CPSU, he demanded, through Liri Belishova, that the leadership of the PLA re-examine, in particular, its stand toward the Yugoslav revisionists and the sentences which had been pronounced against Koçi Xoxe, Tuk Jakova and the other anti-party elements, because, he alleged, «errors could have been committed under the influence of Stalin's cult of the individual.» This demand was repeated in a more open and persistent way by the leader of the delegation of the CPSU that had come to Tirana to take part in the 3rd Congress.

The Plenum of the Central Committee unanimously and unhesitatingly rejected all these attempts to revise the correct line of the Party and expressed its determination to continue on the course which the PLA had pursued up till that time.

The 3rd Congress of the PLA began its proceedings as planned, on May 25, 1956, and lasted until June 3. It was attended by 670 delegates with deliberative vote and 121 delegates with consultative vote, representing 41,372 members and 7,272 candidate members of the Party.

The Congress examined the activity of the Central Committee and the whole Party, amended the Constitution of the Party and approved the directives for the 2nd Five-year Plan.

The Determination of the Party to Continue. Its Marxist-Leninist Course

In the conditions of the general onslaught of international revisionism against Marxism-Leninism and the pressure exerted by Khrushchev on the PLA, the principal problem was: on which course should the Party proceed? The course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU or its own Marxist-Leninist course?

Contrary to what the revisionists demanded, *«Having heard and discussed the report 'On the Activity of the Central Committee of the PLA,' delivered by the First Secretary of the Central Committee of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the*

3rd Congress of the Party of Labour of Albania decided to fully endorse the political line and practical activity of the Central Committee as well as the conclusions and proposals contained in the report.

*The Congress noted with satisfaction that the general political, economic and organizational line followed up to now by the Party had been correct.»**

The Congress firmly condemned the activity of the anti-party elements at the Party Conference of the city of Tirana and any attempt to revise the political line of the PLA. It described as positively correct the measures taken by the Party in strictly applying the Marxist-Leninist norms «against all anti-party and deviationist, revisionist, Trotskyite, opportunist groups and elements.»**

Dealing with the problem of the class struggle as one of the most important problems over which the fight between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was being waged, the Congress considered it «a mistake to think that the class struggle is dying away and that the overthrown classes will give up their struggle of their own free will.»***

It instructed the communists not to relax their vigilance even for a second and warned them that there would be such elements who «may think that, with the change of the situation, the discipline and the vigilance of the party should be changed, too, and that everything should be replaced with an opportunist softness, with an easing of class struggle..., that the time has come when, under the slogan of democracy, they can violate true democracy...»****

This is how the Congress faced up to the tense situation that was being created within the international communist movement following the 20th Congress of the CPSU.

Hence the duty to continue the merciless struggle against all opportunist manifestations, against the danger of rightism and to preserve the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the Party as the most precious thing.

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* Resolution of the 3rd Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 593, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 609.

*** Ibidem.

**** Ibidem, p. 610.

The 3rd Congress decided unanimously and without the slightest hesitation that the Marxist-Leninist course which had been pursued by the Party since its formation should be continued in all directions.

A revolutionary Marxist-Leninist spirit — essentially opposed to the revisionist spirit that permeated the conclusions and the decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, ran through all the conclusions and decisions of the 3rd Congress of the PLA.

However, the 3rd Congress did not openly condemn the anti-Marxist theses of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. The Central Committee of the PLA had made known to the Soviet leadership its opposition and reservations over a number of their theses and actions. At the same time, the press of the PRA was intentionally giving various assessments practically contrary to those of the 20th Congress. But the PLA in its 3rd Congress could not express its opposition and reservations about the conclusions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, because, at that time, such an act would have been to the benefit of the enemies of communism who had unleashed a frenzied campaign against the Soviet Union and the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The Albanian communists have always felt it their noble internationalist duty to defend the first socialist state in the world and the whole socialist camp. Besides this, at that time, the real aim that the Khrushchev group hoped to achieve with its new theses was still not well recognized.

The main thing was that the Party of Labour of Albania did not make any concessions of principle in the face of the pressure of the Khrushchev group and did not make the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU the basis of its line as was the case with a number of communist and workers' parties. It preserved its general Marxist-Leninist line intact.

The amendments made by the 3rd Congress to the Constitution of the Party did not affect its Marxist-Leninist principles and norms. The new Constitution defined the duties and rights of the party members more precisely. The rich experience the Party had gained in organizational and ideological matters and in the political leadership of the socialist construction of the country found expression in the Constitution.

The Directives of the 2nd Five-year Plan

In approving the directives of the 2nd Five-year Plan for the years 1956-1960, the 3rd Congress defined as the main tasks: **the development of industry, especially of the mining industry, mainly on the basis of the full utilization of the existing productive capacities and the exploitation of the internal reserves; the rapid development of agriculture, mainly through the socialist reorganization of agricultural production; the improvement of the material situation and the raising of the cultural level of the people.**

In conformity with these tasks it was envisaged to increase the total volume of industrial production at an average annual rate of not less than 14 per cent. The production of oil, chromium ore, coal and electric power, as well as the production of consumer goods, would develop at an accelerated rate.

The 3rd Congress directed that there should be a marked increase of agricultural and animal products, too. But it laid down that the main task for agriculture and the entire people's economy was the **extension of the collectivization of agriculture,** to complete the laying of the economic base of socialism throughout the country and to bring about rapid all-round development of the countryside.

The Congress considered the instruction of the December 1955 Plenum of the CC for the acceleration of the collectivization of agriculture completely correct and timely. All the political, economic and organizational conditions had been created for the transition to this new stage of the socialist reorganization of the countryside. The masses of the peasantry had become convinced of the superiority of large-scale collective agricultural production. Qualified cadres had been trained and the basis of agricultural equipment had been expanded. The Party and the state were in a position to tackle the tasks arising from the extension of the collectivization of agriculture. The existence of the necessary conditions for the transition to the socialist reorganization of the countryside on a wide scale was confirmed by the fact that the task set by the Central Committee of the Party in December 1955 of doubling the number of cooperatives within the year 1956 had been completed by the eve of the 3rd Congress.

Basing itself on these conditions, the 3rd Congress put forward the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture

in general within the period of the 2nd Five-year Plan. In the first place, the collectivization would encompass the lowland areas and, partly, the hill country. In mountain areas there were to be set up mainly agricultural collectives and livestock cooperatives.

The Congress instructed that in the collectivization the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasantry should be strictly observed. It demanded that the party organizations and the government organs should use only the method of persuasion by publicizing the example of the agricultural cooperatives which had been set up. Any other method of work which might infringe in the least the principle of free will was considered alien and would be condemned by the Party.

The state would support the collectivization of agriculture by increasing mechanization, adding to the area of new land, extending land improvement projects and giving all-round help to the agricultural cooperatives.

The objective of continuously improving the living standards and of raising the cultural level of the working people ran right through the directives of the plan. The increase of industrial and agricultural production would make it possible to abolish entirely the rationing system during the 2nd Five-year Plan, and to lower the prices of goods of daily use year by year.

In order to achieve the best possible results in the 2nd Five-year Plan, the 3rd Congress called on the communists and all the working people to fully realize that «the place of honour the battle front for the construction of socialism, is where the material blessings are produced — in the factory, on the construction site or the state farm, at the MTS's or the cooperative.»*

Winding up its proceedings the 3rd Congress elected the new Central Committee composed of 43 members and 22 candidates to membership, thus increasing its numbers. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary.[1]

The 3rd Congress upheld the revolutionary policy of the Party and, in the spirit of this policy, defined the new tasks

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 2, p. 667, Alb. ed.

1 The title of General Secretary of the Party was replaced by the title of First Secretary of the CC of the Party by decision of the July 12, 1954 Plenum of the CC of the PLA.

for the construction of the economic base of socialism, putting first and foremost the task of completing the collectivization of agriculture.

2. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA AGAINST MODERN REVISIONISM AS THE MAIN DANGER IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

After its 3rd Congress the PLA found itself facing a dangerous situation in the international communist movement, which had been created by the spread and enlivenment of modern revisionism.

The Revival of Revisionism in the International Communist Movement

The situation created in the second half of the year 1956 was a consequence of the 20th Congress of the CPSU. A profound ideological confusion swept over the greater part of the communist and. workers' parties. Taking advantage of the great prestige and authority of the CPSU and the Soviet state, the Khrushchev group exerted continuous pressure on the leaderships of the other parties for the purpose of making them replace their previous Marxist-Leninist course with the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. It organized conspiracies to remove from the leadership of the parties all those who opposed the spread of revisionism. The Tito clique, on the other hand, made a great fuss about the «triumph of the Yugoslav course» and, where they could, intervened in every conceivable manner in order to accelerate the disintegration of the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist order. The Soviet leaders and the Yugoslav revisionists cooperated closely in the big anti-comunist campaign launched by international revisionism under slogans of the struggle against «Stalinism,» against «dogmatism,» against «the cult of the individual.» Khrushchev met Tito in order to co-ordinate their activities in this campaign, and to single out who of the leaders of this or that party was to be removed and who was to be placed at the head.

In these circumstances, the opportunists in the ranks of the various communist and workers' parties came out in the open and, with the direct support of the Soviet leadership and the Titoites, launched an attack against Marxism-Leninism. Anti-

party elements were rehabilitated although many of them were known world-wide as counter-revolutionaries.

The Italian opportunists headed by Palmiro Togliatti were prominent among the revisionists of the capitalist countries in the campaign against Marxism-Leninism and the socialist order. They raised the need for the creation of «an order to unrestricted democracy» in the socialist countries. Under the guise of the «struggle against the hegemony of a single party» they invented the thesis of «polycentrism» — the creation of many centres in the international communist movement. They came forward with the slogan of the «Italian road to socialism,» a reformist parliamentary road which excluded any revolutionary uprising and any attempt to destroy the bourgeois state power. Such a road was, according to the Italian revisionists, the only suitable course for all the capitalist countries of the West.

In the socialist countries revisionism spread and deepened in Poland and Hungary more than anywhere else. With the help of the Khrushchev group, anti-Marxist elements, condemned for their revisionist views and anti-socialist activities, emerged in the leadership of the workers' parties of these countries. The dictatorship of the proletariat was paralysed. The ideology and culture of the Western bourgeoisie were allowed to spread far and wide.

This situation was exploited by the imperialists. International imperialism and the revisionists jointly organized the counter-revolutionary revolt in the Polish city of Poznan in June 1956, as well as the counter-revolutionary uprising in Hungary in October-November 1956.

The Hungarian people's democracy was threatened with the danger of complete liquidation. The Hungarian Workers' Party was destroyed. Betrayed by the revisionists, the Hungarian communists and working people made a desperate stand. The counter-revolution in Hungary kindled anti-communist hysteria all over the world. The socialist system was facing a grave trial.

The peoples of the socialist countries and the revolutionary forces all over the world were greatly alarmed about the fate of socialism in Hungary. Soviet troops were stationed in the People's Republic of Hungary, but the Khrushchev group hesitated to send them into action. Only in the face of the great pressure from below and, especially when it saw that Hungary was slipping out of the sphere of its influence, was it finally

obliged to permit the Soviet Army to suppress the armed counter-revolution. This counter-revolution was crushed.

The Hungarian counter-revolution was the offspring of revisionism, supported by the imperialists. The Yugoslav revisionists, the most ardent supporters of the Hungarian revisionists, flew their flags at half mast when it failed. Tito termed it «a people's uprising» which was suppressed by «a savage and impermissible intervention». Imre Nagy, the head of the counter-revolution, found refuge at the Yugoslav Embassy in Budapest.

After the defeat of the counter-revolution, the Soviet leadership, which was no less to blame than the Tito clique for its preparation, tried in every way to cover the traces of its grave responsibility. It sacrificed Imre Nagy, whom it had itself placed at the head of the Hungarian state. Unlike the Titoites, it was obliged to call the uprising «counter-revolutionary», as it was in fact. However, it blamed the «dogmatists» and not those who really were to blame — the revisionists, for bringing about the counter-revolution.

The worst of it was that the Hungarian armed counter-revolution was suppressed by counterrevolutionaries who restored capitalism, but in more camouflaged forms, as the Khrushchevite revisionists had done in their country, deceiving the revolutionary Hungarian working people.

Revolutionary Internationalist Stand of the PLA

The PLA expressed its unreserved solidarity with the revolutionary working people of Hungary and aroused the entire Albanian people to assist them with every means. Through «Zëri i popullit» it declared: «The Albanian people angrily denounce the bloody deeds of the imperialists and fascist counter-revolutionaries who aim at tearing Hungary away from the socialist camp, overthrowing the regime of the workers and peasants and establishing the savage dictatorship of capital.»* Meanwhile, the Government of the PRA, in a special declaration, made the following appeal: «In the present circumstances, the socialist victories of the Hungarian people achieved during these years must be defended with determination.»**

* Editorial of «Zëri i popullit», October 30, 1956.

** Declaration of the Government of the PRA, November 3, 1956. «Zëri i popullit», November 4, 1956.

Analysing these bitter events, the Party of Labour of Albania, unlike the Soviet leadership and the new Hungarian leadership, who put the blame for the counter-revolution on the so-called «dogmatists,» the «previous Hungarian leadership,» put its finger on the real main culprits — the revisionists, and criticized them for the «repeated and lightning changes of leadership (in Hungary — Ed.), which had in fact left the Party and the state without a directing staff, without a strong and trustworthy leadership.»*

The PLA drew important lessons from what happened in Hungary for its activity on a national and international scale. «The tragedy of the Hungarian people,» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared immediately after the defeat of the counter-revolution, «will certainly be a great lesson to all the honest people in the world; it will be a lesson to all those who rest on their laurels and who, listening to beautiful words and the demagogic slogans of the imperialists and reaction, slacken their vigilance and replace it with opportunism and dangerous leniency...» «Therefore, today more than ever, our Party is faced with the task of intensifying its resolute principled struggle to preserve the purity of the Marxist-Leninist theory, to strengthen its ranks ideologically and organizationally, to deepen the international solidarity of the working people; it considers that the struggle for the defence of the Marxist-Leninist principles, the struggle based on these principles, is the only correct struggle.»**

The acute international situation brought about by the counter-revolution in Hungary was still further aggravated by the British-French-Israeli aggression against Egypt in October 1956. This act was yet another link in the general assault of imperialism and reaction against the freedom-loving forces.

Faced with such a situation, the PLA deemed it absolutely necessary to increase its readiness and that of the people in order to cope with the intensified imperialist-revisionist pressure.

In December 1956, the Central Committee of the PLA sent a special delegation, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, to Moscow to raise with the leadership of the CPSU all its concern over the great danger posed by the spread of modern revision-

* Editorial of «Zëri i popullit», November 5, 1956.

** Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the November 8, 1956 commemorative meeting, Works, vol. 14, pp. 123, 126, Alb. ed.

ism, stressing the necessity of a resolute struggle against this danger. It also put forward its critical opinion about a series of stands of the Soviet leadership towards the activity of the Yugoslav revisionists to split and undermine the socialist camp and the international communist movement and towards the events in Poland and Hungary, stands which the PLA considered wrong. Khrushchev and company tried in all kinds of insincere ways to placate the delegation of the PLA and convince it that everything was proceeding normally! But the PLA could not be deceived nor could it renounce its principled stands and opinions in connection with the creation of a very dangerous situation for the international communist movement. «This situation,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «calls for struggle against the class enemy, the Yugoslav Titoites, and other elements hostile to Marxism-Leninism... Therefore not only must we be vigilant, but we must also prepare ourselves well to deal resolute blows continuously at all the enemies of communism...»*

The meeting of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA in February 1957 served this aim. At this meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation in the international communist movement and in the world and once again stressed the duties of the Party in its revolutionary struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The imperialists and the various revisionists — Yugoslav, Italian, Polish, Hungarian and others, had directed their main attack against the Soviet Union, in order to break up the socialist camp and the world communist movement, and to nullify the universal importance of the teachings and experience of the October Revolution and socialist construction and the principles of Marxism-Leninism. The revisionist theses and decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU were directed against these teachings and principles and this experience. In these conditions the PLA considered that the struggle in defence of the Soviet Union, closely linked with the struggle for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, was a struggle in defence of socialism, in defence of Marxism-Leninism. It considered this stand, at that time, as an important issue of principle, and at the same time, as one of

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the Political Bureau on the talks in Moscow, January 3, 1957, Works, vol. 14, pp. 196-197, Alb. ed.

its tactics against the Khrushchevites and against modern revisionism in general.

In the existing circumstances, instructed the Central Committee, the ideological struggle against revisionism assumed first-rate importance.

It was especially necessary to expose the attempts of international revisionism to sow ideological confusion about the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the leading role of the party of the working class, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the class struggle.

All historical experience, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out. teaches us that «the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party is a vital necessity in order to carry out the socialist revolution and build socialism and communism.»* To deny the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist party means to leave the working class without a guiding staff, to disarm it completely and to perpetuate the domination of the bourgeoisie.

Exposing the revisionists who propagated far and wide the abolition of the dictatorship of the proletariat or its «liberalization», the PLA emphasized: «We must not abolish the dictatorship of the proletariat,... but must strengthen it as much as possible, not permitting it to be weakened, 'liberalized,' not allowing confusion and disorganization in its ranks, because that is what our enemies want.»**

Those who reject the dictatorship of the proletariat reject the whole of Marxism-Leninism and go over to the side of the enemies of communism.

The Plenum of the CC pointed out that the revisionists' spreading of the «theory» of the negation of the class struggle is dangerous, too. This «theory» is aimed at disarming the working people in the struggle against American imperialism and against the local reactionary bourgeoisie. The PLA always adhered to the Marxist thesis that the class struggle «is an objective reality»*** which cannot die out until classes and capitalism have been eliminated on a world scale.

Revisionism disguised its struggle against Marxism-Leninism

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, February 13, 1957. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, 1972, p. 37, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 43.

*** Ibidem, p. 44.

under three main demagogic slogans: «for the creative development of Marxism-Leninism and for the struggle against dogmatism,» «for the creative application of Marxism-Leninism in the specific conditions of each country,» and «for the struggle against Stalinism» or «the cult of the individual».

Unlike the revisionists who only speculate with the correct thesis of the creative development and creative application of Marxism in the new circumstances and the specific conditions of each country, Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «The Marxist-Leninists conceive the creative development of Marxism-Leninism not as the negation of its foundations, but as an enrichment of this theory with new conclusions and theses derived from the experience of the struggle of the working class and from the development of the sciences... Marxism is a science and the objective laws discovered by it are absolute truths... They cannot grow obsolete nor be negated... The fundamental problems of the construction of socialism are common problems, the laws of the development of society have no national boundaries. Historical experience shows that such common problems are: the dictatorship of the proletariat, i.e., the establishment of the political power of the working class under the guidance of its Marxist-Leninist party, the strengthening, in every way, of the alliance of the working class with the peasantry and with the other working strata, the liquidation of capitalist ownership and the establishment of social ownership over the principal means of production, the socialist organization of agriculture, the planned development of the economy, the guidance by the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist theory, the determined defence of the victories of the socialist revolution from the attempts of subversion by the former exploiting classes and by the imperialist states.»*

The PLA made it clear once again that the struggle against the «cult of the individual of Stalin,» «against his errors,» «against Stalinism,» was a struggle against Marxism-Leninism aimed at paving the way for the replacement of the revolutionary course with an opportunist and reformist course in all the communist and workers' parties in order to place the revisionists at the head of these parties. «We disagree with all those who try to wipe out all the revolutionary activity of Stalin... J. V. Stalin, as everyone knows, is a great Marxist who, next

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, pp. 31-32, Alb. ed.

to Lenin, defended Marxism-Leninism from all the enemies and revisionists and made an invaluable contribution to the further development of this science.»*

At that time our Party spearheaded its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism, the standard-bearer of the attack on Marxism-Leninism. But it was not difficult to understand that this fight was directed against revisionism in every country and in every party, that the theses of the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha were being counterposed to the revisionist theses of the 20th Congress.

The determination of the PLA not to adopt the course of the 20th Congress, but to preserve intact its own general revolutionary line, especially the publication in «Zëri i popullit» of Comrade Enver Hoxha's report «On the International Situation and the Tasks of the Party,» delivered at the Plenum of the CC, alarmed the Soviet leadership. Therefore, proceeding from the aim that this determination must be smashed and subjugated, it demanded that a high-ranking delegation of the PLA should be sent to Moscow urgently.

During the talks with the main Soviet leaders, the Albanian delegation headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, outlined the situation and the struggle of the PLA in the conditions of that time. Dissatisfied and very angry at the revolutionary stand of the PLA, Khrushchev cut in saying: «You Albanians, it seems, want to turn us back to the road of Stalin»! He called the stand of the PLA towards the Yugoslav revisionists «not an objective stand» which was based on «exaggeration of the misunderstandings with them,» and demanded that they «should not be harassed unjustly»! He did not hesitate to take a number of the enemies of the Party and of the Albanian people under his protection, demanding their rehabilitation. Enraged by the firm stand maintained by Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other members of the delegation in defence of the Marxist-Leninist views and activity of the PLA, Khrushchev threatened them saying: «You Albanians are hot-tempered and sectarian»!! «It is impossible to come to terms with you. The discussion is closed»!!! This incident was the first direct clash between the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line of the PLA and the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group.

Despite the threats, the Soviet leadership did not dare to

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, pp. 33, Alb. ed.

break off the talks. The Khrushchev group still had great hopes that the PLA would give up its »stubborn disobedience» and submit to its dictate. One of the means that it was to use in an effort to attain its objective was the economic aid of the Soviet Union without which, Khrushchev thought, Albania could not make a single step forward! One such means was the writing off of the credits amounting to 422 million old rubles that the Soviet Union had advanced to the People's Republic of Albania from the time of Liberation up to 1955. As was confirmed later, the Soviet leadership did not cancel the debts out of genuine friendship and on the basis of the principles of proletarian internationalism. Meanwhle, the PLA, the Government of the PRA and the entire Albanian people considered this help not as a charity; but as fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet peoples to a socialist country.

Neither threats nor «gifts» could shake the determination of the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the PLA to defend its general revolutionary line to the very end. «The defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, the fight against revisionism, the strengthening of vigilance,» Comrade Enver Hoxha declared in Moscow, «are among the main duties of the Party of Labour of Albania. Our Party... will proceed resolutely on its correct course for the successful construction of socialism in Albania.»*

«...Not for one moment will we give up the struggle against those who seek to revise the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, be they Yugoslavs, Albanians or anyone else,»** he reiterated on his return to Tirana.

The revolutionary internationalist stand of the PLA was expressed also in the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow in November 1957.

At this Meeting, the Khrushchev group, supported by a number of well-known revisionist elements, who were members of various delegations, tried to have the revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU adopted as the general line of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The delegation of the PLA, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, made an important contribution to the defeat of

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Albanian-Soviet friendship rally in Moscow. «Zëri i popullit», April 17, 1957.

** Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Tirana rally «Zëri i popullit», May 14, 1957

those efforts. It came out against the views of the revisionists, which presented the Marxist-Leninist teachings on imperialism, war and peace, the armed uprising, the revolution and the construction of socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, as outdated, while it stressed the permanent validity of these teachings. It insisted on rejection of the revisionists' demand that American imperialism should not be described as the main enemy of peace and the peoples, and moreover, that imperialism should not be mentioned at all in the documents of the Meeting.

The Khrushchevites, who in that situation were interested in preserving at least the appearance of «unity» at all costs, were forced to retreat. Thus, the documents endorsed at the Meeting were based on the revolutionary principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Contrary to their desire, the Meeting declared revisionism, right opportunism, to be the main danger to the international communist movement. The Meeting also disclosed the sources of revisionism, namely bourgeois influence, as the internal source, and capitulation to imperialist pressure, as the external source.

In view of the revolutionary content of the Declaration, the delegation of the PLA and the other delegations which defended Marxism-Leninism consented to leave unchanged the incorrect formulation on the 20th Congress of the CPSU as being allegedly a congress which had opened a new stage in the international communist movement. In fact, this constituted a concession justified by the necessity to defend the Soviet Union from the frenzied attacks unleashed against it by the enemies of communism and to preserve the unity of the movement.

Despite this, in general, the 1957 Moscow Declaration opposed the revisionist course of the 20th Congress. The approval of this Declaration was a victory for the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces.

The PLA fully approved the activity of its delegation at the Meeting of the communist and workers' parties, regarding this activity as an internationalist contribution. It associated itself with the revolutionary theses of the Declaration of the Meeting.

3. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SOCIALIST RELATIONS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE AND FOR THE FULFILMENT OF THE 2ND FIVE-YEAR PLAN

While putting the political and ideological struggle first, the Party did not neglect the economic and social tasks set by the 3rd Congress. On the contrary, it considered the fulfilment of these tasks, first and foremost, as a major political and ideological question.

The Work for the Mass Collectivization of Agriculture

The main attention of the PLA was directed to the implementation of the major task laid down by its 3rd Congress for the mass collectivization of agriculture. While conducting intensive work of leadership, organization and clarification for this purpose, the organs and organizations of the Party gave every support to the initiatives of the peasants to set up new cooperatives, and to enlarge the old cooperatives with new members.

The Central Committee of the Party specially charged ail its members and many other leading cadres to assist the peasants and communists of the countryside in the task of collectivization. The state enterprises, especially the agricultural enterprises, and the party organizations of the cities were activized to assist in the socialist transformation of the countryside. Many communists and agricultural specialists who worked in the state administration were sent to the countryside to work in the agricultural cooperatives.

At the same time, the Party fought with determination against shortcomings and weaknesses observed in the work of collectivization. It combated the erroneous tendency of a number of peasants and a few communists of the countryside to agree to the setting up of cooperatives only in the expectation that the state would supply them with bread and would meet all their other needs. The other tendency to keep personal plots larger than provided for by the Constitution of Agricultural Cooperatives was also attacked. Measures were taken to overcome the hesitations on the part of the peasants to collectivize their animals which in many cases they slaughtered or sold

before joining the cooperative. Manifestations of misuse of administrative power in setting up cooperatives and of violating the free will of the peasants were also condemned.

The Party was mobilized, in particular, to suppress any attempt of the class enemy to impede collectivization. The kulaks, incited by the diversionists sent by the imperialists and the Yugoslav revisionists, attempted to commit acts of sabotage and to cause all kinds of disorders. The enemies came out with such slogans as: «don't hurry to set up cooperatives, the time limit is 1960,» «you will starve to death in the cooperatives,» and «collectivization is a trick to take the land from the peasants.» Secretly, they tried to persuade the peasants not to join the cooperatives. When a cooperative was set up, they incited its members not to abide by the constitution, fomented discontent and tried to provoke dissension among them, sabotaged the fulfilment of the obligations to the state, etc.

As a result of the work of the Party and of the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of the peasants, the attempts of the kulaks and of other enemies remained sporadic and were defeated. They were completely isolated and exposed. Collectivization went ahead in the way and at the pace determined by the Party. The movement for the collectivization of agriculture became a great patriotic cause.

The year 1957 marked a radical turn in the collectivization of agriculture. The area collectivized reached 58 per cent of the total area of the Republic. Many whole villages had been turned into cooperatives. In some districts, collectivization included up to 90 per cent of the land of the peasant households. In the Vlora, Bilisht, Kolonja, Cërrik, Saranda and some other districts cooperatives were set up in all the villages. The socialist sector became the dominant sector in agriculture. That year it produced half the total bread grain, three-fourths of the cotton, and 90 per cent of sugar-beet.

Meanwhile, the collectivization continued rapidly. By the end of 1959 the collectivized land reached over 83 per cent of the total area of land under cultivation. Thus, on the whole, the collectivization of agriculture had been completed. Only some of the households in very mountainous areas had not yet joined the cooperatives. The directive of the 3rd Congress of the Party was carried out a year ahead of schedule. This proved how correct and timely this directive was.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture consti-

tuted one of the most important historic victories of the socialist revolution in the economic and social field. It led to the establishment of new socialist relations in production in the countryside. **The collectivization of agriculture was the second revolution, the most radical revolutionary turn in the economic and social relations in the countryside.** It opened the road for a speedy development of the forces of production and for radical, social and cultural changes in the countryside.

In the collectivization of agriculture, the PLA always kept in mind the conditions of the political and economic development of the country. The forms, methods and rates of the cooperation of agriculture were applied in conformity with these conditions.

The collectivization began and was carried out in the conditions of the existence of small private ownership of the land by the peasantry. It was done at a time when the new socialist industry was not as yet in a position to equip agriculture with modern means of agricultural production. The PLA was convinced that collectivization should not be delayed artificially by waiting until the industrialization was completed, just as it should not be hastened artificially before the essential material and spiritual conditions had been created.

Following this revolutionary course, the Party took timely measures to create the mechanical base for large-scale collective agricultural production, a base which steadily increased along with the extension and strengthening of the socialist cooperative system. The farm machinery concentrated in the hands of the state was brought from the socialist countries through trade exchanges and credits.

The collectivization of agriculture began and was accomplished entirely on the basis of the agricultural cooperative of the artel type, in which the land, the work and the means of production were socialized. The incomes were divided solely on the basis of the work done by each member in the collective economy.

During the process of collectivization attempts were made to use such initial forms of cooperation in production as collective farms in which only the labour was socialized. But these forms, which were to serve as intermediate stages to go over to agricultural cooperatives of production, were short-lived and did not spread widely in the countryside. The peasants

went over directly and immediately to the agricultural cooperatives of production.

The Albanian countryside inherited no traditions of the cooperative movement from the past. For this reason the peasantry accepted that form of cooperation in production which the Party advocated as the most suitable. The Albanian peasantry had great faith in the Party. It had been liberated from the yoke of the foreigners, the landowners and usurers and had become master of the land only under the leadership of the Party. From their own experience the peasants were convinced that the Party had always shown them the right road and that it had firmly defended their interests. That is why they accepted the agricultural cooperative of the artel type.

After the Agrarian Reform in the Albanian countryside there was no great economic differentiation between the peasants regarding the amount of land and agricultural stocks. Therefore, when they united together in agricultural cooperatives, among the members there were no big contradictions of economic interests to make it essential to resort to intermediary forms of cooperation.

The mass collectivization of agriculture did not change the policy of the Party towards the kulaks. During this stage, too, the struggle against the kulaks went on according to the previous policy of economic restriction, political isolation and their elimination as a class. With the application of this policy, the kulaks disappeared in general as a class, without it being necessary to apply mass and forced confiscation of their property. Force and violence against the kulaks was used only when they did not submit to the laws and ordinances of the people's power or committed political crimes.

In 1960 there were still about 1,500 kulak households, or less than one per cent of the overall number of peasant households. The kulaks had lost their former economic base. Each of them owned an average of less than 3 hectares of land, 1 head of cattle and less than 10 sheep. Consequently, the number of kulaks continued to dimmish and their economy to weaken. Hand in hand with the policy of restriction, the Party attached importance to re-education, especially of the sons and daughters of kulak families, without ever relaxing its vigilance and without hesitating to hit hard when necessary.

The completion of the collectivization of agriculture and the strengthening of socialist trade made possible a very large-

scale reduction of the capitalist elements in the towns. The small private merchants were organized in commercial collectives whose activity was placed under state control. The greater part of the few handicraftsmen, who hitherto had remained private, joined the handicraft cooperatives.

At the beginning of collectivization separate agricultural cooperatives were formed for each village, big or small. The establishment of cooperatives on the basis of each village was necessary at that time when means were scarce, when the number of leading cadres and specialists was limited, when experience in managing the collective economy was lacking.

When the collectivization was reaching completion, the small cooperatives slowly became less and less capable of responding to the needs for their economic and organizational strengthening and for a rapid development of the forces of production in the countryside, hence it became imperative to enlarge and strengthen the cooperatives. This need was felt and demanded by the cooperative peasants themselves. Therefore, the Party laid down the task of building enlarged cooperatives by uniting small ones. But it emphasized that this unification should be carried out cautiously, always on the basis of the free will and full conviction of the cooperative members. This was a long-term task; it could not be done in a rush, in the form of a campaign.

Nevertheless, at the beginning of 1959, carried away by the enthusiasm of the peasantry, some districts declared that the unification of the cooperatives was the main problem of the day. It was envisaged that this work would be done within a year or two. The unification of cooperatives was extended even to the mountainous regions. United cooperatives of 10-15 villages with up to 4,000 hectares of land were set up. Thus, the instructions of the Party were being distorted.

The Central Committee discovered this excessive haste in time, pointed out the damage that could be inflicted on the cause of collectivization, took measures to ensure that the objective and subjective conditions were studied minutely, and that the future of the unification of cooperatives should be determined accordingly.

After that, unification was conducted more prudently, studied better and applied only in the lowlands. In the beginning, enlarged cooperatives were set up by uniting not more than 2 or 3 villages. At the same time, the state extended its economic

aid for them in the form of farming machinery, agrarian credits and specialists. To strengthen the management of the united cooperatives, the Parly sent to the countryside city cadres who were elected chairmen of these cooperatives.

The unification of small cooperatives into bigger ones created new possibilities for their economic and organizational consolidation, for a better use of the advantages created by the new socialist order in agriculture. The economic relations between the state and the cooperatives were strengthened.

The collectivization of agriculture created a new economic and social basis for the formation in the peasantry of the socialist world outlook. Nevertheless, this formation could not be effected by itself and at one stroke, without the educational work of the Party and without other economic and organizational measures. For centuries the peasants had been accustomed to living and working on individual economies, therefore the sentiments and habits of private property were deeply implanted in them. This was reflected in the deficiencies and shortcomings that became apparent in the sphere of organization and in the attitude towards work and collective property.

In these circumstances, the Party strengthened its educational work with the cooperative members to have them concentrate all their efforts on the development of the collective economy, step up their participation in production and strengthen discipline at work. Besides this, special measures were taken for the organization and remuneration of labour and for the application of the Constitution of Agricultural Cooperatives.

The collectivization of agriculture brought in its wake changes in the material and cultural conditions of life in the countryside. In the years 1956-1960 the peasants built about 30,000 new houses. In 1959 there were more than 2,500 schools of general education, about 1,300 houses and centres of culture in the countryside, employing hundreds of cadres and specialists of middle and higher training.

The 2nd Five-year Plan Fulfilled ahead of Schedule

Hand in hand with the work to complete the collectivization of agriculture, the Party was fighting to ensure the fulfilment of the 2nd Five-year Plan in all the branches of the people's economy.

Thanks to this struggle and the revolutionary enthusiasm

that had swept the working class and the working peasantry, 1957 marked a turning-point not only in the field of collectivization, but also in industrial and agricultural production. In comparison with 1956 total industrial production increased 26 per cent. The plan was overfulfilled on a big scale in all the main branches of industry. Agricultural production rose 15 per cent.

On the basis of these successes, beginning from October 1957, the rationing system was abolished entirely and the prices of goods were lowered. This was a great political and economic victory.

Analysing the fulfilment of the plan of the first two years of the 2nd five-year period, the Party came to the conclusion that within the country there were powerful unexploited reserves that should be discovered and placed at the service of the speedy development of the economy and culture. This problem was laid before the broad working masses for discussion. At the same time, the state planning organs were ordered to re-examine the indic.es of the five-year plan with a view to raising them. The discussion of the matter by the people brought to light such inner reserves as to surpass the expectations of the State Planning Commission.

Relying mainly on the proposals of the working people, the 1958 February Plenum of the Central Committee took the decision to raise all the indices of the 2nd Five-year Plan. The additions made to the 2nd Five-year Plan were based mainly on internal accumulation and reserves.

In order to carry on to the end the turn initiated, the Party mobilized its forces and the inexhaustible resources of the working people of town and country. The guiding, organizing and explanatory work of the basic organizations and committees of the Party was improved appreciably. Their composition was strengthened by recruiting new members from among the workers and cooperative farmers, from among the working women tested in the work for socialist construction and in the struggle against the class enemies.

The trade-unions increased their efforts to educate the working people in the communist spirit. They intensified the production propaganda and improved their work for drawing workers into the management and administration of the economy. The production meetings of the workers were enlivened. New forms of emulation came into being and spread, and the

creative initiative of the working people became bolder. Movements to extend the working life of machinery, to economize and exploit the productive capacities more fully, spread far and wide. Many distinguished workers, disregarding their personal material interest, left their advanced brigades and went to other brigades to lift them out of their backwardness. The one-plus-two movement (every qualified worker undertaking to train two others) came into being.

The movement for every cooperative member to put in 300 calendar days of work spread all over the countryside. The workers in the mechanization of agriculture embraced the advanced initiative to extend the working life of the tractors and to save fuel.

The overfulfilment of the increased plan of industrial production for 1958 proved the correctness of the decision of the CC of the Party to increase the indices of the 2nd Five-year Plan.

While fighting for the fulfilment of the plan in quantity, the Party concentrated its attention on the quality of production. During the first years of socialist construction, the very low level of the forces of production and the numerous difficulties the country was passing through resulted in attention being directed mainly towards the quantity of production. Now the time had come to pay more attention to quality. The Party saw this not only as an economic problem, but also as a political and ideological problem. The quality of production expresses the level of economic and cultural advance of a country. In the conditions of the socialist order, quality is an expression of the level of socialist consciousness at work and has an influence on enhancing socialist patriotism and strengthening of the people's belief in their own forces.

In December 1959, the Central Committee of the Party launched the slogan: «Let us turn our faces towards quality without turning our backs on quantity!»

To put this directive into practice a whole range of economic measures aimed at perfecting the organization of labour and its remuneration was adopted. The norms of work and the classification of the workers were re-examined. In all branches of the economy the rates of pay were closely linked with quality. A more correct combination was made of moral and material stimuli, proceeding from the principle of subjecting personal interests to the interests of society. Party and social organizations

engaged in extensive political activity with the working people to bring out the revolutionary importance of these measures, to explain the damage that was being done to the cause of socialism by the tendency observed in some quarters to run after money and the mistaken idea that «without money there is no emulation».

The movement to set up companies and brigades of socialist labour came into being and spread throughout the country during 1960. Its motto was the slogan of the Party: «Work, learn and live in a socialist way.» This movement became a major driving force to increase production, to improve quality, to advance the technical and professional qualification, and to strengthen the socialist consciousness of the working people. The movement for invention and rationalization gained new strength, too.

In this way, the 2nd Five-year Plan was fulfilled and overfulfilled. The tasks were overfulfilled outstandingly especially in industry, transport, and in fundamental investments and constructions. The overall volume of industrial production, which was achieved in four years and nine months, in 1960 was 2.2 times as big as in 1955 and 25 times as big as in 1933. There was a pronounced improvement in the structure of the various branches of industry.

During the 2nd Five-year Plan 250 big economic and cultural projects were built. New oil-fields and new iron-nickel, chromium, copper and coal mines were brought into production. The building of these projects brought about the birth of new towns.

In agriculture, the main victory, one of historic importance, was the completion of collectivization in general. In 1960 the socialist sector in agriculture embraced 87 per cent of the land under cultivation. In spite of the adverse weather conditions, especially during the last two years of the five-year plan, agricultural production in 1960 was 25 per cent higher than in 1955.

The increase of industrial and agricultural production, the increase of the productivity of labour and reduction in the costs of production were the principal factors that determined a marked increase in the material well-being and the cultural level of the people. The real wages of the workers and employees as well as the real incomes of the peasantry rose above the figures envisaged in the plan. During the years of the 2nd Five-year Plan there were 6 general reductions in the prices of

mass consumption goods from which the people gained 7 billion 200 million (old) leks. The volume of the circulation of goods was increased at a rate of 2-3 times greater than the natural growth of the population.

Education was raised to a higher level. In 1957, the University of Tirana — the biggest educational and teaching centre of the country, was established. In 1960, one out of every five persons of the population attended school. In comparison with 1955, the number of cadres with higher training was trebled. The average life expectancy of the population reached 62 years.

The fulfilment of the tasks of the 2nd Five-year Plan established new starting-points for the further development of the economy and culture on the road of the socialist construction of the country.

4. CRITICISM OF THE REVISIONIST VIEWS AND THE SPLITTING ACTIVITY OF THE SOVIET LEADERS

The Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties of November 1957 only restrained revisionism for a time, but did not stop its extension and deeper penetration in the international communist movement.

International Revisionism Spreads Further

The Yugoslav revisionists openly characterized the Declaration of the Meeting as «a negation of the 20th Congress of the CPSU,» «a step backwards» and return to Stalinism.» They unleashed a fierce campaign against its revolutionary content and quickly counterposed to it their 1958 anti-Marxist «program» which was presented as an «international manifesto.»

Meanwhile, the Soviet leadership headed by Khrushchev completely disregarded the revolutionary conclusions of the joint Declaration and continued to propagate and apply the revisionist conclusions of the 20th Congress. It missed no opportunity to draw ever nearer to and establish closer collaboration with the American imperialists. Khrushchev proclaimed world-wide that under present conditions any kind of war was unjust and inhuman! He demanded that the UNO put into effect the «general and complete disarmament» of every country and of all peoples, excepting only the police in each state «to protect the

order»(!) and the «international armed forces» that would be created by the UNO, no doubt, in order to suppress people's wars and uprisings. He began to spread the false idea that as early as 1960 there would be world without weapons, without armies, without wars»!

The policy pursued by the Khrushchev group had a demagogical, eclectic and contradictory character — a feature of every kind of revisionism. On the one hand, he praised the USA and demanded close collaboration with it, on the other, he attacked it as an aggressor and world gendarme. At one time, he would call the American president «a friend,» «a great man,» «reasonable» and «peace-loving,» at another time, «a hangman» and «a man who could not even run a kindergarten.» On one occasion, he would praise Tito and the Yugoslav experience to the skies, on another he would call Yugoslav revisionism «the Trojan horse» and Tito a person «who is out of step with the rest of the platoon,» Likewise, he felt obliged to half-heartedly condemn the anti-Marxist program of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY). In this way the Khrushchev group went down the road to revisionism, trying to confuse the minds of the people, swinging from opportunism to adventurism and vice versa, while preparing the final stab in the back of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The process of the extension and deepening of revisionism was proceeding uninterruptedly also among other communist and workers' parties in a number of socialist and capitalist countries.

The line and activity of the revisionists, especially of the Soviet leadership, had increased the ideological confusion in the international communist movement.

This state of confusion in the majority of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties was exploited by the American imperialists and all international capitalism in order to carry out their strategy for the destruction of the world socialist system and the communist movement, to put down the revolutionary liberation movements, using both the tactic of peaceful counter-revolution and armed intervention. Under Eisenhower, the American government had drafted a special plan to overthrow the people's state power in Albania, too.

Uncompromising Fight to Expose and Destroy Modern Revisionism

The Party of Labour of Albania followed with great concern the spread of revisionism and considered the fight against it as one of its most important duties.

The public announcement of the program of the LCY offered a suitable opportunity for dealing hard blows at international revisionism in the whole sphere of its activity and anti-Marxist ideology. While exposing the Yugoslav program as a collection of rotten theories of Proudhon, Bernstein, Kautsky, Trotsky, Bukharin, etc., dressed up in a new cloak, our Party launched the slogan: «Uncompromising struggle for the exposure and the theoretical and political destruction of modern revisionism.»*

Referring indirectly to the opportunist stand maintained by Khrushchev and other revisionists in various communist and workers' parties, the PLA pointed out: «Only he who deliberately shuts his eyes cannot see the role that is being played by the Yugoslav revisionists in the service of the imperialists.»**

It arranged the publication of a series of articles severely criticizing the revisionist viewpoints, bringing to light the revisionist distortions of the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism and defending the party of the working class and its leading role, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary road for the transition to socialism.

While striking blows at international revisionism in the ideological and political sphere, the leadership of the PLA watched the stands and activity of Khrushchev and his group with the closest attention. It saw that they were moving further and further away from the Marxist-Leninist principles. The process of recognizing revisionism was being deepened continuously. The leadership of the PLA began to have ever greater doubts and reservations about the leadership of the CPSU. This greatly assisted the Party to avoid falling into any of the traps laid by Khrushchev to break it and drag it

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* See the decision of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, June 20, 1958. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, p. 199. Alb. ed. and «Zëri i popullit», June 22, 1958.

** Enver Hoxha, «Modern Revisionism Must Be Fought Mercilessly Until It Is Completely Destroyed Theoretically and Politically», «Zëri i popullit», June 22, 1958, and Works, vol. 16, p. 58, Alb. ed.

on to the revisionist road. The Soviet revisionist leadership nurtured vain hopes that things would change after the signing of an agreement to advance new credits to the PRA for the 3rd Five-year Plan, and especially so after the visit of Khrushchev to Albania in May 1959.

Contrary to the insistent demands of the Soviet leadership to follow its revisionist course, the PLA firmly pursued its own Marxist-Leninist line and intensified its struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and modern revisionism in general.

In spite of all this, up to the first half of 1960, the ideological differences between the PLA and the Soviet leadership were not made public, nor were they extended to the state relations between the two countries.

At the same time, the PLA maintained continuous vigilance to foil the plans and the hostile activity of the American imperialists and those of the Titoite clique against the PRA. In the summer of 1960 a clandestine anti-state organization, made up of old agents of foreign intelligence services who had managed to worm their way into the organs of the Party, the state administration and the army, was discovered and wiped out. This smashed the plot to organize a counter-revolutionary uprising co-ordinated with armed intervention by the American 6th Fleet, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionists. At the same time, the plan of the Soviet revisionist leadership, who knew about this plot, supported it, and intended to exploit it for their own purposes, was also foiled.

The Marxist-Leninist Principled Stand of the PLA at the Bucharest Meeting

By the end of 1959 and the beginning of 1960 the PLA was fully convinced that the Soviet leadership, with Khrushchev at the head, was a leadership of revisionist traitors, that its wrong views and stands were not minor deviations, but total departure from Marxism-Leninism.

It was with this conviction that the delegation of the PLA, headed by Comrade Hysni Kapo, went to Bucharest in June 1960 to take part in the Congress of the WP of Rumania, and also in a meeting of representatives of the communist parties of the countries of the socialist camp. It had been agreed in advance that this meeting would be held to discuss and decide the place and date of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world. Meanwhile, Khrushchev

demanded a meeting of the delegations of all the parties participating at the Congress of the WP of Rumania, in which the differences that had emerged between the CPSU and the CP of China would be discussed immediately, on the basis of a document full of accusations against the latter, which was distributed only a few hours before the meeting.

The CC of the PLA had learned of these deep differences through the indirect polemics in the press and the talks of certain members of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA with Soviet and Chinese leaders in Moscow and Beijing.

Once it learned of the differences between the two biggest communist parties, the leadership of the PLA defined its clear-cut stand: These differences should be solved as quickly as possible in the Marxist-Leninist way between the CPSU and the CPC. If they could not solve them themselves, then they could be taken up at a meeting of the representatives of the communist parties of the socialist camp. Later their views and stands should be discussed at a broad meeting of the communist and workers' parties, such as that of Moscow in 1957.* The PLA considered the solving of these differences between the CPSU and the CPC in a Marxist-Leninist way as a question of great importance for the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement, for the future of this camp and this movement.

Faced with a very grave situation, the delegation of the PLA, which was very clear about this revolutionary stand, immediately informed its CC. The CC drew the correct conclusion that Khrushchev was hatching up a major plot against the socialist camp and the international communist movement. The PLA had to strive in every way to foil this plot. At the Bucharest Meeting, its delegation would staunchly defend its decided Marxist-Leninist stand. In reply to Comrade Hysni Kapo's report about this meeting, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote, «The meeting which is proposed to be held now in Bucharest with all the representatives of the fraternal communist and workers' parties who have come to the Congress of the Rumanian Workers' Party, over the disagreements between the CPSU and CP of China, is considered by our leadership as

* Enver Hoxha, Letter addressed to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Bucharest, June 22, 1960, Works, vol. 19, p. 13, Alb. ed.

premature and very harmful.»* Stressing this assessment and applying the other respective instructions of the CC at the Bucharest Meeting, the delegation of the PLA described it as a meeting utterly contrary to the organizational rules and recognized practice in the relations between communist and workers' parties.

Khrushchev and his associates were infuriated by this courageous open stand of the delegation of the PLA and called it «an act of rebellion.»

Despite its persistent efforts at the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet leadership did not achieve its aim. It was decided there to summon a regular meeting of all the communist and workers' parties in November 1960. A special commission was charged with making preparations for it. The commission was composed of representatives of 26 parties including the Party of Labour of Albania.

The international plot organized by the Khrushchev revisionist group failed. In Bucharest it suffered its first defeat. This was a defeat for modern revisionism as a whole.

This strengthened the conviction of the PLA that the leadership of the CPSU headed by N. Khrushchev represented a clique of traitors and constituted a major danger to Marxism-Leninism and socialism.

The Plenum of the CC of the Party held in July 1960 evaluated the stand of its delegation in Bucharest as a principled Marxist-Leninist stand in defence of the interests of socialism and the international communist movement. It informed the entire Party of the proceedings of the Bucharest Meeting and the plot engineered there by N. Khrushchev. The basic organizations of the Party unanimously supported the stand taken by the CC and the delegation of the PLA at that meeting. This stand was a logical outcome of the entire revolutionary line followed by the PLA.

The Firm Stand of the PLA toward the Attacks of the Soviet Leadership

Immediately after the Bucharest Meeting, the Soviet leadership launched a fierce attack against the PLA to force it to its knees. The blows were struck in many directions. The Central

* Enver Hoxha. Letter of June 22, 1960, Works, vol. 19, pp. 13-14, Alb. ed.

Committee of the PLA was made its prime target. The Soviet leadership tried to split it, to subjugate it, and at all costs to have it denounce its own stand in Bucharest and take measures against the «instigators».

To this end the Khrushchev group used Liri Belishova, at that time a member of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, who was infected with unhealthy petty-bourgeois ambition and with pronounced sentiments of careerism. Worked upon in Moscow and incited by that group, she placed herself in opposition to the line of the Party, becoming the pedlar of the anti-Marxist line of the Soviet leadership. But her efforts encountered the steel-like unity of the Central Committee, its determination not to make any concession regarding the principled stand and revolutionary Marxist-Leninist course of the Party. Thus, the attempt of the Khrushchev group to change or shake the positions of the Central Committee was defeated.

Taking advantage of the unbounded love of the Albanian communists for the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet Union, the Soviet leadership tried to corrupt them and raise them in revolt against the Marxist-Leninist leadership of their own Party. It employed the personnel of the Soviet Embassy in Tirana, who enjoyed great freedom of action in Albania, in order to make contacts with officers and generals, cadres of the Party and state organs and officials of the economy and culture. Khrushchev's agents expressed their «anxiety» about the «deviation from the Marxist-Leninist line» and the «betrayal of Albanian-Soviet friendship» by the leadership of the PLA! Then they would ask such provocative questions as: «Are you going to stand by the Soviet Union or will you go against it, as your leadership is doing?» The Khrushchev group pinned their hopes, especially, on the cadres who had pursued their studies in Soviet schools. But all their efforts and hopes were frustrated. The Khrushchevite revisionists did not find nor did they succeed in opening a single breach in the ranks of the Party. It was precisely against this steel-like unity around the Central Committee that their plans were shattered.

The CC of the Party protested to the CC of the CPSU against such open pressures and interference in the internal affairs of the PLA and the Albanian state. Likewise it protested when it learned from the Greek press that Khrushchev had declared to the reactionary Greek politician, Venizelos, in a

talk he had had with him, that he had allegedly seen Greeks in Korça during his visit to Albania, and had encouraged him in his chauvinist demand for the «autonomy of Northern Epirus.» Protests were made also over other anti-Albanian stands of various Soviet leaders and functionaries.

Besides Liri Belishova, the Khrushchev group set in motion its other agent against the PLA, Koço Tashko, former president of the Control and Audit Commission of the PLA, who had shown pronounced vacillations and had often been critized for deviations and opportunism. Both of them were expelled from the Party as enemies.

The Soviet leadership extended its attacks to the economic and cultural spheres, too. Disregarding the agreements concluded between the governments of the PRA and of the USSR, it delayed and, in some cases, entirely stopped the shipment of goods and industrial equipment to Albania. It rejected the request for a quantity of grain to ensure the people's daily bread of which there was a shortage caused by the extraordinary drought of 1960. The Khrushchev group exploited this occasion as a means of pressure to compel the PLA to submit, thinking that hunger would force the Albanian people to rise against their Party. Khrushchev threatened the Party and the Government of the PRA that he would stop sending any kind of armaments and military equipment to the Albanian People's Army, because, he declared, «You are in the Warsaw Treaty only temporarily.»

In August 1960, the Soviet leadership sent a letter to the CC of the PLA in which it demanded that the «Party of Labour of Albania and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union should go to the forthcoming meeting in November with complete identity of views»! In other words, the PLA should give up the principled stand it upheld in Bucharest as well as its Marxist-Leninist line. Otherwise, the Khrushchev group threatened, «the spark of misunderstanding» kindled in Bucharest «will flare up»!

Under no circumstances could the PLA accept such a «unity», which would have been nothing but criminal collaboration. Therefore, it rejected the perfidious request of the Soviet revisionist leadership.

Meanwhile, the delegation of the PLA in the commission of the 26 parties that was to draft and formulate the Declaration of the General Meeting of the Communist and

Workers' Parties of the world was fighting with determination against the attempts of the revisionists to draw up an anti-Marxist document. In this struggle it carried out the directive of the CC of the Party: «We are not for the view, 'let us 'correct what can be corrected...' We are for carrying the matter through to the end... The determined revisionists do not change so easily... Compromise with them does not serve our cause.»*

In Tirana the delegation of the PLA, which was to take part in the meeting in Moscow, was preparing for the fierce battle expected there.

The PLA's Criticism of the Khrushchevite Revisionists at the Meeting of 81 Parties in Moscow

The delegation of the PLA at the November 1960 Moscow Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties was headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

It was clear to the delegation that it was going to a country where the revisionists had seized power and would act as enemies against it. This was proved as soon as the delegation arrived in Moscow. The pressures and provocations were blatant. The Khrushchevites used every means they possessed to ensure that if they did not make the delegation of the PLA submit, at least, they compelled it to refrain from coming out openly at the meeting against the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU or from speaking about the crimes they had committed against the Albanian Party and people. To this end, they manoeuvred like dealers making promises of greater economic aid and admitting certain mistakes «the Soviet functionaries might have made.» Then they threatened to cut off any support and aid, and «to build the relations between the Soviet Union and Albania on another basis from now on»!

But no kind of pressure or manoeuvre could shake the determination of the Albanian delegation to express the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist views of the PLA at the Meeting, holding nothing back on the main problems over which differences had arisen, on the fundamental issues of the strategy and tactics of the international communist movement while, at the same time, exposing the revisionist theses and stands of

* Enver Hoxha, Letter addressed to Comrade Hysni Kapo in Moscow, October 13, 1960, Works, vol. 19, pp. 329, 330, Alb. ed.

the Khrushchev group on these questions as well as the anti-Marxist methods that group employed to force the other parties to adopt those theses and stands.

In the speech which he delivered at the Meeting on behalf of the CC of the PLA, Comrade Enver Hoxha refuted the counter-revolutionary views about the change in the nature of capitalism and imperialism in the new conditions, views defended by Khrushchev and the other revisionists to justify the collaboration with the American imperialists for the creation of «a world without weapons, without armies and without wars»! He declared that imperialism, first of all, American imperialism, has changed neither its skin, nor its nature. It is aggressive and will be aggressive as long as a single tooth remains in its mouth; consequently it may plunge the world into a war. There can be no absolute guarantee that world war will not break out, until socialism has triumphed throughout the entire world or in the majority of countries. «He who fails to see this is blind, he who sees it but covers it up, is a traitor in the service of imperialism.»*

Describing the preservation of world peace as a very important task, Comrade Enver Hoxha defended the revolutionary view of the PLA that peace could not be preserved through useless talks with the chiefs of imperialism, or through cajoling and making concessions to the American imperialists and capitulating to their pressures. For peace to be preserved and consolidated it was necessary to carry out a resolute political and ideological struggle to defeat the aggressive plans of the imperialists, by opposing them with the gigantic united force of the socialist camp, the international proletariat, and all the freedom- and peace-loving countries and peoples.

Comrade Enver Hoxha sternly criticized the Soviet leadership for its opportunist interpretation and application of the question of peaceful coexistence between states of different social systems. He described as anti-Marxist its proclamation of peaceful coexistence as a general line of the Soviet Union and the entire socialist camp, as the principal road for the triumph of socialism over capitalism. Peaceful coexistence, he stressed, constituted only one of the aspects of the foreign policy of a socialist country. The other, more important aspects of this policy should be fraternal collaboration and mutual aid

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 387, Alb. ed.

among socialist countries, the unreserved support for the revolutionary liberation struggles of the working masses and oppressed peoples against imperialism and reaction. One could not renounce the class struggle on a national and international scale, as the Khrushchevites did, one could not go over to class conciliation and ideological coexistence for the sake of peaceful coexistence. «On the contrary, the class struggle must continue, the political, and ideological struggle against imperialism, against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, should become even more intense.»*

In the view of the PLA, the main duty of the communist party of every capitalist country is to arouse the masses against imperialism and all its lackeys within the country in order to undermine their rule, to destroy their political state power in the conditions of a revolutionary situation, to establish the power of the people, to consolidate and develop it as a dictatorship of the proletariat.

Only in this way, in the revolutionary road and through violence, can the transition from capitalism to socialism be achieved, and not in peaceful parliamentary ways. «So far,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «no people, no proletariat, no communist or workers' party has assumed power without bloodshed and without violence.»** This has been clear Co the Marxist-Leninists, while Khrushchev has confused and distorted this issue in the direction that pleased the opportunists.

In particular, Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized the Khrushchev group for their counter-revolutionary stand towards Stalin. He described the condemnation of Stalin at the 20th Congress an arbitrary act and a grave mistake. The question of Stalin concerns the entire international communist movement. The PLA, as a detachment of this movement, expressed its opinion that, «We should all defend the good and immortal work of Stalin. He who does not defend it is an opportunist and a coward.»***

Stalin and the Information Bureau, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, were completely correct when they condemned and exposed Yugoslav revisionism as an anti-Marxist counter-revolutionary trend, as an agency of imperialism. Time had fully corroborated this evaluation, therefore the struggle against

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 391, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 392.

*** Ibidem, p. 457.

it remained a permanent task of the communist parties. But, he pointed out, revisionism was to be found and operated net only in Yugoslavia. It was spreading alarmingly in other countries as well. The revisionists were sworn enemies of the proletariat, the revolution and socialism, splitters of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. For this reason, the PLA insisted that the assessment which the 1957 Moscow Meeting had made of modern revisionism as the main danger to the international communist movement should be re-emphasized and not renounced, as demanded by Khrushchev and others, who said that modern revisionism was no longer a danger(!).

After demonstrating the great danger of revisionism with facts about the events in Hungary, Poland and elsewhere, for which not only the Hungarian, Polish, Yugoslav and other revisionists, but also the Soviet leadership, was to blame, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «We ask the question, why are these things happening in the international communist movement, in our camp, following the 20th Congress?

«A matter of this kind should be of extraordinary concern to us, and we should look for the source of the malady and cure it. But certainly this malady cannot be cured by patting the renegade Tito on the back, nor by putting in the statement that modern revisionism has been completely defeated, as the Soviet comrades claim.»*

To bar the way to revisionism, it was very important to put an end to methods of pressure, interference and plots in the relations between communist parties. In particular, the plot of the Khrushchev group at the Bucharest Meeting, which the PLA called «a stain on the international communist movement,» must be condemned; likewise, all the great-state chauvinist efforts of the Soviet leaders to force the other parties go to the Moscow Meeting keeping in step with their wrong course must be condemned. Comrade Enver Hoxha particularly denounced the actions of these leaders towards socialist Albania, actions in which they behaved like chauvinists and traders. Among other things, after having failed to subjugate the delegation of the PLA, Khrushchev had declared to the Chinese delegation, «We have lost Albania, and you have gained it»!!

After informing the Meeting about these profoundly anti-

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, pp. 459-460, Alb. ed.

Marxist acts by the Khrushchev group, Comrade Enver Hoxha turned to Khrushchev and said, «What is this... behaving like a 'dealer' towards our Party, our people, and a socialist country, which is allegedly lost and won as in a gamble?... You consider Albania a market commodity... There was a time when Albania was considered a commodity to be traded, when others thought it depended on them whether Albania should or should not exist, but that time came to an end with the triumph of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism in our country.»*

The delegation of the PLA explained that in its severe but principled criticism of the Soviet leadership it proceeded solely from the aim of preserving the unity of the international communist movement and the socialist camp. Unity could not be preserved without openly revealing the mistakes and evil manifestations, without severely condemning them and correcting them on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. To those who tried to silence the Party of Labour of Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha replied, «...let no one even think that because Albania is a small country, because the Party of Labour of Albania is a small party, it should do what someone else says, when it is convinced that this someone is mistaken...»

«Marxism-Leninism has granted us the right to have our say, and no one can take this from us, either by means of political and economic pressure, or by means of threats and the names they might call us.»**

No other party made such a courageous defence of Marxism-Leninism and such an incisive principled exposure of the anti-Marxist line and activity of the Khrushchevites. The other parties did not do such a thing because all of them had been infected, to a greater or lesser extent, by the disease of revisionism, while the PLA had kept its revolutionary thought and line pure.

The Chinese delegation also spoke against the Khrushchev group. But its stand was hesitant, conciliatory, opportunist and not a militant stand of going on the attack. As it became dear later, the leadership of the CPC, unlike the PLA, proceeded from the aim not of defending Marxism-Leninism and the interests of international communism, but of defending its

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, pp. 424-425, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, pp. 394, 422.

narrow chauvinist, hegemonic interests, just as the Khrushchevites did.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech had an extraordinary effect which the Soviet leaders and the other revisionists had not expected. It defeated Khrushchev's cunning tactic to cover up the profound contradictions and differences in the international communist movement, to avoid the criticism and exposure of his revisionist course and disruptive activity. Through this tactics the Khrushchev group intended to day all the blame on the Party of Labour of Albania and the CP of China, against which many attacks and slanders had been made in a document distributed to the delegations on the eve of the Meeting, and to emerge as the banner-bearer of Marxism-Leninism and unity! As Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote later, at the Meeting, the Khrushchevites wanted to play the role of «prosecutors», while putting the delegation of the PLA in the dock as the accused. «But, contrary to their desires, we became the prosecutors and accusers of the renegades and traitors. They were in the dock. We held our heads high, because we were with Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchev held his head in his two hands, when the bombs of our Party burst upon him.»*

The direct principled criticism of the Albanian delegation set the polemics ablaze. The delegations of various parties were obliged to express their stand on the problems under discussion. The fierce counter-attacks which the Soviet and other revisionists launched against the PLA in an attempt to nullify the bombshell effect of the voice of the PLA, merely made it more powerful, more devastating. The influence of the struggle of the PLA delegation was expressed also in the joint Declaration adopted by the Meeting.

This international document in general embodied the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principles. The attempt of the Khrushchevite revisionists to impose their revisionist line upon the international communist movement was foiled. The Marxist-Leninist line scored yet another victory.

The definition of the content of our epoch made by the Moscow Meeting of 1957 as a «period of transition from capitalism to socialism» was supplemented in the new Declaration as follows: «Our epoch, the principal content of which is the transition from capitalism to socialism, which began with the October

* Enver Hoxha, «The Khrushchevites», pp. 437-438, Eng. ed.

Socialist Revolution, is the epoch of the struggle between two opposing social systems, the epoch of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, the epoch of the collapse of imperialism, of the liquidation of the colonial system, the epoch of the transition of the other peoples to the road of socialism, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a world scale.»*

Thus, the revisionists were deprived of the possibility of speculating with the incomplete definition of the content of our epoch, and of presenting it as an epoch of peaceful coexistence and of economic competition without revolutions and wars of liberation.

A series of revisionist theses which were included in the draft presented by the Soviet leadership and applied by them in practice were also rejected. Such theses were: «peaceful coexistence is the general line of the foreign policy of socialist countries»; «the possibilities for the peaceful transition to socialism are constantly on the increase»; «in the present period it is possible to prevent all wars,» etc.

In the Declaration of the Meeting, against the wishes of the Khrushchevite revisionists, it was clearly defined that: — the nature of imperialism has not changed and remains the basis of aggressive wars; — the principal force of aggression and war is American imperialism; — it is at the same time the citadel of world reaction and an international gendarme, the enemy of the peoples of the entire world; — in order to avoid a world war it is necessary to arouse all the peoples in struggle against imperialism, dealing the main blow at American imperialism and setting up a common anti-imperialist front; — the national liberation wars constitute an important force for the prevention of a world war; — these wars should have the all-round support of the socialist countries, of the international communist and workers' movement; — all the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent, equal; — by means of consultations they work out their common views and co-ordinate their actions in the struggle for the same purposes; etc.

The repeated efforts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to put aside the definition of revisionism as the main danger, as

* Declaration of the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

was said in the 1957 Declaration, were defeated. This definition remained in the new Declaration. In addition: «The communist parties unanimously condemned the Yugoslav form of international opportunism, which is a concentrated expression of the theories of modem revisionism. After having betrayed Marxism-Leninism... the leaders of the LCY detached their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on the so-called aid of the American and other imperialists... The further exposure of the Yugoslav revisionist leaders and the active struggle to protect the communist movement as well as the workers' movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remains an imperative task for the Marxist-Leninist parties.»*

However, the Declaration reflected some incorrect assessments, such as the evaluation of the 20th Congress of the CPSU, which was left as it was in the 1957 Declaration, as well as some other erroneous theses. The PLA was entirely opposed to such evaluations and erroneous theses, and openly expressed its viewpoints at the Meeting. The delegation of the PLA signed the Declaration on the basis of the fact that in general its content was correct.

The activity of the delegation of the PLA at the Meeting of the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties was fully and unanimously approved by the Plenum of the Central Committee in December 1960. It assessed the stand of the delegation as «determined and principled,» and the speech and the entire activity as «very positive and useful.»

The courageous, principled Marxist-Leninist stand of the Albanian delegations at the Meeting in Bucharest and at the second Meeting in Moscow, in such complicated circumstances as those created by the activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists, demonstrated the high level of revolutionary maturity of the PLA. Such a stand served as a great example for all the Albanian communists in the fierce struggle that had erupted between Marxism-Leninism and modem revisionism. The sympathy and the support of the world revolutionary Marxist-Leninist forces for the PLA increased even more.

* Declaration of the Meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties, November 1960.

CHAPTER VI

THE PLA IN STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY IN THE CONDITIONS OF THE IMPERIALIST-REVISIONIST BLOCKADE

(1961-1965)

1. THE 4th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY. THE DIRECTIVE FOR THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

The 4th Congress of the Party was held in Tirana from February 13 to 20, 1961. Participating in the Congress were 754 delegates with a deliberative vote and 54 delegates with a consultative vote representing 50,802 members and 2,857 candidate members of the Party.

The Congress drew up a balance-sheet of the economic and social changes, defined the orientations' for the new stage of the socialist construction of the country and approved the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan.

Building the Economic Base of Socialism

The conversion of the principal means of production and circulation into common social property and the socialist collectivization of agriculture put an end, in general, to the multi-form economy and created a single socialist system of economy in its place. In 1960, the socialist sector included 99 per cent of total industrial production, 80 per cent of total agricultural production, 100 per cent of wholesale and 90 per cent of retail trade. Nearly 90 per cent of the national income came from the socialist sector. From these radical economic and social changes, the 4th Congress of the Party drew the conclusion that **the economic base of**

socialism in the PRA had been built both in town and in countryside.

With the triumph of socialist relations of production, the exploiting classes, as such, and the exploitation of man by man came to an end.

«The most characteristic and fundamental feature of the class structure in our country at the present stage,» the Congress pointed out, «is the existence of two friendly classes, the working class and the cooperative peasantry, their alliance under the leadership of the working class, and the strengthening, on this basis, of the unity of our people.»*

The relations between these classes were now distinctly those of brotherly collaboration and comradely help among working people freed from any kind of exploitation.

In 1960, the workers, together with their families, constituted 22.5 per cent, the working peasantry 62.8 per cent and the people's intelligentsia 13.6 per cent of the total population.

The creation of the socialist system of the economy in town and countryside brought about the strengthening of the socio-economic base of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the socialist democracy and the party-people unity.

The big economic and social transformations, the work for the socialist construction and the all-round educational activity of the Party brought about pronounced changes in the moral features of the working man, too, in his consciousness and outlook towards work and the social property, the society and the family. The socialist ideology, as the predominant ideology, now operated as a powerful force for the further socialist transformation of society, the consciousness of the people and their material life.

The establishment of socialist relations of production opened wide vistas for the vigorous development of the forces of production and for the strengthening of the defence potential of the country.

For the Complete Construction of Socialist Society

With the construction of the economic base of socialism, Albania entered a new historical stage of the revolution. **The strategic task at this stage was defined as the complete construction of**

* Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, p. 532, Alb. ed.

socialist society. The 4th Congress of the Party defined the directions for the development of the country at this stage.

The complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism by developing the forces of production to a new and higher level was designated as the fundamental task at this stage. The first steps for building the material-technical base of socialism had been taken with the nationalization of the principal means of production and with the development of the socialist economy during the previous five-year plans. Directions were given for its completion during several future five-year plans during which Albania would be changed from an agricultural-industrial country to an industrial-agricultural one.

The continuation of the industrialization of the country was designated as the main link in completely building the material-technical base of socialism. The Congress directed that socialist industry should continue to play the leading role in the people's economy in the future. The Congress issued instructions that, in the main, the raw materials of the country should be used for the development of industry and that priority should continue to be given to heavy industry, to production of the means of production.

Instructions were issued that, besides the industrial development, agriculture should be developed more rapidly, with the aim of eliminating the disproportion between the development of these two main branches of the people's economy. The principal task of agriculture remained the increase of the production of grain in order to ensure the supply of bread from within the country. At the same time, the Congress demanded the increase of other agricultural products in order to meet the ever-growing requirements of the population and the needs of industry for raw materials better, as well as to increase exports. The continuous raising of productivity, without interrupting the work of opening up new land, was designated as the principal way to develop agriculture.

With the growth and development of the forces of production to a higher level, instructions were given to further develop and perfect the socialist relations of production.

The social property — the basis of socialist relations — would be consolidated and extended. This was to be attained, wherever possible, through the increase of internal accumula-

tion, the collectivization of the individual peasant economies of the mountainous regions, the uniting of the small cooperatives into larger units, the economic and organizational strengthening of the agricultural cooperatives, the protection of socialist property from damage and misuse.

The Congress issued instructions for the perfection of the system of working to norms, for strengthening cooperation and assistance amongst the various branches of production, enterprises and working collectives, for improving the system of planning, the organized dissemination of advanced experience.

In the sphere of distribution, instructions were issued: for the perfecting of the application of the principle of remuneration according to the quantity and quality of work done, the proportions for the distribution of the national income (into accumulation and consumption funds), as well as the proportionate distribution of the funds for individual and social use.

Through the uninterrupted development of the productive forces and the relations of production, the working class would grow and become stronger, the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class would be steeled further, and the material well-being and cultural level of the people would be raised continuously.

In the new stage of the construction of socialism the communist education of the working people assumed very great importance. «The complete construction of socialist society,» stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, «cannot be conceived without at the same time creating the new man, with new ideas and thoughts, with lofty moral qualities and virtues.»*

The Congress issued the instruction that the struggle of the Party for communist education should be directed, first and foremost, at establishing a profoundly socialist stand towards work and social property, at eradicating bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts and habits, religious prejudices, superstitions and backward customs and habits from the consciousness of the people and forming a scientific materialist world outlook among them.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the PLA, Works, vol. 20, p. 267, Alb. ed.

The safeguarding of the victories attained and the attainment of new victories in the socialist construction, against any attempt to damage or destroy them and to reinstate the bourgeois-landowner order, constituted another main task.

In connection with this, it was made clear that the elimination of the exploiting classes in our country did not mean the cessation of the class struggle. It would still be carried on sternly during the period of the complete construction of socialist society. The class struggle on the ideological front assumed still greater importance. The Congress emphasized that slackening or cessation of the class struggle prepares the ground for counter-revolution from within and for armed intervention from outside and, as a consequence, for the re-establishment of capitalism.

It was imperative to view the class struggle within the country as a phenomenon closely connected with the class struggle in the international arena, between socialism, the oppressed peoples and Marxism-Leninism, on the one side, and imperialism, reaction and revisionism, on the other. Imperialism and revisionism exerted continuous pressure on the PLA and the Albanian people and had not renounced their aims and attempts to overthrow the socialist order in Albania.

The further strengthening and perfection of the dictatorship of the proletariat was considered as an imperative condition for the complete construction of socialist society and for the defence of the socialist order.

In conformity with the new conditions, the main functions of the socialist state assumed a further development and perfection.

The economic-organizational and cultural-educational function which the Albanian socialist state had begun to perform from its very founding was now deepened and extended more widely in the sphere of state activity. In order to perform this function properly it was necessary to improve the method of management of the economy and culture by the organs of the people's state power and to perfect their planning and organizational activity.

The function of the state in the defence of the socialist Homeland remained just as important as before. For this purpose, it was a duty to increase the defensive power of the country, to strengthen the People's Army and all the armed

forces and to secure the systematic military training of the whole people.

The function of coercion still remained even after the disappearance of the exploiting classes one of the main functions of the state. Coercion by administrative means was directed against the remnants of the exploiting classes and all class enemies, against agents of imperialism and revisionism, and against those who seriously damaged social property and violated the laws of the state or the moral norms of socialist society.

Just as before, in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, too, the Party of Labour of Albania remained the leader and organizer of the entire life of the country. In connection with this, the continuous enhancement of the Party as the leader, organizer and educator, the strengthening of its unity, its ideological tempering and social composition, was presented as a permanent major task.

The construction of the economic base of socialism and the change in the class structure of society had made it imperative to amend the articles of the Constitution of the Party regarding the conditions for admission to party membership. The 4th Congress removed the differentiated requirements for candidates according to their social composition and established a standard rule for all those applying for membership. But this did not mean in any way that the Party would be indifferent toward the social composition of the new members. As always, it would direct and guide admission to party membership with great care, increasing its ranks with the most revolutionary and active militants, with those most closely linked with the masses and faithful to the cause of the Party and the people. In the future, too, the overwhelming majority of those admitted into the Party would be people engaged directly in production in town and in countryside, first and foremost the industrial workers, the workers of the mines and transport, then the members of the agricultural cooperatives.

The Directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan

The Congress worked out the directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan (1961-1965) for the economic and cultural development in conformity with the orientation for the complete construction of socialist society. These directives put forward the following as the main tasks: **the 3rd Five-year Plan must mark an important step forward in the**

building of the material-technical base of socialism; Albania must progress more rapidly in changing from an agricultural-industrial country to an industrial-agricultural one; agricultural production must increase more quickly, as a consequence, the material and cultural level of the working masses is to be raised higher.

The total volume of industrial production was forecast to increase at an average rate of 8.7 per cent a year. As always, priority would be given to the development of heavy industry, especially the mineral and oil extracting and processing industry.

The production of agriculture was forecast to increase at an average rate of 15.5 per cent a year, giving priority to grain production.

Fifty-one per cent more funds than in the 2nd Five-year Plan would be invested for the fulfilment of the tasks of the plan, nearly 82 per cent of these in the productive branches.

The forecasts of the increase of the national income, the real wages of the workers and office workers as well as of the peasants' income would ensure a considerable growth of the material and cultural well-being of the working people. Expenditure for social insurance, pensions, education and culture, for kindergartens and creches would be markedly increased, while medical service would be given free of charge to all, including the peasantry.

The 3rd Five-year Plan envisaged a change in the organization of the people's education and research work, establishing closer ties of the school and science with the practice of socialist construction, with life. The secondary and higher schools were to train more than twice as many cadres as in 1960.

The fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan was based mainly on the use of internal resources, means and forces, on the increase of the productivity of labour, on the full utilization of productive capacities, on the discovery and utilization of all reserves, on the reduction of losses and the avoidance of unnecessary expenditure, etc. At the same time it was based also on the help of the socialist countries, on the basis of agreements which had been concluded or were about to be concluded.

Without Combating Revisionism, Imperialism Cannot Be Successfully Combated, the Unity of the International Communist Movement Cannot Be Preserved

The 4th Congress was held in conditions of the sharpening of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism in the international communist movement.

Revisionism had become a very serious and direct danger to the great historic victories of the proletariat, to socialism, to Marxism-Leninism. Khrushchevite revisionism and other currents had been added to Titoite revisionism. Unlike the old revisionism of Bernstein, Kautsky and others, which lived on the charity of the ruling bourgeoisie, modern revisionism was revisionism in power, which had great economic and military strength in its hands. The greatest evil was that this revisionism had seized the helm in the Soviet Union, the first socialist state, and in the Communist Party of Lenin and Stalin. This was the greatest tragedy the international communist movement had ever known. Their common bourgeois ideology and many other joint interests had drawn the modern revisionists together with the imperialists, the social-democrats and all the lackeys of imperialism and were uniting them ever more closely in struggle against communism, against the revolution.

The Khrushchevite revisionists threw the November 1960 Declaration of the Meeting of the Communist and Workers' Parties in the rubbish basket the very next day after that meeting. They followed their revisionist course in all fields and engaged in divisive activities, through brutal forms and methods of pressure and interference in the internal affairs of the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, to impose their anti-Marxist line on them and to organize a bloc against those that opposed revisionism.

In these circumstances, the PLA considered that its primary duty was to vigilantly defend and consistently apply its general revolutionary line, to defend the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to defend and propagate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which were under attack by the revisionists.

The struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism was waged mainly over the major problems of world development which were raised and discussed at the Meeting of the

81 Communist and Workers' Parties where the PLA had clearly expressed its revolutionary stand on these problems. The 4th Congress sanctioned this stand. It declared that, «It fully endorsed the activity of the delegation of the PLA headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Moscow Meeting of November 1960, as well as the historic documents of that Meeting.»*

The Congress severely condemned the revisionist views on the collaboration and coexistence of classes with opposite interests as well as the attempts of all those who sought to describe the present epoch as an epoch of general tranquility and harmony, in which the entire word would pass over to socialism without revolutions, without uprisings and liberation wars. It exposed the attempts which the revisionists in particular were making to eliminate the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist countries, stressing that even the slightest weakening or liberalization of the dictatorship of the proletariat, let alone its elimination, would be suicidal to those countries.

The Party of Labour of Albania, the Congress pointed out, will always hold high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and triumphant socialism and will continue the struggle for the defence and strengthening of the unity of the international communist movement.

In order to safeguard Marxism-Leninism and the unity of the international communist movement, the 4th Congress of the PLA considered it imperative to wage a determined struggle against modern revisionism to defeat its subversive and divisive activity. It condemned the stand adopted by the leaders of those communist and workers' parties that had rejected the definition of revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement, and the exposure of Yugoslav revisionism as a concentrated expression of modern revisionism, as had been jointly decided at the Moscow Meeting. «Without mercilessly exposing revisionism... the exposure of imperialism cannot be carried out properly.»** For all these reasons, the Congress instructed that *«The struggle*

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* Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, p. 547, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the PLA, Selected Works, vol. 3, p. 279, Eng. ed.

against revisionism should be continued and raised to a still higher level, until its complete ideological and political defeat. While fighting with determination against revisionism as the main danger, the Party must, at the same time, fight against any manifestation of dogmatism and sectarianism.»*

Although maintaining a stern, principled stand against revisionism and unmasking the revisionist viewpoints, the 4th Congress, however, did not openly attack the Soviet leadership for these views, for its divisive activity in the communist movement and in the socialist camp, or for its anti-Albanian activity. The PLA had done this at the Moscow Meeting, which was a forum of sister parties, as well as in closed meetings of the Central Committee and its own organizations. It did not want the differences with the leadership of the CPSU and certain other parties to be made public. It adhered strictly to the rules for settling differences between the sister parties through consultations, in line with the decisions taken at the last Meeting in Moscow.

The unmasking of the anti-Marxist views of the modern revisionists by the 4th Congress encountered the direct opposition of the representatives of the leadership of the CPSU and certain other communist and workers' parties that participated in this Congress. Being aware of the Marxist-Leninist stand and the determined struggle that the delegation of the PLA had waged against modern revisionism at the recent Moscow Meeting, these representatives came to the 4th Congress of the PLA with the special mission of exerting pressure on the delegates to the Congress, urging them to oppose the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line of their Party and to come out in opposition to its leadership.

In order to attain this objective, the Soviet and certain other representatives in their speeches raised some theses opposed to those contained in the Report of the CC of the PLA. By means of blackmail and demagogy they tried to force the representatives of the other communist and workers' parties, too, to change the substance of their speeches and to oppose the line of the PLA.

The delegates to the Congress were profoundly angered by

* Resolution of the 4th Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 3, p. 547, Alb. ed.

this interference of the modern revisionists; they responded with their determination to continue still more vigorously their fight in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism, to put into practice the revolutionary political line of the PLA and the decisions of the 4th Congress, by making the unity of the Party around the CC, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, even stronger.

At the end of its proceedings the Congress elected the Central Committee of the PLA, composed of 53 members and 29 alternate members by unanimous vote. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary.

The 4th Congress of the PLA went down in history as the Congress which opened a new stage in the development of the country, the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, and which prepared the Party for a general ideological assault against modern revisionism.

The Congress demonstrated the monolithic Marxist-Leninist unity of the ranks of the Party and its determination to strengthen and safeguard this unity against any scheme or attack on the part of the modern revisionists. This was expressed with great force in the discussions characterized by their sound content and profoundly militant spirit, in the unanimous adoption of the reports, resolution and directives of the 3rd Five-year Plan, and in the election of the high leading organs of the Party by unanimous vote.

2. THE PARTY IN STRUGGLE TO ACCOMPLISH THE TASKS OF THE 3rd FIVE-YEAR PLAN. DEFEAT OF THE HOSTILE AIMS OF THE REVISIONISTS AGAINST THE PRA

The working class, the cooperative peasantry and the people's intelligentsia immediately embraced the decisions of the 4th Congress of the Party and mobilized all their forces to put them into practice. The profoundly revolutionary spirit of the proceedings and decisions of the Congress aroused great enthusiasm among the broad working masses in the struggle to overcome any difficulties and obstructions and to accomplish the tasks of the new five-year plan.

A Strict Regime of Economizing

In order to fulfil the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan the Party concentrated its attention on the best possible use of all the material and financial values, on establishing rigorous measures to prevent waste in the people's economy and in the entire state and social activity of the country.

The regime of economizing as a method of management of the socialist economy springs from the socialist method of production. The socialist transformation of the national economy, the creation of socialist property in town and countryside had made it possible to extend the sphere of action of the regime of economizing, to discover the latent resources of the country and to turn them into supplementary sources for the development of the economy and culture. On the other hand, utilization of the internal resources as efficiently as possible helped directly in overcoming the difficulties resulting from the capitalist and revisionist encirclement of the country.

Apart from this, the Party foresaw that the Khrushchev group and its followers would intensify their subversive activity against socialist Albania in the future. This made still more imperative the more economical and wide-scale use of the internal resources, forces and means.

The PLA put this problem of such importance before the working masses in order to obtain their creative opinions on it and make it the concern of the entire people. In the broad consultation with the people organized in June 1961, the working collectives of the enterprises made very valuable and concrete proposals for raising production without additional expenditure. The initiative to work three months a year with the internal reserves without using imported spare parts and materials spread everywhere. As a result of the reduction of costs, cutting down unnecessary and premature investments as well as other measures, savings amounting to more than 6 per cent of the state budget were made.

The consultation with the people on the regime of economizing demonstrated that the political maturity and the socialist patriotism of the Albanian people, their readiness to respond to the political moment, had risen to a higher level. It demonstrated, also, the necessity for the state enterprises and institutions to take greater care in drawing up their economic

plans so that the possibilities for development of the people's economy would be discovered and exploited better.

The Central Committee of the Party analysed and summed up the results of this consultation with the people. On this basis it set the task of displaying special care to save production materials by using them more rationally and replacing imported raw and other materials with local ones, without damaging quality. Important savings could be made by ensuring continuity of the process of production, the fullest possible use of the machinery and equipment, rational utilization of working time, reduction of expenditure in the non-productive sphere and increased revenue from exports.

There were wide possibilities for economies and numerous reserves in the field of investments as well. In connection with this, the respective state institutions were called upon to study thoroughly and define correctly the economic benefit of the projects that were to be built, without losing sight of their political importance.

The PLA Faces the Ferocious Onslaught of the Soviet Revisionist Leadership

The Party and the working masses had hardly begun to fulfil the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan when the Soviet leadership launched a full-scale offensive against the PRA in the political and economic spheres, extending the ideological disagreements to the field of state relations.

The Soviet government unilaterally broke all the properly concluded agreements between the two countries. It completely stopped the credits which, on the basis of agreements, it was obliged to grant the PRA for the period 1961-1965. It cut off all commercial, technical-scientific and cultural relations. It recalled all the Soviet specialists from Albania in an ostentatious and threatening manner.

These anti-Marxist, anti-Albanian acts were accompanied by its letter of April 1961 to the Government of the PRA. Among other things, this letter said that Albania «could no longer hope to get aid from the Soviet Union on the former basis, for only true friends and brothers were entitled to that aid»! In other words, the revisionist Soviet leadership was declaring openly what it had been applying in practice, namely, that it had renounced the fraternal relations of assistance among the socialist countries. Immediately after this, in May

it arbitrarily annulled the bilateral agreements in force about the obligations it had assumed in conformity with the Warsaw Treaty, suspending completely all shipments of arms and other kinds of equipment necessary for the People's Army of Albania. Before the eyes of the whole world, it withdrew its vessels from the naval base of Vlora and robbed Albania of eight submarines and other warships that had been sent for repairs to Sebastopol. These acts weakened the defensive power of the People's Republic of Albania and of the socialist camp, greatly whetted the appetite of the American imperialists, the Greek monarcho-fascists and the Yugoslav revisionist plotters.

Despite all this, the PLA did not condemn these hostile acts of the Khrushchev clique publicly. On the contrary, the CC of the PLA, even as late as July 1961, wrote to the CC of the CPSU: «We should refrain from extending the ideological disagreements existing between our two parties to the sphere of state relations, be they in the economic, political or military fields.»*

But the Khrushchevite revisionists disregarded this demand and did not cease their hostile attacks against the Party of Labour and the Albanian people. They cancelled the agreement on the training of citizens of the PRA in the schools of the Soviet Union, withdrew the bursaries from all the regular Albanian students, civil and military, and expelled them from the Soviet Union. From that time on, in fact, they excluded the PRA from the Warsaw Treaty, trampling underfoot the sovereignty of the Albanian people. Thus they refused the plenipotentiary delegation of the PLA, headed by Comrade Ramiz Alia, secretary of the CC, the right to take part in the meeting of the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the Warsaw Treaty countries held in August 1961 in Moscow.

In this way the Khrushchevite revisionists organized a fierce economic, political and military blockade around socialist Albania, accompanying the blockade with all-round overt and covert hostile activity against it. Their aim was to create a situation of insecurity in the PRA, to bring the Party of

* Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA to the CC of the CPSU, July 6, 1961, Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 60, Alb. ed.

Labour and the Albanian people to their knees, to turn them from the Marxist-Leninist road and make them adopt the revisionist course.

This aim of the Khrushchevite revisionists became still more apparent at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU held in October of 1961. Brutally violating the 1957 and 1960 Moscow Declarations and the elementary rules of the relations between fraternal communist and workers' parties, Khrushchev publicly attacked the Party of Labour of Albania with slanders and accusations of the basest kind. In his report to the Congress, he went so far as to describe the leadership of the PLA as «agents of imperialism», «who had sold themselves for 30 pieces of silver» and to call on the communists and the Albanian people for counter-revolution!

The Soviet revisionist leadership intended to rally all the delegates and all the representatives of the communist and workers' parties of the world to the Congress in unanimous support of their accusations. But in this they utterly failed. Many representatives of the other parties and a large number of the delegates that took the floor did not express support for this anti-Marxist attitude of the Soviet revisionists.

Meanwhile, Zhou Enlai, who headed the Chinese delegation at the Soviet Congress, criticized the open attack against the PLA, but he criticized only the method which Khrushchev used of revealing the differences between the parties to the enemy and said nothing in defence of the correct stands and line of the PLA. Meanwhile, he demanded the cessation of polemics at a time when the revisionist group of Khrushchev had savagely attacked the PLA which resolutely defended Marxism-Leninism. In those circumstances, the ceasing of polemics was only to the advantage of modern revisionism. The stand adopted by Zhou Enlai showed that the Chinese leadership was vacillating, and was not for a resolute principled struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.

By its unilateral action in publicly revealing the disagreements and launching open attacks against the PLA, the Khrushchev group placed a weapon in the hands of the enemy and thus assumed the historic responsibility of the splitter of the unity of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The PLA in Open Conflict with the Soviet Revisionist Leadership

In those circumstances, the PLA could no longer remain silent. It was not only its right, but also its duty to publish its views for everyone to hear, to bring the truth about the relations between the PLA and the Soviet revisionist leadership, about the hostile anti-Albanian activity of that leadership, to the knowledge of the international communist movement and world public opinion.

On November 7, 1961, Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered a speech on the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PLA and the 44th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, in which he made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of Albanian-Soviet relations, and showed with irrefutable arguments that the cause of the aggravation of these relations was the anti-Marxist and great-state chauvinist policy pursued by Khrushchev and his revisionist group. This group had betrayed Marxism-Leninism and the traditional policy consistently pursued by the Bolshevik Party and Soviet Government under the leadership of V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin.

During the 20 years of its existence, the PLA had fought unceasingly to strengthen the friendship between the peoples of Albania and the Soviet Union, to establish the closest possible ties between the PRA and the USSR. It had educated the communists and the Albanian people in the spirit of loyalty to and boundless love for the great party of Lenin and Stalin and the first socialist state. The experience of the CPSU had been a source of inspiration and education for the people's revolution and the socialist construction. The PRA had received important, though insufficient, internationalist aid from the Soviet Union. Up till the summer of 1960, the collaboration between the two parties and two countries had been generally normal, in spite of the disagreements and objections of the PLA about a series of erroneous views and actions of the Khrushchev group.

Expressing the desire and determination of the Party and the entire Albanian people, Comrade Enver Hoxha emphasized that in the future, too, Albania would cherish pure sentiments of friendship for the Soviet peoples. At the same time, however, the PLA would in no way reconcile itself with the revisionist course of the Khrushchev group, would never consent to renounce its Marxist-Leninist viewpoints and con-

victions, and would not submit to the Khrushchevite dictate.

The PLA saw in the Khrushchevite leadership an enemy not only of the Albanian Party and people, but, first and foremost, an enemy of Marxism-Leninism and of the Soviet Union itself.

Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out that the criterion of loyalty to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and of love for the Soviet Union could not be the stand maintained towards the 20th Congress and the program approved by the 22nd Congress of the CPSU. The decisions of the congresses of one party are binding only on its own members. The communist and workers' parties are equal and independent. They draw up their own policies proceeding from the concrete conditions of their own countries and relying on the teachings of Marxism-Leninism. The attempts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to present the opportunist theses of the 20th Congress as international norms binding on all the communist and workers' parties had nothing in common with the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and were a flagrant violation of the principle of equality and independence of Marxist-Leninist parties.

At the same time, the Central Committee of the PLA made yet another appeal to the new Central Committee of the CPSU, elected at its 22nd Congress, to analyse with Leninist objectivity and justice the grave situation created in Soviet-Albanian relations by the activity of the anti-Marxist Khrushchev group and to take the necessary measures for the normalization of these relations.*

The reply of the revisionist group of Khrushchev to this sincere comradely request was another hostile act unprecedented in the relations among the socialist countries: the Soviet Union broke off diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of Albania. As a pretext for this it used the absurd tale that «the Albanian government has launched a slanderous and hostile campaign in its own country against the USSR,» that «it is deliberately applying measures to impede the normal activity of the Soviet Embassy and the Office of the Commercial Representative of the USSR in Albania,» etc. In fact, this reflected

* Letter of the CC of the PLA to the CC of the CPSU, approved at the meeting of the Plenum on October 12, 1961 and handed over to the Embassy of the USSR in Tirana on November 11, 1961. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 151, Alb. ed.

the failure of the efforts of the Soviet leaders to make the PLA renounce its principled struggle against their revisionist course which they were attempting to impose upon the PLA at any cost.

In beginning its open struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism, the PLA assumed all responsibility towards both the Albanian people and the international communist movement. It started this struggle with the firm conviction that it would emerge victorious, because it was defending a just cause, the cause of Marxism-Leninism, the cause of socialism, and because the communists and all the revolutionary forces of the world were fighting shoulder to shoulder with it. At the same time, to eliminate any false ideas that might arise about an easy and speedy victory, the Central Committee warned that «the struggle that has been imposed upon our Party and people will be long and difficult, but difficulties have never frightened our Party and people.»*

The Steel-like Unity of the People around the Party in the Struggle against the Khrushchevite Revisionists

The Khrushchevite revisionists thought that with the rupture of diplomatic relations and the economic blockade Albania would be completely isolated and, in the long run, would be forced to its knees since it was a small country and, as such, could not resist their pressure. The Soviet revisionists thought that there were only two roads open to Albania: either to accept the anti-Marxist course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses and submit to their dictate, or to throw itself into the arms of imperialism. They were completely mistaken, too, in hoping that the Albanian people, moved by their love for the Soviet Union, would rise against the revolutionary leadership of their own Party and state.

Likewise, the Khrushchevite revisionists aimed to teach the other countries of people's democracy a lesson and to show them that, if they did not submit to their dictate, the same measures would be taken against them.

The hostile activity of the Khrushchev group in every direction, in the economic, military, political and cultural fields,

* Declaration of the CC of the PLA, October 20, 1961. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 154, Alb. ed.

caused great damage to the Albanian people. The credits that should have been granted to the People's Republic of Albania, under properly concluded agreements with the Soviet government, were an important part of the investments of the 3rd Five-year Plan. The suspension of these credits jeopardized the construction of a number of important projects of this plan. For 12 consecutive years the volume of imports and exports with the Soviet Union had comprised 50 per cent of Albania's foreign trade. The complete rupture of commercial relations by the Soviet government created great difficulties for the export of Albanian goods and for the import of machinery and other equipment sorely needed for the development of the people's economy. Besides this, because of the suspension of military aid, the Albanian government was compelled to overburden the economy of the country in order to strengthen the defence of the Homeland.

In these difficult circumstances, the imperialist powers in their turn hoped that the time had come to lure Albania into the imperialist camp. To that end, they hastened to offer credits and expressed their readiness to fulfil the various demands that might come from Albania!

But both the Khrushchevite revisionists and the imperialists were sadly mistaken in their reckoning and hopes. In his speech on November 7, 1961, Comrade Enver Hoxha expressed very clearly the sentiments and determination of our people to go forward on the road to socialism, undeterred by difficulties and obstacles. «...The Albanian people and their Party of Labour will even live on grass if need be, but they will never sell themselves 'for 30 pieces of silver',» he stressed. «They would rather die honourably on their feet than live in shame on their knees.»*

The Albanian communists and the broad masses of the working people responded to the appeal of the Khrushchevite revisionists to overthrow the leadership of the Party and the state, to their attacks, pressures and blackmail by intensifying their efforts to fulfil the tasks of the plan and by closing their ranks more tightly around the Party and its Central Committee. The steel-like unity of the people with the Party rose to a still higher level.

Despite the difficulties caused by the cancellation of credits and the withdrawal of the Soviet specialists, in general work

* Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 22, p. 127, Alb. ed.

on the projects under construction continued without interruption; the targets of the plan of the year 1961 were fulfilled, industrial production was overfulfilled, agricultural production rose 22 per cent over that of one year earlier.

These results made it possible to avoid reducing the standard of living of the people despite the difficulties caused by the blockade. In October 1961 a new reduction in the retail prices of industrial goods was made as planned.

It was a major task for the Party to ensure the fulfilment of the plans for the following years of the five-year plan also. To achieve this, many great difficulties had to be overcome.

These difficulties were increased still further in 1962, when the governments of several European countries of people's democracy, following the course and the example of the Soviet government, suspended their credits, too. Although these governments did not completely sever their economic relations with the PRA, as the Khrushchev group had done, they purposely delayed for a long time signing commercial agreements and refused to exchange Albanian goods for their goods, which were badly needed for the development of the Albanian economy.

In these conditions of the blockade and various pressures exerted by the modern revisionists, reliance on our own forces assumed even greater political significance. It became imperative to further strengthen the revolutionary optimism among the people, their unshakeable confidence in their own creative forces and abilities, their profound conviction that they could fight, work and build socialism successfully, and attain victory in any situation, no matter how complicated.

The Party consulted the masses of the people about the situation created, the great difficulties which had to be overcome to accomplish the tasks of socialist construction, the economic and cultural development and defence.

Answering the call of the Party, the working class, the cooperativist peasantry, the intelligentsia, and the youth threw themselves into a broad patriotic revolutionary movement to leave no task uncompleted. At the same time, the masses fought, together with the Party, against Khrushchevite revisionism and against modem revisionism in general to defend Marxism-Leninism and implement the line of the Party.

The unbreakable unity of the people with the Party in the revolutionary action for the fulfilment of tasks, in the struggle

against imperialism and revisionism, was powerfully demonstrated in the June 3, 1962 elections to the People's Assembly, in which almost 100 per cent of the voters went to the polls and cast their votes for the candidates of the Democratic Front, for the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party.

In the circumstances of the imperialist-revisionist blockade, the problems of training cadres and of raising the technical-professional level of the working people became more acute. The Central Committee of the Party examined these important problems to the complete construction of socialist society at a special meeting of its Plenum. Measures were taken to train 118 thousand qualified workers during the five-year period as well as to raise the educational level of the workers in general to meet the requirements of the advanced equipment. Special care was devoted to improving qualification and enhancing the role of middle technicians. The work for the further training, qualification and specialization of higher cadres was also improved. Greater numbers of specialists were drawn into scientific-research work.

At the same time, work was stepped up for the revolutionary and ideological tempering of the cadres and specialists of all branches. This helped the intellectuals and all the cadres to deepen their Marxist-Leninist revolutionary convictions, to take a more vigorous part in the struggle against the influence of bourgeois ideology and opportunist and revisionist theories.

The ideological work of the Party and revolutionary action further developed the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial, the determination to overcome difficulties, among all the working people.

Alongside the struggle for the fulfilment of the economic tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan, the PLA paid very great attention to increasing the defence capacity of the country and to creating state reserves to be able to cope with any situation, any unexpected difficulty.

3. THE TASKS FOR THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST AGRICULTURE

The problem of the countryside, of its development, remained always a very important problem.

In the years following Liberation, agriculture had under-

gone great changes. In 1961 total agricultural production had been doubled in comparison with 1938.

During the first stage of socialist construction, in the main, the PLA followed the course of the extensive development of agriculture. At that time, it could not act otherwise for lack of machinery, of a system of drainage and irrigation, of qualified cadres, chemical fertilizers, etc. Up to 1961, 62 per cent of the increase of agricultural output was due to the extension of the area under cultivation and only 38 per cent due to increased crop yields. The development of agriculture along this road did not respond to the demands arising from the rapid growth of the population, the increase in its purchasing power, as well as from the expansion of industry and exports. To ensure its rapid development, agriculture had to be set on the road of intensification.

For the Intensification of Agriculture

This important problem was taken up for examination at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party in October 1962.

The intensification of agriculture, the Plenum pointed out, is a comprehensive process. It demands a systematic increase of investments and machinery, extension of the drainage and irrigation system, extensive use of chemical and organic fertilizers, an unceasing rise of the agro-technical level to enhance the fertility of the soil and to take more agricultural and livestock products from the same area at the lowest possible cost.

The collectivization of agriculture, the establishment of big socialist economies, their equipment with a powerful mechanical base, the building of big drainage and irrigation systems, the wide use of selected seeds, the increase of specialized cadres and the opening of new lands, etc., had created the indispensable conditions for going over to an intensive agriculture.

To ensure the accomplishment of the great task of the intensification, the Central Committee directed the party and state organs to insist on the application of modern agro-technique and the mobilization of all internal reserves for the constant increase in agricultural production, on increased participation in work and the most fruitful use of the labour force during the whole year and the fullest possible use of means, implements and the land.

The transition from extensive to intensive agriculture marked

another big step, a new stage in the further socialist development of agriculture.

The Party carried out special organizational and clarifying work to put the directives of the Central Committee on the intensification of agriculture into practice. As a result, the mobilization of agricultural workers increased appreciably; the annual average of days worked by each cooperativist rose; more organic fertilizer was collected and used; thousands more hectares of arable land were put under irrigation; the planting of fruit trees, grape-vines and citrus trees assumed the character of a movement.

Meanwhile, the state continued the work of land improvement, building drainage and irrigation canals on a larger scale. The obstacles of the blockade were overcome and the mechanization of agriculture was further strengthened and extended, although not to the full extent envisaged in the five-year plan.

At the same time the work of opening up new land, especially in the hills, went on successfully. But in this sphere, too, there were still larger reserves than had been foreseen which were not exploited as fully as they should have been during the years 1961-1965.

For a Radical Improvement of the Economic, Social and Cultural Situation in the Countryside

The socialist transformation of the countryside demanded not only the development of the productive forces in agriculture, the raising of the productivity of labour, but also a radical improvement of the economic, social and cultural life of the peasantry, the perfecting of socialist relations.

As a result of the new conditions created in the countryside, the mode of life of the peasantry had also changed in comparison with the past. People now were better fed and clothed. There were increased numbers of creches and kindergartens, schools and pupils, and of health and cultural institutions.

But these were only the initial steps on a long march towards the elimination of the essential differences between town and countryside, differences that were linked with the level of development of the forces of production, the socialization of the means of work and of the work itself, with the

conditions and mode of life, with the development of culture, education, health services, etc.

The problem of radically improving the economic, social and cultural life of the countryside, of narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside, was analysed at the Plenum of the CC of the Party in June 1963. «The Party is raising this big problem with such force today,» the Plenum pointed out, «because its solution is an objective necessity dictated by the new stage of the historic development of our country — the complete construction of socialist society.»*

The development of the forces of production, the increase of agricultural and livestock products, mainly through the rise of productivity in accordance with the directions of the Party on the intensification of agriculture, were to serve as a basis for raising the well-being of the peasantry.

Another way to develop the forces of production was to be the improvement of some aspects of the relations of production, first and foremost, defining more correct proportions in the distribution of agricultural and animal products so as to ensure extended reproduction and to meet best the general needs of the state as well as the peasants own needs for consumption.

The Plenum paid special attention to harmonizing the ratio between the fund of accumulation and the fund of consumption in the agricultural cooperatives. Wrong tendencies observed in some cooperatives, such as setting the fund of accumulation on a scale lower than the economic possibilities of extended reproduction, or spending too much in the non-productive sphere were criticized.

The Plenum observed that in a number of agricultural cooperatives of the mountainous areas the income of peasants from the personal plot equalled or even exceeded the income they received from the collective economy. In order to liquidate this temporary phenomenon, the party and state organs were charged with making a special study of the problem and taking steps to increase the income from the collective economy. At the same time the party and state organs were warned that undue haste in this matter might give rise to harmful conse-

* Enver Hoxha, Report «On the Economic, Social and Cultural Situation of the Countryside and the Measures for Its Further Uplift», Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 302, Alb. ed.

quences, therefore because of the need to increase the incomes and raise the well-being of the peasants, care for the best possible exploitation of the private plots should not be reduced.

To increase the incomes of the peasantry, it was necessary also to ensure the greatest possible participation of the peasants in productive work, to restrict the number of workdays in the non-productive sphere as much as possible, to organize auxiliary productive activities on a wide scale in every cooperative so as to ensure supplementary income for its members.

The Plenum defined the changing and improvement of the mode of life in the countryside, which had lagged behind the socialist relations in production, as a very important social problem. The source of this contradiction lay in the relatively low level of production, in the old concepts inherited from the past, in the consciousness of the people and in their low cultural level.

In order to change the way of life in the countryside, the orientation was given that a gradual, but radical improvement should be brought about in the peasants' diet, in the way they prepared and used their foodstuffs, the way they dressed and in the wide use of furniture and household equipment so as to make life in the countryside more hygienic and cultured. The introduction of communal and handicraft services widely into the life of the rural areas, the planned systematization of the villages, the building of attractive, hygienic and cheap houses, the extension of electric light, the supply of drinking water, the expansion of the communications network between town and countryside and between the villages themselves, the broadening of the network of health institutions, and the elimination of payment by the peasants for treatment in these institutions, all these were urgent tasks.

In order to raise the educational and cultural level of the peasantry the task was set of extending the network of 8-grade schools in the countryside; efforts would be made to ensure that all the village youth attended these schools. The Central Committee demanded that the role of the school as the principal centre for the dissemination of culture and knowledge among the peasant population must be enhanced.

Another fundamental task, the Plenum emphasized, was that of liberating the peasantry from the old, petty-bourgeois mentality, from the feeling of private property and educating it in the spirit of socialist morality.

To this end, the Party had to do a great deal of work and wage a continuous struggle against backward concepts, prejudices, and customs. The struggle would be waged especially against customs that humiliated women, so that they would become worthy fighters in the construction of socialist society.

One of the important objectives of the political clarifying work of the Party was to do away with the mentality, which was predominant among the peasantry, of being content with little. This mentality obstructed the efforts of the peasants to raise their well-being, to change their way of life and to develop the forces of production.

The October 1962 and June 1963 decisions of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA armed the Party and all the working people with a militant program for the further development of agriculture, for a radical improvement of the economic, social and cultural life of the peasantry, the narrowing of the essential distinctions between town and countryside for the period of the complete construction of socialist society.

4. STRENGTHENING THE ORGANIZATIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL WORK OF THE PARTY FOR THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF THE WORKING PEOPLE. THE SUCCESSFUL FULFILMENT OF THE ECONOMIC TASKS

The years of hard struggle following the 4th Congress proved still more clearly the correctness of the general line of the PLA; they demonstrated the determination of the Party and the entire people to advance on the course decided by the Congress.

However, in order to accomplish the major tasks in the conditions of the hostile encirclement of the country and the stern struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, it was essential that the Party be further strengthened from both the organizational and the ideological points of view, that its leading role be still further enhanced and its work for the revolutionary education of the working people perfected.

The Party's concern for organizational and ideological problems was raised higher than at any other time.

Further Strengthening the Party Organizationally

The struggle for the further organizational strengthening of the Party was waged in a number of directions: for the faithful application of the Marxist-Leninist principles on the structure and role of the revolutionary party of the working class; for the exposure of the revisionist theses on the party; against violations of the rules of the Constitution of the Party; for improvement of the composition and increasing the ranks of the Party; for strengthening the political leadership of the organs and the basic organizations of the Party; for raising the ideological level of the communists.

«Any deviation from the Leninist principles,» the Central Committee emphasized, «any lowering of the leading role of the Party, creates the great danger that the working class will be left disarmed in its struggle. These are the sources from which unhealthy symptoms and alien manifestations arise in the Party, its ideological and organizational degeneration, its decay and eventually its liquidation.»* The degeneration of the former Communist Party of Yugoslavia into a bourgeois social-chauvinist party had demonstrated this very clearly. The Khrushchevite revisionists had set the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on that same course.

Khrushchev's thesis on replacing the party of the proletariat with a «party of the entire people», which was proclaimed at the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, was condemned by the PLA as a profoundly anti-Marxist thesis, V.I. Lenin himself in his time had refuted just such a thesis, social-democratic in content. The revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and all the oppressed masses had completely confirmed the correctness of the teachings of Marx, Engels. Lenin and Stalin on the role of the party of the working class as the vanguard of this class, as the leader in the socialist revolution and the construction of socialist and communist society. Only when classes have completely disappeared (keeping in mind the external factors, too), only then will the existence of the political party of the working class be no longer necessary, and the vanguard role of the working class and its party come to an end.**

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* Report of the Political Bureau «On Further Strengthening the Party» delivered at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, December 13, 1963. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, p. 390. Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 392.

The proclamation of the party as a «party of the entire people» and the replacement of the dictatorship of the proletariat with the «state of the entire people» liquidated the leading role of the working class in the Soviet Union. The reorganization of the party on the basis of production alone, which the Khrushchev group undertook (after the 22nd Congress) by destroying the former party organs and setting up, in place of them, industrial and agricultural committees and bureaus, and merging them with the state organs, also served this purpose.

The PLA denounced and declared war on these revisionist theses and practices in regard to the party. This struggle helped it to apply better and in a more correct manner the Marxist-Leninist teachings on the revolutionary party of the working class. These teachings constituted the foundation of the directions issued by the 4th Congress for the further organizational strengthening of the Party.

According to these directions, the overwhelming majority of those admitted to Party membership after the 4th Congress were people engaged in production from the ranks of the working class and working peasantry. During this period the social composition of the Party underwent further changes; workers made up 33 per cent of the total number of the party members, members of the agricultural cooperatives — 26 per cent, employees and officials — 37 per cent, others — 4 per cent.

The increase and the strengthening of the composition of the Party ranks reflected the changes that had taken place in the structure of classes, the growth of the working class, in quantity and quality, the socialist transformation of the countryside. The increase of the Party with workers and, in general, with people engaged in production, was accompanied by the strengthening of the internal life of the Party organizations and the raising of their leading role in the economy to a new level. This was also a proof of the close links of the Party with the working masses.

The generally satisfactory dynamics of the growth and social composition of the Party was an indication of the careful work of its organizations to introduce new blood. However there were cases which showed that the instructions of the 4th Congress and the Central Committee were not being applied to every newly admitted member. The instruction that people should be selected on the basis of their qualities was not

always adhered to everywhere. The fact that 18 per cent of the persons expelled from the ranks of the Party during the years 1961-1965 were communists enrolled in the same five-year period testified to this. Likewise the fact that women members made up only 12.5 per cent of the total number of the communists and only 3 per cent of the total number of the women engaged in work (in town and countryside), whereas male members comprised 16 per cent of the working men, could not be considered quite normal. This showed that the party organizations did not respond as they should to the revolutionary impetus and the active participation of women in all the spheres of socialist construction.

The Party devoted special attention also to the distribution of the basic organizations and its forces, in conformity with the tasks of socialist construction. Of the basic organizations set up after the 4th Congress, the majority were in the state sectors of production. Meanwhile, very few villages remained without a basic organization, but the distribution of the forces of the Party could not be regarded as completely in order according to scientific criteria. Although the population of the villages was twice that of the cities, 68 per cent of the communists were in the cities and only 32 per cent in the countryside. Neither could the ratio of the distribution of communists in some regions be considered correct, because it was greater in the mountain zones than in the plains, greater in commerce than in industry, construction and transport.

The Central Committee drew attention to the problems brought forth by the experience of the struggle for the organizational strengthening of the Party and demanded that greater care should be devoted to this fundamental problem.

Communist Education of the Working People — a Fundamental Task of the Party

The establishment of socialist relations and the all-round ideo-political educational work of the Party greatly reduced the sphere of the bourgeois ideological influence. The proletarian ideology was becoming implanted ever more deeply in the consciousness of the people.

In the ranks of the working people, however, old concepts, habits, and feudal and patriarchal expressions and mentalities, were still retained to a greater or lesser degree, and these were manifested in their daily life and work. Other harmful mani-

festations had their source in the imperialist-revisionist ideological subversion, which was stepped up even further after the Khrushchevite betrayal and the spread of modern revisionism in the international communist movement. The alien concepts and expressions constituted a great internal danger to socialism in Albania, a basis on which the class enemy relied,

in order to bar the way to this danger and forge ahead on the road of the complete construction of socialist society, it was indispensable to strengthen the work for the communist education of the working people, on the basis of the orientation given by the 4th Congress of the PLA. The Central Committee of the Party took up this fundamental problem at a special meeting of its Plenum, in July 1964.

According to the directives of the Plenum, measures were adopted to make the ideo-political educational work of the Party more intensive, more varied and more fruitful.

One main aim of this work was to educate people **in a socialist attitude towards work**. In the struggle to achieve this, the Party, through its levers, concentrated its attention on ensuring more vigorous participation of every able-bodied citizen in useful social work, on eliminating manifestations of parasitism and laziness, so that everyone lives by his own toil and sweat and uses all his physical and mental capacities to the benefit of socialism and the defence of the Homeland. This called for increased care for every type of work and greater honour for the working people of production, and increased readiness by all to work in any sector and in any place where the interests of socialism required it. This also called for an exemplary discipline and order at work, the fullest possible utilization of working time and work with a high level of productivitiy and quality.

The Party linked the education of the working people with the socialist attitude towards work closely with their education with **the socialist attitude towards social property**. Firmly relying on the socialist economic base in town and countryside, on the social property, the Central Committee demanded that the ideo-political educational work with the working people should be strengthened and perfected to eradicate from their consciousness the feeling of private ownership, the petty-bourgeois mentality implanted over the centuries. This feeling and this mentality were the cause of many manifestations alien to the socialist psychology, such as damage, misuse and misappropriation

of socialist property, failure to use the productive capacities fully, cases of concealing reserves, etc. On the basis of instructions from the CC, the fight against such manifestations was intensified, the work to form and strengthen the psychology of socialist ownership was improved, so that all the working people would regard the socialist property as the inviolable basis of the socialist order, would guard it like the apple of their eyes, and ceaselessly develop and strengthen it.

Putting the general interest of the people and socialism above personal interest constitutes the essence of the socialist attitude towards work and social property. While putting the stress on the general interest, the Party does not forget personal interest. It works for an ever more correct combination of the general interest with personal interest, and depending on this, of the moral stimulus with the material stimulus.

The CC made it more clear chat the ratio between the moral and material stimuli must change with the socialist progress of the country. With the strengthening of the socialist socio-economic order, with the rise in the standard of living of the people and the level of their socialist consciousness, the moral stimulus assumes ever greater priority at work.

In connection with this, the PLA condemned the views of the modem revisionists, who deliberately distort the teachings of V. I. Lenin on the role of the material stimulus, give it precedence and proclaim it as the main motive force of the productive activity of the working people under socialism.

The struggle to put the general interest above personal interest was combined with the general struggle for the purity of **the moral image of communists and all working people**, as revolutionary fighters, endowed with communist moral and political qualities, as honest, just and principled people. The trends that appeared among some working people and communists to secure an easy life, illegal gains and privileges for themselves and their relatives by abusing the duties and functions entrusted to them by the Party and the people became direct targets of this struggle. In the same way, the manifestations of bureaucracy, nepotism, cronyism, unfair interference, dissipation in family life, trampling on the personality of the woman, conservatism, backward customs, religious prejudices, etc., were also combated with greater severity.

As a result of this struggle it became clearer that only one step separates moral degeneration from political degeneration.

Another important objective of the educational work of the Party was **to preserve and ceaselessly develop the traditional patriotism of the Albanian people, and imbue this patriotism with a proletarian, socialist content**. In the context of this struggle, some harmful and dangerous manifestations which cropped up occasionally such as deriding what is Albanian and idealizing and servilely worshipping what is foreign; underestimation of the abilities of Albanian specialists, workers and farmers and overestimation of foreign specialists, capitulation to Western art, literature, music, etc., were attacked.

In the concrete conditions, for the education of the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism, the Party attached very great political importance to the profound understanding of **the principle of reliance on one's own forces**.

«The principle of relying on one's own forces is a revolutionary and internationalist Marxist-Leninist principle. This stems from the fact that the problem of the revolution and construction of socialism is, in the first place, an internal problem of each country, and the decisive factor for carrying it out is the internal revolutionary forces of each country.»*

The revolutionary patriotic education of the working people was to be closely combined, as always, with the **education of the masses in the spirit of proletarian internationalism**, of solidarity and friendship with the peoples of the socialist countries, with the working class and the anti-imperialist revolutionary peoples and forces the world over.

Another objective of the educational work was to inculcate in the minds and practical activity of people **the method of class analysis, of viewing various social phenomena from a class angle**, placing above all else the interests of the working class, the people and socialism. The method of class analysis protects the communists and working people from falling into the trap of the bourgeois and revisionist propaganda, from sliding into opportunism and sectarianism, helps them to enhance their revolutionary vigilance, to be principled and militant in struggle, work and life.

The Party paid particular attention to the **revolutionary**

* Report of the Political Bureau «On Further Strengthening the Ideological Work of the Party for the Communist Education of the Working People», delivered at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, July 1964, CPA.

class education of the youth, who always have been and always will be the most active force of the revolution and socialism.

In all its work for the revolutionary education of the working people the Party was guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle that the material conditions and the socialist socio-economic transformations create a socialist consciousness, but on a very low level, the lofty revolutionary consciousness which the construction of socialism demands, does not and cannot arise spontaneously; «it is formed by Marxist-Leninist science, the Party inculcates it in the masses through all its daily educational work.*

At the same time the Party bore in mind that the educational work achieves its purpose only when it is organically linked with the work, the revolutionary action, the practice of the revolution and the construction of socialist society. *«The formation of the new man»*, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Plenum of the CC, *«...cannot be understood and must never be divorced from the question of work, it can never be conceived apart from work.»***

The formation and strengthening of socialist consciousness is a long process of the education and re-education of people. The Central Committee made it clear once again that the **method of persuasion** always takes first place in this process.

The Party demanded that a clear distinction be made between contradictions between the socialist ideology and alien concepts and manifestations in the minds of the people, on the one hand, and the bearers of alien concepts, on the other. The contradictions between the socialist ideology and alien concepts and manifestations in the minds of the people are contradictions between two opposing ideologies, are antagonistic class contradictions. As such, an irreconcilable struggle must be waged against them. On the other hand, the contradictions between the socialist ideology and the bearers of alien concepts and manifestations, in the overwhelming majority of cases, are non-antagonistic contradictions. Generally speaking, the bearers of these concepts are persons closely linked with the people's

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* Report of the Political Bureau «On Further Strengthening the Ideological Work of the Party for the Communist Education of the Working People», delivered at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, July 1964, CPA.

** Enver Hoxha. Works, vol. 27, p. 124, Alb. ed.

state power. Therefore, the class struggle is not directed against these persons, but against the alien concepts and manifestations in their stands, conduct and actions. Only in cases punishable under the law, of violation of laws of the state and norms of socialist society and breaches of proletarian discipline should the method of persuasion and education be replaced by the method of coercion.

Literature and art are powerful means for the education of the new man with the ideals of socialism and the standards of communist morality. The further development of them, perfection of their socialist content and improvement of their ideological and artistic quality assumed ever greater importance in the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society, of the sharpening of the political and ideological struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism on a world scale.

A new literature, a new music, opera and choreographic art, a new painting and sculpture, a new cinematography, etc., outstanding for their ideological purity, revolutionary fighting spirit and sound national form, had been created during the years of people's power in Albania.

Basing itself on the achievements attained and the experience gained up till that time, the Party strengthened and perfected its work to make literature and the arts sound means of revolutionary education. As a direct result of this work, the revolutionary work, struggle and life of the people were reflected more extensively and profoundly in the literary-artistic, musical, cinematographic and other works, and their ideological and artistic level was raised.

By fighting to strengthen the revolutionary content and raise the artistic level of literature and the arts, the Party forestalled the danger which threatened them as a result of the great extension in these fields of many decadent, counter-revolutionary and antisocialist trends in the bourgeois and revisionist countries. It sharpened the revolutionary acumen and proletarian partisanship and vigilance in the ranks of the writers and artists, by warning them of this danger and implanting more deeply in their minds that the method of socialist realism is the only correct revolutionary course for the development of literature and art in socialist Albania, that the application of this method requires that they link themselves as closely as possible with the working people, and have the most profound knowledge of the reality and the life of the people.

Comrade Enver Hoxha taught, «We should look to the people to find our inspiration, the tune of our songs, the rhythm of our dances, the purity of the language, the tempo of work, the spirit of creation, the example of heroism and sacrifice, the lofty virtues of the simplicity and justice of the people, etc., etc. In art and culture, as in everything else, the basis of creative work must be the people.»*

The Fulfilment of the 3rd Five-year Plan

The fulfilment of the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan was bound up with overcoming not only the natural difficulties of growth, but especially the difficulties created by the imperialist and revisionist blockade, the continuous, fiercely hostile activity of the Khrushchevite and Titoite revisionists and the imperialists. For this reason the struggle for the fulfilment of the plan was organically interconnected with the principled ideological and political struggle against revisionism, with the struggle against imperialism, to defeat their plots and hostile activity.

The Party, together with the people, broke the blockade and foiled the plots of the enemy. Relying mainly on their own efforts they overcame all the difficulties and, on the whole, successfully fulfilled the tasks of the 3rd Five-year Plan. The main targets were achieved.

Despite the difficulties created by the hostile activity of the Soviet revisionist leadership, only 3 per cent of the planned total industrial production could not be fulfilled. Within a period of five years, 430 industrial, agricultural and social-cultural projects were built and commissioned. In 1965 total industrial production was about 35 times greater than in 1938.

Total agricultural output increased 36 per cent. The volume of mechanized work was raised 82 per cent. In general, the basis for the intensification of agriculture was strengthened.

In the field of material well-being, the forecast indices were not completely attained, mainly because of the imperialist-revisionist blockade, which obliged the Party and the state to raise the norm of accumulation of national income above the limits set. Nevertheless the Party did not allow the level of the material well-being of the working people to fall or to remain static. The population of town and countryside was regularly

* Enver Hoxha. Closing speech at the Plenum of the CC of the PLA, October 26, 1965. CPA.

supplied with the main goods for mass consumption. Prices were not raised. In some instances they were reduced. The purchasing power of the lek was further strengthened. The average life expectancy of man rose to 65 years. Meanwhile, the total number of the pupils and students planned was exceeded, while the number of higher cadres during the five-year period doubled. These constituted a victory unknown to the countries ruled by the revisionists during the same period.

The attainment of the principal aims of the 3rd Five-year Plan showed that the basis on which the socialist economy of Albania had been built was unbreakable, that the line of the Party in the socialist construction of the country was correct. The struggle to fulfil the plan, combined with the fierce political and ideological struggle against imperialism and revisionism, further tempered the unity of the people around the Party, increased their confidence in their own strength and ability. The experience of the Party and the people during the five-year period 1961-1965 proved that the socialist construction of the country could be continued even in the difficult conditions of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and pressure.

5. THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA TO EXPOSE THE DEMAGOGY AND THE TACTICS OF THE KHRUSHCHEVITE REVISIONISTS

The Soviet revisionist leadership, headed by Khrushchev, continued to violate the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism and to fight even harder against the communist and workers' parties that took a revolutionary stand. The Khrushchevite, Titoite and other revisionists concentrated their attacks especially on the Party of Labour of Albania, which stood in the forefront of the struggle against modern revisionism.

In their fight against Marxism-Leninism, the Khrushchevite revisionists resorted to frantic demagogy, exploiting for their own interests the great international authority which the CPSU had gained under the leadership of Lenin and Stalin, and, in particular, speculating on the name of V. I. Lenin in order to spread their own anti-Marxist theses and theories to deceive the masses.

The opportunist, counter-revolutionary policy and activity of the Khrushchevite revisionists split the socialist camp and

the international communist movement ever more deeply, undermining the revolutionary movement of the peoples against imperialism. The American imperialists and all the world reactionary forces took full advantage of the weaknesses, the concessions and the divisive activity of the revisionists.

The Struggle for the Ideological and Political Defeat of Khrushchevite Revisionism — an Historically Imperative Task

In these conditions the PLA considered the struggle to defeat Khrushchevite revisionism ideologically and politically an imperative historical duty. It was necessary, first of all, to unmask the demagogy and manoeuvres which the Khrushchev group employed in order to expose its counter-revolutionary policy and ideology in all its nakedness.

The open attack launched by the Soviet revisionist leadership against the PLA was not a principled polemic about the fundamental problems of the time over which profound differences had arisen in the international communist movement. On the contrary, the Khrushchevite group used every method to avoid any discussion on problems of principle, because it was aware of its own weakness in such a discussion. It resorted to slanders and fabrications which the revisionist propaganda repeated continually, to intrigues and plots, subversion and other acts of the most vile sort against the PLA. The aim of the revisionists was to isolate and expel the PLA from the international communist movement, to teach «a good lesson» to all who would dare oppose their anti-Marxist course.

The PLA did not adopt the revisionist position. It was not caught up in trivialities and banalities. It continued its struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism in the ideological sphere, exposing all its anti-Marxist points of view, its inconsistencies, its eclecticism, its swinging from opportunism to adventurism, and its diversionist activity. The articles of «Zeri i popullit» against revisionism,[1] translated into several languages and reprinted in pamphlets and broadcast by the radio, served as a powerful and keen-edged weapon in the hands of the Party in its principled struggle in defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

These materials and other documents of the PLA were crushing blows at the demagogy of the Khrushchev group and

1 Most of these articles have been written by Comrade Enver Hoxha.

exposed their true features as traitors to Marxism-Leninism, as violators of the joint Declarations of the communist and workers' parties and splitters of the socialist camp and the international communist movement.

The PLA exposed the attempts of the Khrushchevite revisionists to present the program of the CPSU (the code of revisionism approved at the 22nd Congress) as a «manifesto of international communism.»

The Soviet revisionist leadership tried to justify before world public opinion the arbitrary rehabilitation of the Tito clique and its reconciliation and collaboration with it, by pretending that the Yugoslav leaders had allegedly «corrected many of their previous errors» and «had made great changes in their internal and foreign policy.» Tito and the other Yugoslav revisionist leaders themselves repeatedly declared that they had changed nothing, either in their policy or their program, and that they had no intention of making any changes in the future. Only the Khrushchevite revisionists, who had fallen into line with the Tito clique, had changed their stand, pointed out the PLA.

The PLA brought out in the open the real meaning of the hue and cry the Khrushchevite revisionists were raising about their «struggle against dogmatism and sectarianism as the main danger in the international communist movement.» This served them as a means to attack the PLA and the other revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties, to cloak their struggle against Marxism-Leninism and to justify their deviation from the joint decisions of the Moscow Meeting which defined revisionism as the main danger in the international communist movement. «The struggle against dogmatism» was an old and well-known tactic which the revisionists of all periods have used against Marxism-Leninism.

The PLA exposed more fully the counter-revolutionary policy of conciliation with American imperialism. It made clear that the essence of the Khrushchevite revisionist line consisted in the Soviet-American collaboration, in setting up an alliance between American imperialism and Soviet revisionism (transformed into a new imperialism) to dominate the world.

This policy led the Soviet revisionist leadership to shameful capitulation to American imperialism. As a consequence of American threats, in 1962 it withdrew from Cuba the missiles and aircraft it had sent there only a little while before, while

at the same time accepting American «international» control over Soviet ships and Cuban territory. Likewise, they completely gave up the idea of signing a peace treaty with Germany, of solving the German problem in general, thus committing an act of high treason against the German people, the socialist camp, the peoples of Europe and the world.

The Khrushchev group committed another act of great treachery when, together with the heads of American and British imperialism, it signed the ill-famed Moscow Treaty on the partial banning of nuclear weapons tests in August 1963. The PLA exposed this act as an imperialist-revisionist plot. It was a hoax to deceive the peoples and a means which ensured neither the prohibition of the use nor the destruction of nuclear arms stocks. On the contrary, this treaty gave the American imperialists the possibility of enlarging their nuclear arsenal, incited imperialist aggression and increased the danger of predatory wars. Time fully vindicated these assessments by the PLA.

The PLA exposed the great state predatory ambitions of the Soviet revisionist leadership, which was violating the economic independence and national sovereignty of the members states of the «Council of Mutual Economic Assistance» (COMECON), under the guise of the «international division of labour, cooperation and specialization.»

At the same time the PLA condemned the line of rapprochement and collaboration of the Khrushchevite revisionists with the social-democrats and all the other anti-communist forces. This rapprochement and collaboration had a natural basis in their common anti-Marxist ideology.

While fighting for the defence of Marxism-Leninism, at this time the PLA defended the CP of China from the attacks the Khrushchev group had launched against it.

As sworn social-chauvinists, the Khrushchevite revisionists considered China a principal rival and enemy to their predatory expansionist plans. Therefore, every action of theirs on an international level bore the anti-Chinese seal.

Believing that it was defending a Marxist-Leninist party and a socialist country, the PLA considered the defence of China to be of a major importance for international communism, for the struggle against modern revisionism.

At the same time, it could not reconcile itself to the vacillating, wait-and-see attitude of Mao Zedong and the other Chi-

nese leaders, who opposed entering into polemics with the Khrushchevites «for the sake of unity»; they were for reconciliation and unity with them «in the struggle against American imperialism.»

The CC of the PLA had made comradely criticism of them over such a stand but they insisted that the polemics should cease. They proposed this officially in June 1962 to a delegation of the PLA which had gone to Beijing to talk with the CC of the CPC about important questions of the common strategy and tactics in the international arena. The delegation of the PLA considered the Chinese stand to be incorrect and did not accept it.

The clear-cut stand of the PLA was to wage an uncompromising struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and against any other variant of modern revisionism. In 1962 it had launched the slogan **«Let us draw a clear line of demarcation between us and revisionism in all spheres, once and for all!»***

This was a necessity dictated by the major interests of the world proletariat and the peoples, of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism on an international scale. Revolution and counter-revolution, proletarian ideology and bourgeois ideology, a variant of which is revisionism, cannot coexist either within one party or within the communist movement as a whole.

The determined struggle of the PLA against revisionism, a struggle pervaded by the powerful logic of Marxist-Leninist principles and factual truth, had wide repercussions in all parts of the world. Thousands of letters from revolutionary communists and progressive-minded people abroad poured in to the address of the PLA. In their letters they thanked the PLA for the courageous and principled struggle it was conducting against Khrushchevite revisionism and asked for copies of «Zeri i popullit» articles and other documents of the Party.

Meanwhile, faced with the pressure of the masses of communists and peoples, threatened with the danger of complete exposure, the Khrushchev group began to manoeuvre and to use new forms of demagogy to conceal its divisive and counter-revolutionary activity. It began making a great fuss about the

* Enver Hoxha, «Great betrayal of Marxism-Leninism», article published in «Zëri i popullit», October 13, 1962, Works, vol. 23, p. 478, Alb. ed. (underlined by ed.)

preservation of unity. When it launched its attack against the PLA, it called the polemics «the culmination of Leninist principle», whereas at the Congress of the German United Socialist Party in January 1963, it suddenly demanded the cessation of polemics (!), after it had vented all its spleen against the PLA.

The PLA unmasked these tactics of the Soviet leadership as bluff and hypocrisy. It made it clear that there could be no unity with the splitters and the renegades from Marxism-Leninism, with the Titoites, Togliattists or Khrushchevites. Unity in the international communist movement can be established only on a revolutionary basis, without revisionists and in irreconcilable struggle with revisionism. True and stable unity can be built only upon the foundations of proletarian ideology.

It was not the first time that the communist and workers' movement had found itself facing a major betrayal like this of the modern revisionists. Lenin and the Leninists had severed all connections with the treacherous chiefs of the Second International and had succeeded in establishing a steel-like unity in the international communist movement only by throwing out all the renegades and by fighting boldly and mercilessly against opportunism and revisionism of every type.

In order to lay bare the fraudulent character of the call for unity made by the revisionists, the PLA proposed to the Soviet leadership that it take the courage to make a public self-criticism, just as it had publicly launched an unjust attack on the PLA, that it denounce its entire anti-Albanian activity, retract its call to the Albanian people for counter-revolution, urging them to overthrow their leadership, and all the monstrous slanders and accusations against Albania; that the PLA and CPSU jointly publish all the official materials and documents concerning the disagreements between the two parties in order to help the communists and workers of the two countries to judge objectively who is right; that the Soviet leaders establish all the conditions of complete equality for bilateral talks between the PLA and the CPSU.

But, as expected, the Khrushchev group turned a deaf ear to these proposals because it was not sincere about holding talks on the basis of equality, nor was it for a just solution of the differences or for unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

While calling for «unity», at the same time it continued its all-round frenzied hostile activity against the PLA and the Albanian people, as well as against China.

However, the Chinese leadership remained silent. Moreover, it even made efforts for a meeting of the communist and workers' parties of the world «to establish unity» and «to create the anti-imperialist front» with the revisionists! Taking advantage of these vacillations, which spoke of the weak positions of the Chinese leaders, in July 1963 the Khrushchevites launched an open frontal attack against them, precisely at the time when a delegation headed by Deng Xiaoping was in Moscow to seek reconciliation. Even after this, their hesitation to respond to this severe attack was evident. In regard to this hesitation, Comrade Enver Hoxha wrote in his political diary: *«What are they waiting for?* (the Chinese leaders — ed.) *This is strange. There is a question mark about the future in this. Either struggle against the revisionists or capitulation. We shall press on in the fight.»**

The PLA welcomed the fact that at last the CPC came out openly against Khrushchevite revisionism with some articles, which began to be published in September 1963 and which directly attacked this revisionism. On the basis of this common struggle against the Khrushchevite revisionists and imperialism, the friendly relations between the two parties and countries marked a further advance.

But it was not long before the vacillations and the opportunist, and even chauvinist stand of the Chinese leaders cropped up again.

The PLA could not agree with the extremely warm telegram which Mao Zedong sent Khrushchev in April 1964, on the occasion of his birthday and his decoration by his lackeys with the highest orders. It considered this action a «**political and ideological, class mistake**.»**

In the summer of that year, Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai raised the question of revision of the borders of the Soviet Union with China and the other countries. This expressed the spirit of great-state chauvinism and showed that the struggle

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* Enver Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 53, Ed. «8 Nëntori».

** Ibidem, p. 66.

of the Chinese leaders against Khrushchevite revisionism was not at all of a principled revolutionary character.

The CC of the PLA considered this stand of theirs scandalous. Always proceeding from the interests of communism, in September 1964 it sent a comradely letter to the CC of the CP of China, in which it set out its views on this issue. «We think,» the letter read, «that to raise territorial questions with the Soviet Union, at the present time is very harmful to our struggle. If we do this, then we give the enemy a big weapon to fight us and this will paralyze our advance...

«We think that... we should not fight or open polemics about whether or not the Soviet Union has taken the land of others, but our one struggle should be concentrated on the greatest evil: imperialism and modern revisionism, the traitor groups of Khrushchev, Tito and all their henchmen.»*

Meanwhile, Khrushchev and company demanded the calling of the urgent so-called «international meeting of the communist and workers' parties», which should be held in December 1964, even without the participation of those parties which would refuse to attend the meeting.

The PLA denounced the efforts of the Soviet revisionist leaders to summon this divisive meeting.

The PLA made it clear once again that it was in favour of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties only if it were called on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary principles of the Moscow Declarations, which would serve real unity, and not sow dissension. No meeting could be held and no unity attained on the basis of revisionism. The existing circumstances did not permit the holding of a meeting of the communist and workers' parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism. If the revisionists went on with their separatist meeting, this would be very good, because they would expose themselves as traitors and splitters.

On this occasion, the CC of the PLA considered it reasonable on October 5, 1964 to address an open letter to the members of the CPSU.

After presenting the revolutionary stand of the PLA on the meeting which the Khrushchev group wanted to organize, the letter went on to show with facts the colossal damage and

* Letter of the CC of the PLA addressed to the CC of the CPC, September 10, 1964, CPA.

incalculable evils which this group had brought and was bringing to the Soviet Union and international communism. To present the years following the death of Stalin as a «period of the triumphant march towards communism», as «the beginning of the true history of the Soviet Union» was nothing but a fraud. The so-called reforms and measures made one after the other in the field of the economy and other fields were part and parcel of the revisionist course which was leading the Soviet Union not towards communism, but towards the restoration of capitalism.

The PLA issued a call to the Soviet communists to awaken them fully to the deception and the great danger looming over the Soviet Union, to assume their historic responsibility in those grave moments the country was experiencing and to rise to their feet to save the land of the Great October Revolution, the honour of the glorious Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Stalin, by defeating the revisionist-imperialist plot, hatched up against the socialist order and Marxism-Leninism. It stressed once again, that the socialist Soviet Union, the offspring of the October Revolution, always remained sacred to the Albanian communists, but could not agree with those who said that «we must always be with the Soviet Union, right or wrong.» Only traitors think in this way. The PLA felt that it was its internationalist duty to fight to the end to liquidate Khrushchevite revisionism, to defend socialism in the Soviet Union against the Khrushchevite group, which had seized the leadership of the CPSU, and to defend Marxism-Leninism.

But what was the stand of the Chinese leadership towards the divisive meeting which Khrushchev wanted to call urgently? On the one hand, it expressed its opposition to the holding of such a meeting, because, of course, China would be condemned there, but on the other hand, in agreement with the leaderships of the CP of Japan and the CP of Indonesia, it proposed that a new meeting of the 81 parties should be called to discuss and decide on the creation of an «anti-imperialist front», always jointly with the revisionists! The PLA described such a proposal a «revisionist deviation» with «evil and dangerous consequences for Marxism-Leninism, socialism and communism.»*

* Enver Hoxha, «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 124.

No Illusions about the New Soviet Leaders. Fight to the End against Khrushchevite Revisionism

The fall of Khrushchev in October 1964 was an even more powerful vindication of the unwavering principled stand, and the Marxist-Leninist maturity of the PLA in the struggle against modern revisionism.

Khrushchev and his followers not only failed in their attempt to hold the «salvatory» meeting fixed for December 1964, but also suffered a series of other set-backs in various political, economic, and ideological fields, on the national and international planes. Besides this, quarrels and disagreements broke out in the ranks of the revisionists themselves. Their ranks were split. This was made clear in Togliatti's «Testament», which called for a complete break with the hegemony of the Khrushchev group and its replacement with polycentrism. Togliatti also favoured a more profound and rapid liberalization of the Soviet state power. Khrushchevite revisionism was in a crisis.

In order to avoid a complete catastrophe for their anti-Marxist line, the Soviet revisionists were forced to remove Khrushchev — their chief, the architect of the revisionist course of the 20th Congress and of the anti-Marxist program of the 22nd Congress of the CPSU, from the political scene.

The fall of Khrushchev was a heavy blow to all modern revisionism and a great victory for Marxism-Leninism and all the revolutionary forces of the world. This event proved the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist line of the PLA and its principled struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism.

The new Soviet leadership headed by Brezhnev tried hard to advertise the downfall of Khrushchev as a measure proceeding from «lofty Leninist principles» and to give the impression that it was correcting all the «excesses» in the practice of their notorious chief, his «arbitrariness» and «intolerable subjectivism». But it did not criticize Khrushchev openly. At the same time it declared that it would follow unhesitatingly the line of the 20th, 21st and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU which had been worked out jointly by Khrushchev, Brezhnev and the other revisionist chiefs.

The PLA nurtured not the slightest hope that, with the departure of Khrushchev, the new Soviet leadership would correct its errors and follow a Marxist-Leninist course.

«The fall of Khrushchev,» Comrade Enver Hoxha pointed out, «is a great victory, but it does not mark the end of Khrushchevite revisionism, nor of modern revisionism in general... The course, policy and social and economic roots of revisionism, Khrushchevite revisionism itself, have not been liquidated together with him (Khrushchev — Ed.)... That is why the PLA, like all the true revolutionaries, should not and will not nurture any illusions in this direction.»*

A change could be brought about only if the ideological and political platform of revisionism, the Khrushchevite course of the 20th and 22nd Congresses of the CPSU, were done away with, only if all the evils that the Khrushchevite revisionists had brought to the socialist camp and international communism were liquidated.

First of all the question of J. V. Stalin must be put in order by fully rehabilitating him as a great Marxist-Leninist.

To enable the unity of the socialist camp to be restored, the Soviet leadership must renounce its hegemonic policy and practice in relations with the socialist countries and the other communist parties. The Soviet government must publicly admit its mistakes and the material damage it had inflicted on Albania with its unilateral anti-Marxist and anti-Albanian activities.

Likewise there could be no real unity so long as the new Soviet leaders persisted in following the Khrushchevite line of collaboration and fraternization with the Tito clique, with this tested agency of American imperialism.

The real unity of the socialist camp and of the international communist movement would be attained only through the determined struggle of principle of the Marxist-Leninists against Khrushchevite, Titoite and other modern revisionism, until its complete destruction.

Once Khrushchev was removed, the Soviet revisionists resorted to new tactics different from those of their chief. They gave up the sensationalism, the advertizing and all the demonstrative noise used by Khrushchev. They stopped the open «polemics», while quietly but persistently continuing the Khrushchevite revisionist course, their open and secret colla-

* Enver Hoxha. Speech at the festive meeting commemorating the 20th anniversary of the liberation of the Homeland, November 28, 1964. Works, vol. 28, pp. 207-208, Alb. ed.

boration with American imperialism in all fields, their hostile activity against socialist Albania and China. They employed an ampler and subtler demagogy in order to hoodwing the masses and to disarm and neutralize the waverers. They began talking in a louder tone about the «unity of the socialist camp and the communist movement», to point out that «the misunderstandings are not over main questions of principle», that «the things that unite us are more numerous and stronger than those that divide us»! Now it was not difficult to find in the speeches of the new Soviet leaders and in the revisionist propaganda statements about «support for the national liberation struggle of the peoples», «a common anti-imperialist front», and «condemnation of the aggressive activities of American imperialism». But, of course, everything was done in a very prudent way, with tact and care to avoid offending the chiefs of imperialism.

The PLA exposed the demagogy of the new Khrushchevite leaders, condemned their deceptive manoeuvres and warned of the danger presented by their new tactics. It argued with irrefutable facts that they were for unity only in words, whereas in deeds they were splitters; they supported the national liberation struggles only in words, whereas in deeds they undermined them; they were anti-imperialists only in words, whereas in deeds they were pro-imperialists.

At these critical moments for the international revolutionary forces, when they were confronted with a great confusing hoax and when these forces needed to close their ranks to deal other crushing blows to imperialism and revisionism, the wavering, opportunist, capitulationist, defeatist stand of the Chinese leaders again emerged openly. They described the fall of Khrushchev as a «radical change», as an event which would have a benefical influence not only in the Soviet Union but also in the international communist movement! Therefore they hailed and supported this change in a telegram, sent to the new Soviet revizionist leadership headed by Brezhnev. They also decided to send a party and government delegation to Moscow to participate in the November 7 celebrations. They tried to impose this opportunist stand on the Party of Labour of Albania, too. On behalf of the CC of the CPC and the State Council of the PRC, Zhou Enlai requested the ambassador of the PRA in Beijing to make known to the CC of the PLA the Chinese stand on the occasion of the change in the Soviet leadership and to inform it that it had proposed to the Soviets to invite Albania,

too, to the November 7 celebrations! He insisted that the «Albanian comrades» should accept the invitation and send a party and government delegation to Moscow, since a «good opportunity was presented to extend the hand of friendship to the Soviets and unite with them in the struggle against the common enemy»!

The Central Committe of the PLA called this stand and action of the Chinese leadership «anti-Marxist and capitulationist», «leading to the betrayal of Marxism-Leninism», while it described their efforts to impose this stand and action of theirs on the PLA as prompted by *«petty-bourgeois conceit»*, and the *«spirit of great state and big party chauvinism».**

The PLA rejected the proposal to send a delegation to Moscow through a special letter addressed to the CC of the CP of China. The letter said, «We think that it is impermissible for us and neither Marxist nor dignified as a sovereign state, in these conditions, when the Soviet government has taken the initiative to break off diplomatic relations with us and has committed terrible anti-Marxist acts against us, to ignore these things simply because Khrushchev personally has been removed.» Meanwhile, stressed the letter, «...the open, principled polemic for the ceaseless exposure of modern revisionism must continue now and to the end, until revisionism has been completely buried as an ideology...» Our retreat from these positions won through struggle «would be a loss to us and a gain to the revisionists».**

Zhou Enlai went to Moscow at the head of a Chinese delegation with the mission of uniting with the new Soviet leaders, but, as the whole world knows, he suffered a humiliating defeat. Thus, the Chinese leadership reopened the polemics with the Soviet revisionists. Time very soon proved how correct the stand of the PLA was and how wrong the Chinese stand.

Resolutely continuing the struggle against modern revisionism, always from principled positions, the PLA defeated every effort of the new Soviet revisionist leadership headed by Brezhnev to lure it into a trap.

In January 1965, through the Polish government, the Soviet revisionist leadership extended a formal invitation to the PR of

* Enver Hoxha. «Reflections on China», vol. 1, p. 137, Eng. ed.

** Letter of the CC of the PLA, November 5, 1964, CPA.

Albania to take part in a meeting of the Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty, just as if nothing had happened.

The Albanian government was fully justified in refusing to participate in the meeting of the Consultative Political Committee of the Warsaw Treaty so long as the sovereign rights of the People's Republic of Albania, as a member of this treaty, were violated. It made it clear that the PRA would take part in the meeting of the Warsaw Treaty only when it had been guaranteed all the rights which this treaty defined; when all the violations of this treaty by the Soviet leadership had been condemned; when the Soviet government had made good all the material damage it had inflicted on the People's Republic of Albania; when all the governments of the member countries had taken measures for the normalization of diplomatic relations with the PRA; when the Albanian government had been handed copies of all the minutes and decisions of political, economic and military character taken by the Warsaw Treaty in its absence.

At the same time the Albanian government deemed it its duty to express its opinion on the problem to be taken up at the meeting.

First of all it demanded that the Warsaw Treaty should replace the chauvinist policy of dictate and domination of the Soviet leadership over the member countries, as well as the policy of collaboration with American imperialism to the detriment of the sovereignty of the peoples with a common revolutionary policy the aim of which would be the liquidation of the aggressive plans of the American imperialists and the German revanchists.

Naturally the Khrushchevite revisionists could not accept any of the proposals of the PRA or renounce their chauvinist policy of collaboration with American imperialism, because it was not by accident that they followed such a policy.

The hypocrisy of the revisionists' talk about unity became obvious at the divisive meeting which they organized in March 1965. It took place according to the plan drafted by Khrushchev, with the sole difference that, for demagogical reasons, his successors did not call it a «meeting», but a «consultative gathering» of the communist and workers' parties, while their hostile aims were not expressed in this «gathering» in such severe terms as had been planned. Seven out of the 26 parties invited by the revisionists did not participate in the meeting. Among those absent was the PLA.

The PLA immediately condemned this meeting as absolutely illegal, because it had been summoned arbitrarily and had counter-revolutionary and chauvinist aims. The proceedings of the meeting had a pro-imperialist content although a few toned-down words against imperialism were uttered for demagogical purposes. None of the pro-imperialist acts of the Soviet government was condemned. On the contrary, determination was expressed to persist in the general line of peaceful coexistence and collaboration with the USA, regardless of the fact that only three weeks earlier the American imperialists had begun their aggression, through piratical air bombardment, against a socialist country — the DR of Vietnam.

The two-faced attitude of the Soviet leadership and of the other revisionists toward the American aggression in Vietnam, supporting the Vietnamese people in words and collaborating with the American aggressors against the Vietnamese people in deeds, spoke clearly of their great treachery to the world revolutionary movement.

The PLA exposed the deafening noise made about Soviet «aid» to Vietnam. This was a miserly aid to a heroic people and a socialist country, negligible in quantity in comparison with the colossal possibilities of the Soviet Union and quite inappropriate in quality. The principal aim of this aid was to give the Soviet leaders the «right» to interfere in the Vietnam problem.

The PLA and the entire Albanian people immediately appraised the criminal American aggression against the fraternal people of Vietnam as an aggression against their own country, an aggression against the socialist camp and all the freedom-loving peoples of the world. They expressed their complete solidarity with the people of South and North Vietnam and gave them every possible support and aid.

The PLA exposed the real features of the Khrushchevite revisionists as enemies of all the peoples engaged in revolutionary struggle against imperialism.

The Party regarded the uncompromising struggle of principle for the complete victory over revisionism as a struggle for the complete victory of socialism in Albania and on a world scale.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PLA FOR THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

(1966-1971)

1. THE 5th CONGRESS OF THE PLA, THE TASKS FOR THE FURTHER REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND THE LIFE OF THE COUNTRY

The PLA went to its **5th Congress** with a record of great achievements in the principled struggle against modern revisionism. especially against its head, Khrushchevite revisionism. Through this struggle it had defeated the plans of the Soviet counter-revolutionary leadership to divert the PLA from Marxism-Leninism. This struggle constituted a very important factor which ensured that Albania, unlike the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, did not return to capitalism, but forged ahead steadily on the road of socialism.

However, along with the struggle against modern revisionism. imperialism and the imperialist-revisionist encirclement, a decisive factor to ensure the uninterrupted development of the country on the road of socialism was the struggle to prevent the creation within the country of the soil in which revisionism and capitalism might germinate and develop. Without a resolute and systematic struggle against remnants from the past in socialist society, against bourgeois-revisionist influences in the life and activity of the Party, the state and the masses of the people, against manifestations alien to the proletarian ideology

and to socialism, the struggle against revisionism and international imperialism could not be waged successfully, either.

For this reason, while further intensifying and perfecting the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the PLA focussed its attention on intensifying and perfecting the struggle **for the all-round strengthening of the socialist order through the further revolutionization of the life of the country**. Experience had shown that when the situation within the country is healthy, consistently revolutionary, any evil which may threaten socialism and national independence is averted and any counter-revolutionary pressure or regressive influence on the Party and the people, whether internal or external, is defeated.

The further revolutionization would include all fields of life — political, economic, ideological, cultural, military and organizational, with the aim of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat, perfecting the socialist relations of production as an integral part of the rapid development of the people's economy and culture, and strengthening the defence potential of the country. The stress would be laid **on raising the level of socialist consciousness** of people, as an indispensable condition to enable them to carry out the tasks of the socialist construction and defence of the country successfully in the new stage of the development of society, and withstand the powerful pressure of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology from abroad.

As always, the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the revolutionary experience of the Party and the working masses would be the basis of the struggle for the further revolutionization.

Decisions of Historic Importance

The struggle for the further revolutionization of the life of the country was spearheaded first of all **against bureaucracy.**

The PLA had waged a ceaseless struggle against bureaucracy, regarding it, as Lenin did, as an enemy of socialism, a very dangerous disease which weakens and destroys the links of the proletarian party with the masses and destroys the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this struggle the PLA had prevented this disease from becoming established in its own ranks and in the socialist state.

However, in the work of the organs of the state, the

economy and the Party itself, disturbing symptoms of bureaucracy were observed. Various officials in the central and local apparatuses of these organs gave greater importance to paper work, regulations and laws, than to work directly with the people. In many cases, in practical activity matters were not viewed from class positions of the proletarian policy of the Party, but through the eye of the technocrat, the professional office worker. Tendencies towards making a fetish of the administration and administrative measures appeared. In order to block the way to these manifestations and the danger which they posed it became necessary to wage the struggle against bureaucracy more intensively and thoroughly, with improved revolutionary methods.

In undertaking this struggle the Party also drew lessons from the bitter experience of the Soviet Union, where the development of bureaucracy was one of the main factors which led to the degeneration and liquidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Party took up for consideration the problem of strengthening and improving the struggle against bureaucracy in December 1965.

Analysing and condemning the bureaucratic distortions, it arrived at the conclusion that the roots of these distortions lay not only in the hangovers from the past, but also in the underestimation in practice of the dangerous disease of bureaucracy; they were an expression of the ideological and political pressure of the class enemy on the Party and the state apparatus. The existence of bureaucratic manifestations showed that the danger of bureaucracy was a constant threat to the Party and the socialist state.

The leadership of the Party considered the struggle against bureaucracy one of the important directions of the class struggle and emphasized that this struggle should be waged «as the struggle against the class enemy.» It decided that «stern revolutionary measures» must be taken and «a firm, effective and radical operation» against manifestations of bureaucracy must be carried out.*

The all-round improvement and strengthening of the ideo-

* Decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, December 24, 1965. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 4, pp. 603-604, Alb. ed.

political work directly with the people, to make things clear to them, to convince, organize and mobilize them, to involve the broad masses in the problems of governing the country and managing the economy, constituted the essence of this struggle.

The Central Committee of the Party instructed that all the working people, first of all the communists, must be made fully aware of the danger of bureaucracy and of the necessity for a ruthless and systematic struggle against it. The Party must educate them and teach them to be irreconcilable towards any bureaucratic distortion, to hit hard at bureaucratic procrastination and red-tape, unhealthy familiarity and cronyism, favoritism, misuse of official position, indolence, arrogance, conceit, overbearing and careless attitudes towards the working people, and smothering the voice of the masses.

The higher party and state organs were instructed to eliminate any kind of bureaucratic tutelage over the lower organs. The district committees and basic organizations of the Party must not only implement the instructions given from above, but must also act on their own initiative from the positions of the proletarian policy of the Party, while bearing full responsibility for carrying out the tasks entrusted to them; the people's councils with their executive organs should use all the competences and rights given them by law.

Decisions, regulations, reports, statistics and paper work are always necessary, but in excess they become harmful and hinder the proper solution of problems and performance of tasks. Therefore, anything excessive in this direction should be abandoned.

The Central Committee also considered it necessary to make a more correct distribution of the communists and cadres, strengthening production and the base with qualified cadres, simplifying the apparatuses and reducing the administrative personnel in general.

All the state laws and decrees would be subjected to critical re-examination to ensure that they conformed to the new stage of the development of socialist society. The leadership of the Party set the task that they should be reformulated with the broad participation of the masses, divesting them of unnecessary and obsolete clauses and complicated formulations, so as to make them as simple and understandable as possible and give them the maximum educational value.

The decisions of the Central Committee of the Party on the adjustment of the ratio between the higher, medium and lower wages, the creation of party committees in the army, the reinstatement of political commissars and abolition of military rank played a major role in the further revolutionization of the life of the country.

The adjustment of the pay ratio affected only the higher wages of a number of people working in the state and party apparatus and the scientific and cultural establishments, without changing the lower and medium wages. The difference between higher and lower wages in socialist Albania has never been very pronounced. Nevertheless, the Party considered it indispensable that the ratio between the higher and lower wages should be further reduced. This measure was dictated by the need to bring the living standard of the leading cadres and of the higher cadres of culture and science as close as possible to that of all the other working people of the country. This measure blocked the way to tendencies which overrate office work and encourage the desire for personal comfort and gain, which create a favourable soil for petty-bourgeois degeneration and the spread of revisionist views. At the same time, the Party was careful not to go over to egalitarianism. Work in responsible administrative positions and qualified work were to be appreciated in the future, too, but always in conformity with the principle and directive of the Party that the creation of privileged strata must not be permitted.

The purpose of setting up party committees, the reinstatement of political commissars and the abolition of military rank in the army was to safeguard and further strengthen the revolutionary people's character of the Armed Forces of the Republic, and to raise the leadership of the Party in the army to a higher level.

Despite the benefits which military rank and individual commands had brought in their time, giving the National Liberation Army that emerged from the partisan war the character of a modern army, in the new conditions they had become obstacles to the implementation of the revolutionary line of the Party in the army. They hindered the establishment of close relations between the leading cadres and the soldiers, restricted the development of creative initiative, nurtured conceit and vanity, despotism, arrogance and other bourgeois vices, and hence were fraught with the danger of the alienation of generals and other officers from the people.

The new decisions of the Central Committee in connection with the army averted this danger, opened the way to further enhancement of the level of ideological and political training, the military capability and fighting readiness of the armed forces and to increasing the defence potential of the Homeland.

All attention of the Central Committee was centred on ensuring that the decisions were understood correctly and profoundly by the Party and the people, were carried out with full conviction about the necessity for them and their revolutionary character, and that any possible attempt by the enemy to present these decisions as a change in the line of the Party or as a copy of some foreign practice was foiled.

From the discussions in the party organizations of the decisions of the Central Committee on these revolutionary measures, Comrade Enver Hoxha drew very important conclusions which helped to carry the implementation of these decisions through to the end.

Practice had shown, he observed, that the line of the Party had been and still was correct, that, in the main, the balance was positive, but in the practical activity of the Party and the state there were mistakes and distortions. «We must face up to these shortcomings as Marxists, must not be afraid to look them right in the eye, to analyse, criticize and correct them without any petty-bourgeois 'embarrassment'.»*

The Party required that the decisions and measures on the struggle against bureaucracy must be correctly assessed from the ideological and political point of view and not be taken merely as administrative measures dealing only with reduction of paper work and personnel. If they were not appreciated in this way, warned Comrade Enver Hoxha, the paper work would increase and the staff numbers become inflated again, despite the decisions. **The main issue in this struggle is to ensure that the political power always remains a people's power, a proletarian power**, and is never transformed into a bourgeois-revisionist bureaucratic power.

As for every other decision and directive of the Party and on every other occasion, the support of the people would be the guarantee that the decisions on the further revolutionization

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the Political Bureau, February 1966, «Reports and Speeches 1965-1966», pp. 208-209, Alb. ed.

of the life of the country would be implemented. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha considered it necessary that, while making the communists and the people clear about the necessity for the new measures in the new stage of the revolution, the Central Committee should come before the masses on this occasion with self-criticism. At the same time, the Party had to carry out vigorous and skilful work to make the key problems entailed in the decisions clear from the ideological aspect.

Comrade Enver Hoxha came to the conclusion, «I am convinced that everything will go well, because we have a steel-like, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist Party...»*

On March 4, 1966 the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party decided to address an **Open Letter** to the communists, working people, soldiers and officers, in which the decisions it had taken during the recent months on the revolutionization were reported to them and they were called upon to fight with all their might to carry out the tasks deriving from these decisions.

A Marxist-Leninist summing up of the activity and experience of the Party during the recent years of intensive revolutionary work and struggle was made in this letter. Along with its successes and victories, the Party also told the people openly about its shortcomings and mistakes.

In order to carry out with honour the tasks which lay ahead, the Central Committee demanded that the line of the masses must be applied continuously and consistently in all fields of life, in all the activity of the Party and the people's power. In the future, as always, the Party would find the way to carry out its tasks among the people.

For this reason, the letter stressed, «Every communist and every worker must act and think like a revolutionary every day and every hour. Whatever work he does or whatever function he fills, he should always feel that he is a devoted servant of the people, linked with the worker, the peasant and the soldier in life and death, ever ready to sacrifice even his own life for the people, the Homeland, the revolution and communism... This is important not only for the present but also for the future of our socialist Homeland...». «The people are above all. This is the fundamental principle that has always guided

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the Political Bureau, February 1966, «Reports and Speeches 1965-1966», p. 245, Alb. ed.

the Party and the organs of the people's power in all their activity.»*

The Central Committee expressed its conviction that the measures the Party had taken and would take for the further revolutionization of the country would be understood correctly by everyone as measures for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the all-round strengthening of socialist society, and for making the defence of the Homeland impregnable. These measures destroyed the soil for the activity of class enemies, ruined their plans for the overthrow of the socialist order and the restoration of capitalism.

The Open Letter of the Central Committee became a reliable weapon in the hands of the communists and the working people as a whole. It aroused great revolutionary enthusiasm all over the country.

Along with extensive ideological, political and educational work, with the participation of the working masses, the organization of the state and party apparatus in the centre and in the districts was quickly placed on a sounder revolutionary basis. The organization of the administrations of state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives was improved, too. The leading cadres and the other people working in the administration answered the call of the Party to work on the main front, in production, en masse. The Party supported this revolutionary initiative as a manifestation of socialist patriotism. About 15,000 cadres of the administration went to production, especially in the countryside. A good number of cadres, among them top cadres of the Party and the state, were sent from the centre to the base. The personnel of the state apparatus at the centre was reduced by half. The simplification of the administrative apparatus was accompanied by a reduction in correspondence, thus extending and deepening the work directly with people. Steps were taken also to simplify the system of planning, reporting, accounting, etc.

Work in the economic field was invigorated. In most agricultural crops, particularly in bread grain, production was greater than ever before. In 1966, many mountainous agricultural cooperatives produced sufficient grain to meet their own

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* Open Letter of the CC of the PLA, March 4, 1966. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, pp. 24, 30, Alb. ed.

needs for the whole year for the first time. The plan of industrial production for 1966 was also overfulfilled.

A major movement to link mental work with physical work, with production, began. People engaged in mental work went en masse as volunteers to help the peasantry in agricultural tasks. By decision of the Central Committee the direct work in production of people engaged in mental work was reorganized on a sounder basis; all the office workers and working people of science and culture started to work in production one month every year. In addition, tens of thousands of young people from secondary and higher schools participated in voluntary mass actions of construction and production.

The military and physical training of the population was especially invigorated. The question of defence was being grasped ever better by the masses as a vital problem for the independence of Albania and its future as a socialist country. The revolutionary people's character of the army became more marked. This was expressed especially in the strengthening of the links of the army with the people.

Thus, a heavy blow was dealt to bureaucracy and a turning-point was marked among the working people whose thinking, way of life and behaviour became more revolutionary.

However, the Party did not regard the measures it took in 1966 for its own further revolutionization and that of the life of the country as the last word, but as steps in a long revolutionary process which had to go on ceaselessly to ever higher levels.

The 5th Congress of the PLA, which was held in Tirana from November 1 to 8, 1966, was to give this process a further impulse.

The Congress was attended by 791 delegates with a deliberative vote and 43 delegates with a consultative vote, representing 63,013 party members and 3,314 candidate members.

The Congress analysed the activity of the Party in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade and defined the tasks **for the uninterrupted deepening of its own revolutionization and that of the whole life of the country**, combined with the struggle against imperialism and revisionism on an international scale. It made some amendments to the Constitution of the Party and approved the directives of the 4th Five-year Plan.

The Deepening of the Ideological Revolution in the Context of the Development of the Socialist Revolution in All Fields

The decisions and the measures of the Party for its own further revolutionization and that of the whole life of the country were linked, first of all, with the deepening of the ideological revolution.

The Party had always regarded the ideological revolution as an essential component of the socialist revolution as a whole.

The experience of the socialist revolution, not only in Albania but also in the other countries, had already fully confirmed the thesis of Marx and Lenin that this revolution does not come to an end with the victory in the political field, i.e., with the establishment of the proletarian state power, or with the victory in the economic field, i.e., with the construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside. «As long as the complete victory of the socialist revolution has not been secured in the field of ideology and culture, the achievements of the socialist revolution in the political and economic fields cannot be secure and guaranteed, either,»* the 5th Congress pointed out.

As the Congress defined, the fundamental aim of the ideological revolution «is the inculcation of the proletarian socialist ideology to ensure its complete triumph in the consciousness of all the working people, the total eradication of the bourgeois ideology, the all-round revolutionary communist education and tempering of the new man — the decisive factor in solving all the big and complex problems of the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.»**

But the revolution was carried on not only in the ideological field. It was carried on also in the political field, with the aim of defending, strengthening and perfecting the dictatorship of the proletariat, as well as in the economic field, with the aim of protecting, strengthening and perfecting the socialist relations of production and the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism, always as a single, indivi-

* Enver Hoxha, Report on the Activity of the CC of the PLA to the 5th Congress of the PLA. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 151, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 150.

sible, revolutionary political, economic, ideological and cultural process.

The ideological revolution in Albania, as a component part of the revolution as a whole, began when the political revolution started under the leadership of the Party (in the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War). With the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when the working class was already exerting its political power, the proletarian ideology, Marxism-Leninism, became the dominant ideology in the country, but this does not mean that it became the only ideology in the country. The old bourgeois, feudal and patriarchal ideology implanted in the minds of the masses of the people was not destroyed but remained deep-rooted. In the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the ideological revolution assumed a very wide-ranging development. The construction of the economic base of socialism in town and countryside was not only a historic victory in the socio-economic field, but also a major political and ideological victory. With the achievement of this victory, the ideological revolution entered a new, higher stage in the struggle against bourgeois ideology, to achieve its total victory, which, at the same time, will mark the complete victory of the socialist revolution as a whole.

This is how the 5th Congress of the PLA assessed the importance of the ideological revolution: «In the final analysis, the struggle on the ideological front for the total defeat of bourgeois and revisionist ideology has to do with the question of whether socialism and communism will be built and the restoration of capitalism avoided, or the doors will be opened to bourgeois and revisionist ideology and a return to capitalism be permitted.»*

The Congress also stressed that the struggle on the ideological front is part of the overall class struggle to carry the socialist revolution through to the end in all fields. Only when the class struggle as a whole is understood and waged correctly from the Marxist-Leninist standpoint can the struggle on the ideological front, the ideological revolution, be understood and carried out properly.

Following the policy of conciliation with the internal and external class enemies, the modern revisionists attempted to

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 151, Alb. ed.

prove that the teachings of Marx and Lenin on the class struggle had become outdated in the present conditions of world development! In particular, they presented the class struggle in socialism as a thing of the past. They severely attacked Stalin who had defended and enriched the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle and had loyally applied it in the conditions of the Soviet Union.

Meanwhile, the Chinese leadership was also propagating views opposed to the Marxist-Leninist theory of the class struggle. Along with the theory, «Let a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools contend!» which is an open negation of the class struggle, it supported the thesis that, with the construction of the economic base of socialism, the bourgeoisie does not disappear as a class, but continues to exist alongside the working class, during the whole period of the transition from capitalism to communism! By means of this thesis, the Chinese leaders tried to justify the fact that the capitalist class was kept intact in the Chinese «socialist society» which, as became clear later, was not in the least socialist.

They attempted to impose this anti-Marxist thesis on the Party of Labour of Albania during the talks held in Beijing between a delegation of the PLA, and the Chinese side, which took place in May 1966. Zhou Enlai who headed the Chinese delegation stubbornly insisted that the view that the capitalist class existed in Albania (!), as in China, should be included in the Albanian-Chinese joint statement, and went so far as to make acceptance of this demand a condition for his signing the statement. However, the representatives of the PLA did not yield to this pressure. They resolutely defended the Marxist-Leninist views on classes and the class struggle.

One month later, Zhou Enlai came to Tirana, where he once again put forward to the leadership of the PLA Mao Tsetung's thesis on the existence of the bourgeoisie as a class during the whole period of the socialist construction, while endeavouring to prove the «correctness» of the Chinese thesis and Stalin's «mistakes» on the class struggle! Comrade Enver Hoxha refuted all this sophistry with scientific arguments, while defending the correct Marxist-Leninist views of the PLA on this question, expressed at its 4th Congress, which declared that the economic base of socialism had been built in both town and countryside. With the achievement of this

historic victory in the development of the socialist revolution, the exploiting classes had been eliminated as classes.

Proceeding from the great importance which the correct understanding and revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the class struggle has for the complete construction of socialist society, the Congress deemed it necessary to dearly define the stand of the Party in regard to the class struggle in socialism. The Congress stressed, **«The Party thinks that the class struggle continues to be one of the main motive forces of society, even after the liquidation of the exploiting classes... As the experience of our country has shown, this struggle is an objective and inevitable phenomenon in socialism.»*** Far from being interrupted or dying out, the class struggle **goes on fiercely** within the country, **wave after wave, and is intertwined with the class struggle on the external front**. It includes all fields of life.

The class struggle is waged against internal and external enemies. It is waged against the remnants of. the exploiting classes, which continue to put up resistance and exert pressure on the working people in every possible way. It is also waged against those who degenerate and become new bourgeois elements within socialist society. It is waged, likewise, against bureaucratic manifestations and distortions, against liberal and conservative attitudes. It is waged against theft and misuse of socialist property, against all kinds of alien manifestations, against old concepts, habits and customs of patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois content, against the petty-bourgeois mentality and religious prejudices. It is waged against bourgeois and revisionist ideology, against the political and ideological pressure and influences of imperialism and revisionism, which become a source of alien, reactionary, regressive attitudes and ideas in work, society, way of life, science, art and literature.

The Congress pointed out that the class struggle is also reflected within the ranks of the Party, despite the fact that it is a monolithic party of the working class. The communists are not completely divested of or unaffected by the old concepts, customs and habits of the social circles in which they have lived and are living. They are not immune, either, to the influences of bourgeois and revisionist ideology from abroad. Consequently, even in the ranks of the Party, there are individuals who may

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, pp. 151-152, Alb. ed.

and do degenerate, who may go over to hostile anti-party and anti-socialist positions. Indeed, it is a special objective of the enemies to damage the communist cadres, especially those in the leading organs of the Party and state, to win them over, so that they open a broad way to the achievement of their aims of the elimination of the socialist order by means either of armed aggression or of the peaceful counter-revolution. Therefore, it is essential that a systematic class struggle must be waged within the Party, too, against anti-party elements; against deviations from the proletarian ideology and political line of the Party; against distortions and violations of its decisions and directives; against breaches of the principles and norms of the Constitution; against shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the leading organs and the basic organizations of the Party; against opportunism, sectarianism, dogmatism and ail sorts of alien, anti-Marxist views.

For all these reasons, the 5th Congress emphasized especially that «any deviation from the class struggle has fatal consequences for the fate of socialism,» that while waging this struggle against external enemies — imperialists and revisionists, the class struggle within the country must never be neglected or forgotten . «Otherwise, history will punish us severely.»*

The Congress described acceptance or non-acceptance of the class struggle in socialism as a demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and the revisionists, between revolutionaries and betrayers of the revolution.

In the concrete circumstances of the attack on a broad front which the Party had launched for its revolutionization and that of the life of the country, while stressing the need to wage the class struggle «every day and in every field of life,» the Congress considered that the main link which had to be taken up in order to carry the revolution forward in all fields was the **ideological** struggle.

The performance of the great and difficult tasks of the complete construction of socialist society, the fierce class struggle on a national and international scale, absolutely demand people endowed with a high level of socialist consciousness, freed from patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois concepts and customs, as well as religious prejudices, imbued with the proletarian ideology and with great revolutionary tempering and determination.

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 152, Alb. ed.

The ideological revolution served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party and the working class for the revolutionization of the entire superstructure of the society. It freed the dictatorship of the proletariat, all the political, economic and social institutions from a considerable number of juridical provisions, forms and methods appropriate to the first stage of the socialist construction of the country, but already outdated and transformed into obstacles to the rapid advance. It rid the superstructure of everything alien that had penetrated into it, and lit the way to finding and applying new and more revolutionary forms and methods so that the leadership of the working class and the direct participation of all the working masses in governing the country and running the economy could be realized better, and the dictatorship of the proletariat strengthened.

In the context of the political and ideological struggle to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Congress set the task that the work and struggle for the constant strengthening and perfecting of the People's Army, the organs of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and all the Armed Forces of the Republic must be continued with the main objective of establishing ever closer links between them and the people, of their further revolutionary tempering, and systematic political and ideological education and military training to ensure that they are always capable and ready to defend the victories of the revolution and the socialist Homeland. At the same time, the Congress stressed the need to perfect the work for the military training of the entire people and enhance their military readiness.

The deepening of the ideological revolution raised the transforming role of the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas in the development of society as a whole to a higher level. The proletarian ideology assimilated by the broad masses of working people has a powerful influence on the improvement of the socialist relations of production and the economic base of society, on the safeguarding, extension and strengthening of socialist property, on making the character of distribution more profoundly socialist, on the continuous revolutionization of the management of the economy, as well as on the development of the productive forces and the technical-scientific revolution.

An important objective of the ideological revolution, on which the Congress dwelt in particular, was the problem of the complete emancipation of women, on the basis of the great progress already made in this field. It described this as «one

of the most important problems of the socialist construction, a major political, ideological and social question.»*

The ideological revolution was to be carried out under the slogan, **«We must think, work and live like revolutionaries,»**** and this would constitute the essence of the communist education, the basic content of the entire educational work of the Party.

The carrying out of more organized and perfected work for the study and assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist theory by the communists, the cadres, the working class and all the working people was essential for the communist education of the working people and the deepening of the ideological revolution. To this end, the Congress instructed, «a fierce struggle must be waged against the bourgeois and reactionary intellectualist concept that theory, philosophy, science and art are difficult and cannot be grasped by the masses, that they can be understood only by the cadres and intelligentsia... Marxism-Leninism is not the privilege and monopoly of a few persons who 'have the heads' to understand it. It is the scientific ideology of the working class and the working masses, and only when its ideals are grasped by the broad masses of workers is it transformed from something abstract into a mighty material force for the revolutionary transformation of the world.»***

The revolution in the field of culture directly served the ideological revolution and developed in unity with it as an organic part of it. «All cultural educational and artistic work must serve, first of all, to attain our fundamental purpose — the education of the communists and all the working people in a lofty revolutionary Marxist-Leninist class spirit.»**** The Congress instructed that art and culture should be based firmly on the native soil, have their source in the people and be completely in the service of the people. The Party of Labour of Albania, as always, faithfully adhered to the Leninist principle of proletarian partisanship in art, literature and all the spiritual life of society. Decadent bourgeois art and culture, cosmopolitanism are alien to socialism. From the Albanian cultural and artistic heritage the people of art and culture were to take, as

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* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 142, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 159 (our emphasis — ed).

*** Ibidem, p. 169.

**** Ibidem, p. 159.

they had done in the past, only what was progressive, patriotic and democratic. Over the centuries, the Albanian people have created a rich heritage of spiritual life with a healthy progressive content, which is a sound basis and a great source of inspiration for art, literature, and the new socialist culture in general. The Congress pointed out that art and culture in socialist Albania have benefited and will continue to benefit also from the experience of the progressive art and culture of the world. But the new Albanian culture will never become a slave to foreign culture and will never accept anything without thorough analysis, without a critical evaluation from a class viewpoint.

The further revolutionization of the school had to include the entire educational system, the content and methods of teaching and education. The revolutionary political and ideological tempering of the youth, the more direct training of the youth for life and work, the linking of lessons with production, the communist education of the youth through work, emerged as problems of prime importance.

Further Revolutionization of the Party and Communist Qualities of Its Members

The 5th Congress considered the strengthening and tempering of the Party, as a revolutionary party of the working class, the enhancement of its leading role in the entire life of the country, to be the first condition for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution and for carrying it through to the end.

The PLA always kept its Marxist-Leninist ideological and organizational basis sound, irrespective of the fact that there were some organizations which failed to carry out their leading role properly, or some party members who had lost the qualities of a communist and did not set an example as vanguard fighters. The Congress emphasized that «Never for one moment, nor in any direction, should we permit the Party to be disarmed, to become intoxicated with success, to become sluggish, to be smothered in dust, routine and bureaucracy.»*

Great lessons had to be drawn from the bitter experience of the Soviet Union, where the Communist Party had become gradually immersed in bureaucracy, routine, formalism and

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 122, Alb. ed.

inertia, which stripped it of the revolutionary spirit and made it incapable of preventing the revisionists from seizing power and setting the country on the road to the restoration of capitalism.

In order to safeguard the Party of Labour of Albania from bureaucracy and other diseases, to ensure its ceaseless strengthening and revolutionization, the Congress gave directives and set tasks for the continuous improvement of the proletarian composition and distribution of the forces of the Party, for the enhancement of the leading role of the basic organizations, the deepening of the mass line, by focussing attention on the revolutionary qualities which ought to characterize every communist.

For 25 years the Albanian people had known the communist as the most honourable and loyal person, the most determined for the cause of the revolution and socialism, had always seen him in the forefront, ever ready to go where the struggle and work were most difficult, indomitable in the face of enemies, difficulties and obstacles. The Party had won the hearts of the people, had created and always maintained ever closer links with the broad masses, had always mobilized them in the revolution, in the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland through the example of its members as vanguard fighters.

Precisely on the basis of this rich experience of the revolutionary activity, stands and behaviour of the members of the PLA. Comrade Enver Hoxha formulated their distinctive qualities, which responded to the new demands for enhancing the leading role of the Party and, consequently, for carrying out the major tasks of the complete construction of socialist society. These qualities found their expression in the report of the Central Committee to the Congress, and were embodied in the Constitution of the PLA.

The idea that they demonstrate their loyalty to Marxism-Leninism and the Party, their determination to serve the people, the revolution, socialism through deeds, constitutes the essence of the communist qualities of the members of the PLA.

Being in the Party does not bring the communist and his family the slightest privilege or any more rights than those which all the citizens of socialist Albania enjoy; it brings only heavier tasks and greater responsibilities.

The communist must place himself at the head of the mas-

ses and lead them, but being a party member does not automatically ensure this position. He can win the trust of the masses and become a leader of them only by working and living with the masses; by listening to their voice with the greatest attention and learning from them; by being modest, just, honest, sincere and kindly with people, an enemy of conceit, the spirit of commandism and arrogance; by remaining in the forefront of the work, the performance of duties, however difficult they may be, without excusing himself from any sacrifices.

His conscious steel discipline in the implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles, norms and line of the Party and, at the same time, the creative spirit in his revolutionary activity, in the implementation of decisions and directives, distinguishes the communist.

At any time and in every instance, the communist displays high vigilance in the defence and implementation of the line of the Party, wages an irreconcilable struggle against any violation and distortion of this line and the laws of the state. He wages the class struggle both within and without its ranks, fearlessly and intelligently, on the basis of the line of the Party, without falling into either opportunism or sectarianism. On the one hand, he is merciless towards the enemies, and on the other hand, he is very patient towards comrades and those from the people who make mistakes, in order to save and correct them.

The communist also shows himself tireless in constantly raising his ideo-political and cultural level, regarding this as essential if he is always to remain a vanguard fighter.

The Congress laid down the task that these qualities, embodied in the overwhelming majority of the communists, should become the traits of all the party members, without exception. «Without this, the vigorous revolutionary spirit in the Party cannot be preserved, without this there can be no talk of the revolutionization of the life of our country,»* it emphasized.

To ensure such qualities among the new party members, it was decided that not only should the candidates for party membership be selected more carefully, but also that the probation period of the candidate member, which is a very important test time, should be extended from one year, as previously, to

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 128, Alb. ed.

2-3 years, depending on the social status, the nature of the work and the ideological and political preparedness of each candidate.

To further revolutionize the internal life of the Party, the Congress demanded a further strengthening of criticism and self-criticism, drawing lessons from the criticism and self-criticism which the Central Committee made in regard to mistakes and shortcomings of the Party in its Open Letter of March 1966. In the report Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «Our Party has never hidden its mistakes and shortcomings. It has revealed them and criticized them publicly and courageously... Can it be said that this has shaken the people's confidence in the Party? Has it weakened the fighting spirit of the Party, the cadres and the working people? On the contrary, the people have linked themselves more closely with the Party, their love for and trust in the Party have increased tenfold...»*.

The Directives of the 4th Five-year Plan

The Congress worked out the directives of the 4th Five-year Plan, too, in the spirit of the further revolutionization of the life of the country.

The main task for the five-year period was defined: **To speed up the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism, by continuing the socialist industrialization and increasing industrial production through a more complete utilization of the productive capacities already in use and through building new projects, by concentrating the forces for a more rapid development of agricultural production, especially of grain production, first of all, through the intensification of agriculture;**

to raise the material well-being and the cultural level of the people and to increase the defence potential of the Homeland;

to further perfect the socialist relations of production in a revolutionary way, to gradually reduce the distinctions between town and countryside, between the working class and the peasantry, between industry and agriculture and between mental and physical work;

to deepen the revolution in the field of ideology and culture, to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat, the unity

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 134, Alb. ed.

of the people around the Party, to carry the socialist revolution forward in all fields.

Thus, the Congress linked the economic and cultural development of the country closely with its further revolutionization. The revolutionization was a sound basis for the fulfilment of the major tasks of the development of the productive forces and the perfecting of socialist relations of production. Vice-versa, the development of these forces and these socialist relations constituted the indispensable material base for the fulfilment of the tasks of the revolutionization.

Industrial production would be increased 50-54 per cent above that of 1965. The chemical, engineering, electric power, copper, and iron-nickel industries in particular would be developed at higher rates. Rolled metals, nitrogenous and phosphate fertilizers, various kinds of paper, electric light bulbs, and many other articles would be produced in the country for the first time. With the 4th Five-year Plan, the country entered a new stage of industrialization, the stage of the development of the heavy processing industry.

Thus industrialization remained, as before, one of the tasks of vital importance, «...without the solution of which,» pointed out the Congress, «the socialist revolution on the economic front cannot be carried forward.»* At the same time, however, the Party adhered to the line of developing both industry and agriculture, because in order to be strong and independent, the people's economy must stand on both legs, on industry and agriculture.

It was forecast that agricultural production in 1970 would be 71-76 per cent greater than in 1965. By ensuring a higher rate of growth of agricultural production, in comparison with that of industrial production, the Party aimed at easing the disproportion between industry and agriculture and narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside.

For the increase of agricultural production, the stress was laid on increasing yield rates. While pursuing the course of the intensification of agriculture, at the same time twice as much new land as during the 3rd Five-year Plan would be brought into production. The Congress launched the slogan, **«Take to the hills and mountains, and make them as beautiful and fertile as the plains.»**

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 92, Alb. ed.

Along with these tasks, the Congress gave the directive that the Party and the state should help all the agricultural economies, which had remained uncollectivized and which represented about 10 per cent of the land of the peasantry, to unite in cooperatives.

In order to fulfil the tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan, it was decided to increase capital investments by 34 per cent above those of the 3rd Five-year Plan. Eighty per cent of these investments were to be used in the productive sectors.

The national income would be increased 45-50 per cent. Of this income, 28.2 per cent would be used for accumulation and 71.8 per cent for social and individual consumption. The real per capita income of workers and employees was to be increased 9-11 per cent, and that of the peasantry 20-25 per cent. Raising the well-being of the masses has always been one of the most important elements of the revolutionary policy of the Party. The PLA sees the raising of well-being not as the satisfaction of petty-bourgeois whims, or ensuring a life of luxury for a special stratum or group of privileged people, but as the fulfilment of the material, cultural and spiritual needs of the whole people, not only for today, but also for the future. These needs are fulfilled in conformity with the general level of the economic development of the country and the requirements of extended reproduction and defence.

In dealing with economic problems, the Congress dwelt on the question of improving the planned management of the economy. It condemned the course followed by the revisionist countries of replacing the centralized management of the economy with anarchic decentralization which opened the way to the operations of the laws of capitalism and the complete transformation of the socialist economy into a capitalist economy. The Congress expressed the determination of the PLA to stick to the course of centralized management of the economy on the basis of a single, general state plan. At the same time, it pointed out that this centralized state management must be thoroughly democratic and co-ordinated, must ensure the broad and direct, organized participation of the masses, along with the extension of the rights and functions of the state and economic organs at all levels.

The Congress instructed also that more consistent and systematic use must be made of the economic levers and categories which regulate the activity of enterprises, such as cost,

profit, price, etc. In using them, however, the state and economic organs would always be guided by the proletarian policy of the Party, by the general interests of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The targets of the 4th Five-year Plan, as in every previous five-year plan, were soundly based on the revolutionary economic policy of the Party. This policy was based powerfully on the objective economic laws of socialist society, on the concrete internal and external conditions, on the real possibilities for the development of the people's economy and culture, on the internal resources, means and forces. It responded both to the existing and to the future needs for the uninterrupted advance of the country on the road of socialism.

The Struggle against Imperialism and Modern Revisionism Must Be Raised to a Higher Level

The 5th Congress made a profound Marxist-Leninist analysis of the international situation. From this analysis it drew the main conclusion that the uncompromising struggle against imperialism, headed by American imperialism, and against modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, was a task of decisive importance for the fate of freedom and independence, for the future of socialism, on a national and international scale.

One of the fundamental features of the international situation was the crystallization of a new alliance between American imperialism and Soviet imperialism.

This alliance was based on the common interests and the one strategic aim of the division of spheres of influence and the establishment of the domination of the two greatest powers over the world.

The Soviet-American alliance was taking a more concrete form with each passing day and developing in all fields with various open and secret treaties and agreements.

But this alliance did not develop without difficulties and contradictions. These contradictions had their source in the hegemonic and expansionist aims of both these imperialisms and the efforts each made to win supremacy over the other.

Both American imperialism and Soviet revisionism also had profound contradictions with their allies: USA with France, which had taken the road of open opposition, as well as with Great Britain, West Germany, Japan, etc; the Soviet Union

with the other revisionist countries and with the revisionist parties of capitalist West Europe, in which tendencies towards breaking away, disagreements and efforts to be free and independent of the Moscow dictate were constantly increasing.

In order to defeat all the aggressive plans of American imperialism, Khrushchevite revisionism and the whole of world reaction, in order to wage the struggle against them more successfully, the 5th Congress raised the need for the peoples to unite in a broad anti-imperialist world front, as an objective necessity of great international importance.

For this front to have a truly anti-imperialist character, it was completely reasonable that those united in it should be all those who, in one way or the other, took an anti-imperialist stand in deeds and not just in words, who fought imperialism to some degree. «With all their policy and activity the Khrushchevite revisionists have placed themselves outside the anti-imperialist front,» stressed the Congress. «To include the revisionists in this front means to introduce the fifth column, the 'Trojan horse', in it and to undermine it from within.»* This revolutionary stand of the PLA was at the same time a response to the vacillating stands of the leaders of the CPC on this question, to their inclinations to unite with the various revisionists, including the Soviet revisionists, in a single «anti-imperialist» front.

At its 5th Congress the PLA once again declared firmly that it would not accept any kind of unity of action with the Khrushchevite revisionists. If it were to act otherwise, it would simply be betraying its own people, socialism and Marxism-Leninism. Modern revisionism, headed by Soviet revisionism, was now not only a main danger, but also a main enemy of the international communist and workers' movement, of socialism and the people's freedom and independence.

The Congress made a severe criticism, on a principled basis, of all those who did not fight revisionism itself, but only its shadow, who closed their eyes to the reality, who pretended to be unable to see the betrayal of the revisionist leaders, who sought reconciliation and unity with the revisionists or maintained a centrist position. «In the opinion of our Party, not reconciliation and unity with the revisionists, but the break,

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 191, Alb. ed.

the definite split with them presents itself very forcefully on the agenda today, as an urgent current problem.»*

The Congress welcomed the creation of a series of new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in various countries of the world. The creation of the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups was a natural outcome of the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Two opposing ideologies and lines can never coexist within any particular Marxist-Leninist party, or within the international communist movement as a whole.

The Congress expressed the readiness of the PLA to give all the aid in its power to the new Marxist-Leninist forces. «We consider this our lofty internationalist duty, because in the growth and development of these new revolutionary forces we see the only correct road to the triumph of Marxism-Leninism and the defeat of revisionism.»**

The new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups pinned their hopes especially on the support of the Party and PR of China, as a «great Marxist-Leninist party» and a «big socialist country.» In general, they were disillusioned when they did not find the immediate support that they hoped for. In reality, as became known later, at first Mao Zedong and his associates did not approve of the formation of these new parties and groups and had no faith in them. However, when they were created and growing stronger, against the will of the Chinese leaders, the latter changed tactics. They set themselves the aim of exploiting these organizations for their own narrow interests. Therefore, they recognized all these parties and groups without exception, even if there were several of them in a single country, provided only that they called themselves «Marxist-Leninist,» «revolutionary,» «red guards,» etc. and proclaimed themselves followers of the «Mao Zedong thought.» Meanwhile, the PLA maintained a prudent stand, proceeding from the deeds and not from the words of one or the other party or group, and judging from the standpoint that each country can have only one true Marxist-Leninist party.

For the revolutionary revival and strengthening of international communism, the Congress described the establishment of links of close collaboration, the creation of ideological unity and unity of action among all the Marxist-Leninist parties and

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 194, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, p. 186.

forces of the various countries, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, as urgently necessary.

At the close of its proceedings, the 5th Congress elected the Central Committee of the PLA comprised of 61 members and 36 candidate members, as well as the Central Control and Audit Commission by unanimous vote. Comrade Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC of the PLA.

The Congress was an expression of the monolithic unity, the maturity and the determination of the Party to carry the socialist revolution through to the end. On the basis of its summing up of the great experience of the revolutionary struggle during the previous five-year period, it enriched and further developed the Marxist-Leninist line of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society.

The Congress expressed the determination of the PLA to continue the uninterrupted struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism.

The participation of representatives of the new revolutionary Marxist-Leninist parties and groups in the 5th Congress of the PLA constituted an important event for the international communist movement, which had set out on the road of revival on a Marxist-Leninist basis.

2. CARRYING OUT THE TASKS FOR THE REVOLUTIONIZATION OF THE PARTY AND THE STATE POWER AND STRENGTHENING THE PARTY-PEOPLE UNITY

The scientific analysis which the 5th Congress made of the major current national and international problems and the orientations it gave, opened new horizons on the road to the complete construction of socialist society.

The whole Party, with its levers, was mobilized to make the orientations and the tasks laid down by the Congress as understandable as possible by the people in order to implement them in a most comprehensive and extensive manner. In this direction, the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha «On the

Further Revolutionization of the Party and the State,» delivered on February 6, 1967, played a special role.

The Revolutionary Implementation of the Principles and Norms of the Party for the Strengthening of Its Proletarian Character

The resolute implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the Party has always been one of the main sources of its great victories. However, in the circumstances of the spread of revisionism and the severe struggle between it and Marxism-Leninism on an international scale, in the conditions of the new revolutionary upsurge which had burst out in Albania, the revolutionary implementation of these principles and norms assumed special importance for the preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of the Party and the further development of the socialist revolution in all fields.

The party of the working class cannot have a correct Marxist-Leninist line without, at the same time, having communist organizational principles and norms and implementing them in a revolutionary way. When the Communist Party of the Soviet Union abandoned the Leninist-Stalinist ideology and policy, it also gave up the revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the party, which were transformed into lifeless formulae.

In his speech of February 6, Comrade Enver Hoxha criticized the feeling of self-satisfaction which had arisen among some communists and cadres as a consequence of the victories achieved and made them blind to their mistakes and shortcomings, and infringements of principles and norms of the Constitution. This feeling of self-satisfaction had its roots in the idealist and metaphysical concept that the leading organs and cadres of the Party and the state are infallible and beyond criticism. As a result, on many occasions, criticism and self-criticism in the party organizations, as well as the criticism of leading organs and cadres, were superficial and formal. Such weaknesses hindered the further revolutionization of the Party.

«The Party cannot be revolutionized,» Comrade Enver Hoxha instructed, «except through a thorough knowledge, deep philosophical understanding and strict application in a revolutionary way of the Marxist-Leninist principles which guide the Party,

and the Leninist norms which govern the life of the Party and its members.

«This major, vital problem cannot be understood in a formal way and we cannot allow these principles to be applied mechanically, to be learned as cut-and-dry, lifeless formulae.»*

On the basis of this instruction and the orientations of the 5th Congress, the Party centred its attention on certain aspects in particular.

Attention was given to invigorating and deepening the revolutionary spirit of the basic organizations. The communists were called upon to come to meetings better prepared, to put forward their opinions courageously, to make suggestions, to criticize, to look ahead, to propose, while calling themselves to account first, and then their comrades. Instances of opportunist stands of failing to criticize one's comrade or superior for reasons of cronyism, conformism, servility, as well as for fear of revenge, were attacked. Stern measures were taken against those who used their leading positions to take revenge in various ways on those who criticized them. Meanwhile, work went on to make it clearer that one cannot remain a communist if he is afraid to criticize and openly express his opinions about everything, if he suppresses the opinions and criticisms made by his comrades. Consequently, the role of the basic organizations, as centres of revolutionary education and tempering and as organisms of leadership, was enhanced.

The preservation and strengthening of the ideological and organizational unity of the Party was a problem which had been and would be given continuous attention. The Central Committee demanded that the greatest vigilance must be displayed on this vital issue at every moment.

The disruption of the unity in the Party is one of the permanent aims of external and internal enemies. The Soviet, Titoite and other revisionists did not neglect the use of any means to shake the foundations of the traditional steel unity of the PLA, to create splits within its ranks, which could be exploited to turn it from the Marxist-Leninist course and set it on the revisionist course. Apart from this, Mao Zedong, who had long since elevated the existence of opposing factions and lines and the struggle between lines within the Party as an

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», Speech delivered on February 6, 1967, p. 21, Eng. ed.

objective phenomenon to the level of theory, made efforts to impose this anti-Marxist «theory» on the Party of Labour of Albania by means of Zhou Enlai, when he was on a visit in Albania in June 1966.

Implementing the great principle of the unity of the Marxist-Leninist party, the PLA had never permitted factionalist trends and opposing revisionist lines to be crystallized within its ranks. It had discovered the hostile elements and views, the anti-party factionalist groups in time and smashed them through principled revolutionary struggle, without giving them the possibility of transforming themselves into opposing trends and lines. Summing up this experience and indirectly replying to the Chinese leadership, Comrade Enver Hoxha declared. «No self-respecting Marxist-Leninist party can tolerate the existence of two lines in the party, hence, it cannot permit the existence of one faction or many factions. If such a thing appears, the party cannot and must not tolerate its existence, even for a short time. A faction in the party runs counter to the Marxist-Leninist unity of thought and action, tries to transform the party into a social-democratic one and the socialist country into a capitalist one.»* Practice has proved that the crystallization of opposing ideologies and lines in a party shows either that it is not a true Marxist-Leninist party, or that, though being such, it has not waged a correct, consistent and determined class struggle within its ranks.

In accord with the ideas of the Congress and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the struggle for the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the Party was concentrated mainly on the revolutionary implementation of the principles and norms of the proletarian party. While combating manifestations of violations of these principles and norms, such phenomena as quarrels, clannishness, cronyism and morbid friendship, which serve as the soil in which failure to implement the Constitution can grow, thus weakening the unity of thought and action, permitting hostile activites within the organization, which prevent it from playing its leading role, were also attacked.

Another key question, which gave a fresh impulse to the revolutionization of the Party, was the admission of new mem-

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», Speech delivered on February 6, 1967, p. 40, Eng. ed.

bers. The 5th Congress had brought this to the attention of those party organizations which had not admitted new members for a long time. In 1965 and 1966 the membership had increased respectively only 1.9 and 0.2 per cent. This increase was quite unsatisfactory. Even in 1967, despite the persistent demands of the Central Committee, the growth of the Party was small, only 2.7 per cent.

In the analysis which the Central Committee made of this problem, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «Comrades, this is a very serious matter, a grave mistake we are making...»* He went on to demand that this problem must be gone into seriously, that every party organization and committee must study it in order to solve it. The Central Committee itself studied the problem of new admissions to the Party on the level of the whole Party and, on this basis, laid down the necessary guidelines. All these things brought about an increase of the rate of admissions. During the five years 1967-1971, 20,658 communists were added to the Party. Thus, during this period the Party increased its numbers by 31 per cent, while in the previous five-year period the increase had been only 3.24 per cent.

The greatest success, however, was the strengthening of the worker composition of the Party. For the first time in 1970 the communists of worker social status occupied the first place in party membership, making up 36.08 per cent of all the communists, ahead of office workers (34.68 per cent) and cooperativist peasants (29.24 per cent). This fact was evidence of the Party's great concern to be proletarian not only in its ideology, but also in its class composition. This is another characteristic feature distinguishing the PLA, as a revolutionary party of the working class, from the revisionist parties, in which bureaucratic officials and technocrats are dominant in everything, including the social composition of the party.

In the years 1967-1971, a qualitative change was made in regard to the social composition of the leading organs of the Party, too. In the analysis which the Central Committee of the Party made of this problem at the end of the year 1967, the fact that among 1,450 members of the plenums of party committees only 220 were workers was described as irregular. The

* Enver Hoxha, Contribution to discussion at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 21, 1967, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 84, Alb. ed.

composition of the bureaus of the party committees was unsatisfactory, too. The social composition of the bureaus and secretaries of the basic organizations was somewhat better, but still not what was needed.

The leadership of the Party drew the conclusion that it was essential to improve the social composition of the leading organs and gave the respective instructions to this end. On the basis of these instructions, the situation was altered in the party elections in 1968, while by 1971, 55 per cent of the members of the plenums of party committees were workers in social status, background and origin. In the bureaus of the basic organizations in the economic enterprises, 85.2 per cent of the members and 86.3 per cent of the secretaries were workers. This was a very important matter of principle to close the way to the bourgeois degeneration of the leading organs of the Party, to avert the evil which befell the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, where the leading organs were filled with intellectuals, bureaucratic officials and technocrats who, in the end, wrested the political power from the hands of the working class.

Substantial improvements were made also in regard to the deployment and distribution of the party forces. In 1971 there was no workshop of a state enterprise and no sector of an agricultural cooperative without a basic organization and no village without communists. Sixty-one per cent of the communists were working in the sphere of material production, 80 per cent of them directly in production. Answering the call of the Party, about 2,000 communists had gone voluntarily from the administration to production, from easier jobs to the most difficult ones, from the city to the countryside. This struck a heavy blow on the anti-Marxist concept that «to be a communist one must necessarily have official functions.»

The whole struggle for the revolutionization of the Party had a pronounced character of revolutionary education, not only for the party members, but also for the broad masses. This struggle was an expression not only of the faithful implementation of Marxism-Leninism in a creative way, but also of learning the Marxist-Leninist theory closely linked with revolutionary practice.

The «History of the Party of Labour of Albania», which was published in 1968 and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, the first two volumes of which came out that same year, served as very important weapons in the struggle for the revolutioniza-

tion and the revolutionary ideological and political education of the communists and the masses of the people. By 1971 eight volumes of these Works had been published and many other volumes would be published in the future. During this period, two new volumes (3 and 4) of the Principal Documents of the PLA were published, while volume 1 was republished. The publication in Albanian of Marx's work of genius «Capital» began for the first time (the three books comprising volume 1 were published in 1968-1971), 35 other volumes of works by Marks, Engels, Lenin and Stalin were published or republished, too.

From the complex struggle for the revolutionization of the Party very valuable lessons were learnt for raising the work of the Party in leadership, organization and education to a higher level, in order to respond to the future great and difficult tasks on the road of the complete construction of socialist society.

The Further Revolutionization of the State Power On the basis of the orientations of the 5th Congress, the main attention for the further revolutionization of the state power was concentrated on continuing the struggle against bureaucracy.

There was the danger that the struggle against bureaucracy would be considered completed, or that it would be slowed down, following the campaign which was waged so vigorously during 1966. Anticipating such a danger, in his speech of February 6, 1967, Comrade Enver Hoxha dwelt especially on the necessity of continuing the struggle against bureaucracy, emphasizing that «this struggle will never end. It will go on continuously so long as classes and class struggle exist.»* Apart from this, he re-emphasized that if the struggle against bureaucracy is to be fruitful, first of all, it is necessary to understand it correctly as a struggle to eradicate idealist, anti-Marxist, reactionary concepts, as well as anti-popular practices in the problem of governing which stem from these concepts. It is a stern political, ideological and organizational struggle in which the masses, under the leadership of the Party, take part directly, hitting hard at bureaucratic concepts and distortions, at the bureaucrats themselves, irrespective of their position or rank. Bureaucracy and the bureaucrats are enemies

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», p. 42, Eng. ed.

of the people, the worst and wiliest enemies of the Marxist-Leninist party and, «as such, they must be fought continuously, persistently and ceaselessly.»*

The strong emphasis which the leadership of the Party laid once more on the struggle against bureaucracy ensured that this struggle assumed the character of a broad popular movement, the essence of which was the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The direct participation of the masses in the struggle against bureaucracy made necessary the strengthening and perfecting of the control by the masses, especially the worker control over the organs, apparatus and cadres of the state power and the economy.

This control had been reduced virtually to a few commissions, which had only the name of «worker control,» while in reality they were in the hands of people of the administration. Criticizing this very narrow concept of the worker control, in April 1968 the Central Committee dwelt especially on this major question of principle: «The problem... is bigger and wider than the question of worker commissions. The leadership and control exercised by the working class and the Party over everything and everybody, over the cadres, forums, administrations and commissions, must be complete, without any loopholes, must be decisive.»**

The complete realization of the control by the working class and the other working masses, not only in theory, but also in practice, is a decisive condition for success in the fight against bureaucracy and all its manifestations in the form of technocratism and intellectualism, economism, etc.

The decisions of the Plenum of the CC of the Party of September 1968 gave a fresh impulse to the application of the directive of the 5th Congress on the struggle against bureaucracy and the strengthening of the worker control on a revolutionary basis.

On the basis of the orientations of the Central Committee, and as a result of the struggle of the party organizations to carry out these orientations, the participation of the masses in governing the country and the management of the economy was

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», p. 43, Eng. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Speech delivered at the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 9, 1968, «Speeches 1967-1968», p. 225, Eng. ed.

extended and further invigorated. The worker control was purged of bureaucratic elements. The so-called «worker commissions» were abandoned, because they had been transformed into bureaucratic forms, along with the «trio» consisting of the director, the secretary of the basic organization of the party and the chairman of the trade-union committee, another bureaucratic form which, under the guise of «operative management,» violated the democracy, the rules and the line of the Party. These forms, which violated the directives of the Party on the leading role of the working class, were replaced with new methods and forms of direct worker control. This was accompanied with increased care for the education of the workers with the ideology and revolutionary courage of the working class.

The participation of the broad masses of the people in the struggle against bureaucracy and in all the problems of government through their control, and especially the control by the working class, brought significant progress in the revolutionization of the state power.

More people from production, of proven loyalty to the people and socialism, tested for their determination, courage and militant spirit in the defence and implementation of the line of the Party and the laws of the state, were elected to the representative organs of the state power.

The authority and the role of the elected representative organs of the state power, in general, were further enhanced. The executive committees of the people's councils and their respective apparatuses were placed more thoroughly under the control of the elected organs. Regular reporting and rendering of account by the executive and administrative organs to the elected organs, as well as by the latter to the electors, was established everywhere.

The elected organs improved their work not only in the direction of taking decisions and approving laws, but also in the direction of following up their implementation, through better organization of the work, a more studied division of labour and greater activation of the deputies and councillors.

A general revision of the legislation was carried out. As a result of this revision, more than 400 acts were annulled and were replaced by simpler, more concise acts, more appropriate to the new conditions. The most important laws, redrafted, were submitted to the judgement of the masses of the people.

At the same time, the drawing in of the working masses in the investigation and trial of penal cases was extended. The establishment of village, city and suburban courts was especially important in assisting the achievement of this aim.

However, the further revolutionization of the state power was not done without hindrance. It encountered difficulties, even the secret and sometimes open opposition of the bureaucracy and the bureaucrats who found all kinds of ways to hinder the full application of the decisions and directives of the Party on curtailing and simplifying the state apparatus and drawing the broad masses into running the country and managing the economy.

The Central Committee noticed that the central government organs and the administrations of various enterprises had made considerable additions to their staffs following the reductions on the basis of the decision of the Party of December 1965 on the struggle against bureaucracy. It considered these additions irregular and (in February 1970) charged the Council of Ministers with investigating the additions made, one by one, in order to carry out any new, possible and necessary reductions. Meanwhile, it instructed the party committees and organizations to be more careful and make greater efforts to implement the party directives concerning the struggle against bureaucracy, by relying more firmly on the masses and activating them more effectively in this struggle.

The practice of the struggle against bureaucracy for the ever greater revolutionization of the state power raised the need for improvement of the administration and further extension of the competences of the state and economic organs.

After the analysis of this problem, which it made in December 1970, the Central Committee decided to take measures to extend the competences of the executive committees of the people's councils, the state enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and the other institutions of the base without violating the fundamental principle of democratic centralism in running affairs. Meanwhile, the staffs of the central departments and other central state institutions were further reduced, while the cadres affected were transferred to the base.

These measures did not constitute any radical change in the state organization, or any reform, but a further deepening of the democratization of the state power, an improvement of the management of state and economic affairs. They

were made necessary by the new stage of the development of socialist society, in which the socialist relations of production were strengthened, extended and perfected, the material-technical base was developed and strengthened, the socialist consciousness of the working class and cooperativist peasantry was further enhanced and strengthened, the people's intelligentsia had grown in numbers and become stronger, and a wealth of experience of the management of affairs had been accumulated at the base.

At the same time, the Party also devoted great attention to the work for the revolutionization of the People's Army, the Border Forces, the People's Police and State Security Forces.

The work carried out in this direction resulted in the establishment of closer links of these forces with the masses of the people, in improvement of their professional training and a more profound revolutionary ideological and political preparation, in particular.

In the army, however, a marked formalism in the implementation of the revolutionary decisions of the CC of the Party of the year 1966 in regard to the armed forces and the other directives for the further revolutionization of the life of the country was observed. The Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha had frequently criticized this manifestation. As it turned out later, this formalism had its roots in the efforts of enemies operating in the army to sabotage these decisions and directives. They made a great noise pretending that the revolutionizing measures were being applied in the army better than anywhere else, in this way intending to deceive the Party and cover the traces of their treachery which was discovered and destroyed in later years.

Further Steeling the Party-People Unity

The Party has regarded the preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people around itself as a continuous process, connected with the concrete historical stages and conditions of the revolution. The political basis for this unity, which was laid during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, grew steadily stronger in the struggle to build socialism. After the liberation of the country, the political unity of the people acquired its own socialist economic and social basis. Its ideological basis was strengthened with the ever deeper implanting of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism

and proletarian morality in the consciousness of the people. Thus, it was tempered and turned into a steel unity of the working masses (the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia) around the Party.

The ways to further strengthen the unity of the people around the Party, in the conditions of the complete construction of socialist society, were worked out by Comrade Enver Hoxha and submitted to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front in September 1967.

Unity is tempered through extensive work to explain things to the masses, to ensure that they have a thorough understanding of the political and ideological content of the line and every directive of the Party and are convinced about them, as well as through mobilizing the people to put the line and directives into practice. The Party demanded that all its organizations give up work behind closed doors, that they regularly inform the broad masses about the decisions they have adopted, and make them clear about these decisions, that they listen more broadly and more attentively to their opinions and criticism, render account to the masses, and severely castigate all those communists and cadres who, while pretendig to be defenders of principle and the law, do not listen to, or even worse, stifle the voice and criticism of the masses.

Unity is steeled by striving for the continual strengthening of the people's state power, for its further democratization, by ensuring a more active participation of the masses in governing the country.

Unity is strengthened in the struggle to fulfil the great tasks for the development of the economy and culture.

Unity is strengthened by implanting love for and loyalty to the socialist Homeland ever more deeply in the hearts and feelings of the masses, by always keeping alive and further developing the patriotic and revolutionary traditions of the Albanian people, by ceaselessly strengthening the hatred for class enemies, for imperialists and revisionists, by continuously raising the level of the moral-political, economic and military preparedness of the people to defend the country.

But the main link in the further strengthening of the unity of the people around the Party during the new stage of the complete construction of socialist society, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha, is «the struggle to implant and ensure the complete triumph of the proletarian ideology in the minds of all

the working people.»* The strengthening of the ideological basis of the unity of the people results directly in the strengthening of its political and socio-economic basis, ensures the fulfilment of the tasks of the Party in the political, socio-economic, cultural and defence fields.

Unity is strengthened through the class struggle, through the just revolutionary solution of contradictions in socialist society. «To treat the problem of unity apart from the class struggle, to deny the class struggle allegedly for the sake of this unity,... would mean to lull to sleep the political and ideological vigilance of the Party and the working people, to undermine the unity itself and the cause of socialism.»**

However, it is necessary to take great care to differentiate clearly between the antagonistic contradictions between the people and class enemies, and non-antagonistic contradictions among the people, so as not to confuse those who may retain alien concepts in their consciousness, but who are loyal to the Party and socialism, with the enemies. Otherwise, unity will be damaged and the links between the Party and the masses will be weakened.

The Democratic Front remained as always the embodiment of the unity of the people round the Party. Twenty-five years of experience of the Front had confirmed the great importance of this organization in creating, preserving and continually strengthening the steel-like links of the Party with the masses, in mobilizing them to carry out the program of the Party, to overcome obstacles, to defeat the enemies and achieve victory. The Party put forward the task that the Democratic Front should be strengthened from the organizational point of view, that the fighting spirit and independent activity of its organizations should be enhanced and their method and style of work improved. The further enlivenment and strengthening of the Front served as one of the main means for the further revolutionization of the life of the country.

The generalization which Comrade Enver Hoxha made at the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of the place and role of the Marxist-Leninist party in the common front of the patriotic revolutionary and socialist forces is of particular theo-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 185, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 182.

retical and practical importance. His purpose in dealing with this problem was to denounce the anti-Marxist views and deceptive tactics of various revisionists who zealously upheld and spread ideological and political pluralism, traitorous compromises with the bourgeois parties, views and tactics aimed against the hegemonic role of the working class and the leadership of the proletarian party, with the aim of perpetuating the capitalist system.

It is a known fact that the Democratic Front in Albania was established as, and always remained, a direct voluntary union of the masses around the Party of the working class and not as a coalition of political parties, as was the case in the other countries, where a revolutionary patriotic national front had been or was in existence. Apart from the Communist Party (the Party of Labour) of Albania, no other political parties had existed in our country, and as Comrade Enver Hoxha put it, this has been «a great and incalculable blessing for us and a great misfortune, a fatal loss for the bourgeoisie and national and international reaction.»* This does not mean that the PLA was opposed in principle to collaboration with anti-fascist, progressive parties, had such parties been created, by forming a common front with them against the common enemy, the fascist occupiers and the local traitors, but without renouncing its individuality and political, ideological and organizational independence and the effort to win and retain the leading role in the revolution, by convincing the masses of the correctness of its line.

However, for how long can the existence of non-proletarian political parties, the collaboration and unity of the party of the working class in a common front with them continue? Basing himself on the Marxist-Leninist theory and the experience of the socialist revolutions carried out up till then, Comrade Enver Hoxha gave the answer to this issue of principle. «After the dictatorship of the proletariat has been established and consolidated....» he said, «the prolonged existence of other parties, even 'progressive' ones, within or without the front, is quite meaningless, without reason, even if they exist only formally, allegedly for the sake of their traditions... The revolution overthrows an entire world, let alone a tradition... The

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 157, Alb. ed.

existence of other non-Marxist-Leninist parties would be absurd and opportunist..., especially after the establishment of the economic base of socialism. This does not violate democracy in the slightest. On the contrary, it strengthens the genuine proletarian democracy. The democratic character of a given order is by no means determined by the number of parties, but by its economic base, by the class in power, by the whole policy and activity of the state, whether or not it is in the interests of the broad masses of the people and it serves them.»* To permit the existence of other political parties after this means to preserve the bourgeoisie as a class.

This conclusion was aimed against the theories of **Mao** Zedong of the presence and coexistence of many parties, **of** several lines within the communist party, of «letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools contend» within the revolution and socialism.

In socialist Albania, the direct voluntary union of the people in the Democratic Front, under the sole leadership **of** the Party of Labour of Albania, always remained the guarantee for safeguarding the great revolutionary victories achieved and for new victories on the road of socialism and communism.

3. THE GREAT REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967 and the entire struggle of the Party to implement the decisions of the 5th Congress added even more fire to the revolutionary activity of the working masses. Young and old rose to their feet, boldly criticizing themselves and others in order to combat shortcomings, weaknesses and mistakes, to purge the socialist society of the remnants of the old society and the influences of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, to inculcate revolutionary socialist norms and attitudes, the proletarian teachings of the Party in life and work. Remarkable initiatives burst forth among the working people, and these were embodied in a number of concrete actions and transformed into great revolutionary movements.

These movements were a direct outcome of the Marxist-

* Enver Hoxha. Report to the 4th Congress of the Democratic Front of Albania, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», pp. 176-177, Alb. ed.

Leninist line, of the whole revolutionary work and struggle of the Party, past and present, for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution.

At the head of these movements stood the working class with its Marxist-Leninist party.

The Movement to Put General Interest above Personal Interest in Everything

The essence of this movement consisted of a general offensive against the petty-bourgeois psychology to enhance the socialist consciousness of the working people.

Basing itself on the great progress achieved after Liberation in the formation of the new man with a revolutionary world outlook, the Party considered it necessary to give a new powerful impulse to the struggle against petty-bourgeois concepts and attitudes, which constitute a great obstacle to socialist development, as well as against the material base which fostered them, although this base was already greatly reduced.

The most typical expression of the petty-bourgeois psychology was the tendency to pursue narrow personal interest. Precisely for this reason, the strengthening of the sentiment of putting the general interest above personal interest was made the main objective of the struggle against this psychology.

The movement to put general interest above personal interest in everything was developed in many directions and forms.

The working class took initiatives to fulfil the main economic indices planned for 1970 two to three years ahead of schedule through greater mobilization and self-sacrificing work, without touching the state reserves and without using imported raw materials and articles in excess of the plan, etc. The old norms in various processes of production, which had lagged behind the all-round advance of the productive forces, were revised and new, improved, more mobilizing norms were established. Vanguard workers joined backward brigades to ensure that they advanced, too.

The most important revolutionary initiative in the countryside was that to reduce the size of the cooperativists' personal plots. In all the cooperatives the personal plots were reduced by 50-66 per cent and the personal livestock by 50 per cent. In the lowland cooperatives the reduction was even greater. This measure, which was taken on the basis of the free will of the cooperativists, was in response to the orientation of the 5th

Congress of the Party for the gradual reduction of the personal plot in proportion to the growth of the possibilities of the collective economy to supply the daily requirements of the cooperativist family. This initiative exerted a powerful influence in eradicating the petty proprietor mentality among the peasants, in strengthening their feeling of collectivity and linking them more firmly with the common property which constituted the main source of the livelihood and well-being of the cooperativists.

In the surge of the movement to place the general interest above everything, initiatives emerged for the extension and better organization of the participation of cadres and the entire intelligentsia in production. This brought about the strengthening of the links of leading cadres and administration workers with the masses, gave them more profound knowledge of socio-economic problems and life itself, tempered them further as revolutionaries, improved their method and style in the work of leadership. At the same time this marked a step forward in the continuous diminution of the essential distinction between mental and physical work.

The initiatives of workers and the intelligentsia to give up honoraria, bonuses and other income supplementary to their wages and salaries, the initiative to surrender the bonds for state loans, the initiative of the cooperativists not to accept payment for the personal livestock they handed over to the co-operatives, were manifestations of socialist patriotism, of placing the general interest above personal interest.

The local and nation-wide actions of the youth became major schools of revolutionary education. By taking part in such actions with a high revolutionary spirit, tens of thousands of young men and women volunteers, pupils and students, workers and cooperativists, learned to love work and their comrades more, how to wage a more fruitful struggle to wipe out the old and to spread and implant the new, how to serve the Homeland and socialism better.

The brilliant results of the movement to put the general interest above personal interest were not attained without difficulties, without fierce clashes between the progressive new and the reactionary old. Because of the deep-rooted petty-bourgeois psychology, the sense of private ownership, there were some in town and countryside who did not march in step with the overwhelming majority of the working people to carry out

revolutionary initiatives. Prompted by narrow personal interests they displayed reluctance and vacillation and thus became obstacles to the development of the movement.

The obstacles and difficulties encountered were overcome through the strength of the collective, the ideological struggle of the Party and its work to convince the masses.

The Party supported these revolutionary initiatives with all its strength, both directly and through its levers, and ensured that they were spread throughout the country and developed further. It worked very hard to ensure that the struggle against placing personal merest above general interest was understood as a problem of major ideological and social importance. At the same time it attacked isolated violations of the principle of voluntary participation and persuasion of the masses to embrace these revolutionary initiatives and combated any distortion of their spirit, making it clear that the struggle was not intended to deny personal interest or totally eliminate it, but to achieve a correct combination of it with the general interest, to subordinate personal interest to general interest.

In the further development and deepening of the movement to put the general interest above personal interest in everything the **Declaration of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA of April 29, 1967, played a special role**.

The Declaration summed up and legalized the revolutionary initiatives. At the same time, on the basis of these initiatives, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers announced the adoption of a number of measures of a socio-economic character, which created more favourable conditions for strengthening the ideological conviction of the working people in the course of the deepening of the movement to place the general interest above everything.

Further improvements were made to the socialist organization of work and wages and salaries.

Proceeding from the fact that in the process of socialist construction moral incentives gain ever greater supremacy over material incentives, the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers decided to abolish those material incentives which could lead to the creation of privileged strata. Higher wages were further reduced. All the savings made through these measures were returned to the working people through raising lower wages and increasing state expenditure for kin-

dergartens and creches, through the abolition of taxes on the incomes of all working people, as well as a number of measures to the benefit of the cooperativist peasantry. The surplus land and livestock resulting from the reduction of personal plots would be used, partially or wholly, to fulfil the needs of the cooperativist families for agricultural products.

The measures for the further improvement of the organization of work and the system of wages and salaries did not infringe the basic socialist principle of distribution according to work done. They served only as a means to bar the way to individualism, selfishness and other evils harmful to socialist society.

The further revolutionization of people's thinking released fresh energies and creative forces which had not been taken into account earlier in drafting the perspective economic plans.

The building of more than 6,300 houses and other buildings destroyed or gravely damaged by the November 1967 earthquake in the Dibra and Librazhd districts within 25 days was a remarkable and unprecendented experience. On the basis of this experience, a new revolutionary form of action emerged — actions with concentrated blows, by means of which a relatively very large amount of work is carried out in a short time.

This state of things confronted the Party and state organs with the necessity of revising plans to respond to the revolutionary drive of the masses. In December 1967, the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party took the bold decision to supply electric power to all the villages of the country by November 8, 1971, the 30th anniversary of the founding of the PLA, that is, 14 years ahead of the time envisaged in the perspective state plan.

The movement to place general interest above personal interest in everything raised the socialist patriotism of the people to a new level.

In cases when some worker fell at his post in the socialist construction of the Homeland or its defence, his parents, his relatives or someone else would immediately fill his place, in this way expressing a lofty sense of patriotism of a profound revolutionary content. Thousands of young men and women from all corners of the Homeland went to take the place of Shkurte Pal Vata, the 15 year-old girl from Dukagjin, who was killed in an accident during the construction of the Rrogozhina-Fier railway.

This patriotism found its expression also in the fraternal socialist help for one another. Such help was that given by the workers of the other districts of Albania to their brothers of Dibra and Librazhd districts to overcome the consequences of the earthquake. This sparked off the new initiative to build houses with voluntary labour, an initiative which spread all over the country.

The widespread initiative of the richer agricultural cooperatives and the state farms to donate a considerable number of livestock to the remote mountainous cooperatives was of particularly great revolutionary significance. This initiative, which was followed by the south-to-north movement for mutual aid and exchange of experience between agricultural cooperatives, showed that the progress and well-being of each separate cooperative are indivisible from the progress and well-being of the entire cooperativist peasantry, both in the lowlands and in the highlands, in the south and the north.

The Movement against Religion, Religious Prejudices and Backward Customs

The Party of Labour of Albania has always waged a systematic struggle against religion as ah ideology of the exploiting classes hostile to socialism and opium for the people. The Party has considered the struggle against religion, against religious prejudices, against backward customs directly or indirectly linked with religion, as essential for the social liberation of the working people, for their ideological revolutionary tempering and for the construction of socialist society. On the other hand, it has regarded the struggle for the abolition of socio-economic oppression and exploitation closely linked with the development of the economy and culture on a socialist basis, as the primary indispensable condition for the emancipation of workers from the spiritual enslavement of religion. In the struggle against religion and backward customs it has used revolutionary forms and methods which have varied according to the historical conditions and the real situation of religious beliefs in the country, according to the stages of the revolution and the level of socialist consciousness of the workers. In this struggle it has always been guided by the principle that people must be convinced from their own experience of the futility of religion and the harm it does to socialist society.

The various religions in Albania and the respective clergy

have been utilized by the occupiers to split and enslave the people. For this reason the liberation struggle of the Albanian people against foreign domination and oppressors through the centuries has been directed also against the reactionary clergy which has been a tool of the invaders. As a result the Albanian people have not been strongly linked with religion, have not been so fanatical, and the clergy has not had the same influence among the popular masses as in many other countries. This has made the struggle of the Party against the religious ideology and the reactionary clergy easier.

During the Anti-fascist National Liberation War the Party defeated the attempts of the Italian and German occupiers and the local traitors to split the people into Muslims and Christians. It exposed and thwarted the attempts of the top clergy, particularly the Catholic one, to detach the masses of the people from the Party and the National Liberation Front.

The attempts of the reactionary clergy and other class enemies after Liberation to hinder the socialist construction of the country by means of «the word of God» also failed. These efforts did not win the support of the masses. The people listened to the word of the Party and carried it out.

At the time of the proclamation of the People's Republic, the separation of the Church from the state and the school from the Church were proclaimed by the Constitution, and the utilization of the Church and religion for political ends, as well as the creation of political organizations on a religious basis, were prohibited. The bulk of the land and other possessions belonging to religious institutions were expropriated by law. The publication of religious literature was banned and the possibilities for training religious cadres were restricted, and later totally abolished. However, the Party and the state did not prohibit religious beliefs, the presence of religious communities, or the performance of religious rites. Neither could they prohibit those customs related to religion, which did not constitute direct violations of the state laws, even though they were reactionary in essence. The Party could not insult the feelings of a mass of working people, especially in the countryside, who were closely linked with the Party and the people's power, but continued to believe in one or the other religion, although they did not display any exaggerated fanaticism. The eradication of the religious outlook would come as a result of convincing the masses ideologically.

The Anti-fascist National Liberation War and the socialist construction of the country themselves were a great school for the atheist education of the working people. They taught the people that freedom and independence, progress and prosperity do not come in answer to prayers and are not given by «God,» but are won through the struggle and efforts of the people themselves, are a deed of the popular masses. At the same time, in order to liberate people from religious beliefs and backward customs, the Party carried on extensive atheist-scientific propaganda work by means of the radio and the press, books, lectures and talks, films, etc. By disseminating culture, education and scientific knowledge, the school played a major role in this direction.

By this time the conditions had been created to go over to a higher stage of the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs. After the 5th Congress and Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 6, 1967, this struggle began over a broad front and assumed the character of a major movement with a profound ideological content. It comprised all strata of the people, especially the youth, but the elderly were included, too. It was manifested in concrete actions, not only against the reactionary religious outlook, but also against any material base which preserved and fostered religion and backward customs.

The youth and other masses of the people in villages and cities rose to their feet, demanding that the churches and mosques, temples and monasteries, all the «holy places» be closed down; that the clergy give up their parasitic life and become working people living like everyone else, by their own work and sweat. In people's meetings and assemblies organized by the Democratic Front and the Youth Union, where heated discussions took place, the people condemned the anti-national and anti-popular role of religion, the reactionary clergy and religious customs, decided to wipe out religious centres and transform them into cultural and other centres, to give up performance of religious rites and backward customs and to clear the icons, religious books and other symbols out of their homes.

These initiatives of the people had the powerful support of the party organizations and the organs of the people's power.

With the destruction of religious centres, important bases, which poisoned human minds and served as hot-beds for hostile activity, were also wiped out.

Thus, Albania became the first country in the world without churches and mosques, without priests and hodjas.

While supporting the people's movement in the struggle against religion, religious prejudices and backward customs, the Party guided it carefully. It did not allow distortions and took timely action to avert any hasty act not based on the will of the mass of population. It instructed the people to replace religious celebrations and customs with new celebrations, customs and norms with a socialist content. The actions of the masses to destroy the bases of religion were accompanied with intensive atheist-scientific work of clarification by the Party.

The Central Committee instructed the party organizations that any narrow concept of the problem of the struggle against religion, any manifestation of self-satisfaction stemming from the brilliant results achieved in a very short time with the destruction of religious centres, should be combated. The elimination of churches and mosques did not wipe out religion as a world outlook. Religion is very deep-rooted. It has been interwoven and linked with a thousand threads with the backward customs stemming from remote centuries, which live on and operate for a very long time. For this reason it was necessary to reveal the source, the reactionary, idealist philosophical basis of backward customs and religious practices and dogmas, and to struggle to destroy this basis. «We must be realistic,» taught Comrade Enver Hoxha. «The struggle against outdated customs, traditions, norms and religious world outlooks... is not over. This is a protracted, complicated and difficult struggles.»*

Along with the educational work, the creation of all the respective material and moral conditions in the course of the revolutionary process of the complete construction of socialist society also served the aim of wiping out religious prejudices and inculcating the revolutionary materialist world outlook in the consciousness of the people.

The Movement for the Complete Emancipation of Women

The call for this movement was issued by Comrade Enver Hoxha on February 6, 1967: «The whole Party and country must be raised to their feet to destroy the backward customs with fire, and

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», pp. 206-207, Alb. ed.

wring the neck of anyone who tramples underfoot the sacred law of the Party on the defence of the rights of women and girls.»*

The organizations of the Party and, under their leadership the organizations of the Women's Union, the Democratic Front, the Trade Unions and the Youth Union rose to their feet to put into practice the directive of the Party on the complete emancipation of women. The movement was so powerful that it included such strata of the population which had formerly remained indifferent, or in conservative positions, in regard to the emancipation of women. In broad meetings and assemblies, which were organized throughout the country, boys and girls, men and women, and elderly people boldly condemned the conservative, patriarchal, feudal and bourgeois customs and views, the religious beliefs and the mediaeval canons which had served as a means to enslave the Albanian women in the past. The popular masses decided unanimously and pledged their word to the Party that they would get rid of the remnants of barbaric customs and canons once and for all. Of exceptional importance was the participation of women themselves more actively than ever before in this struggle for their complete emancipation. This was the first time that the women and girls of the highlands and all those regions of the country, where the customs, canons and religious prejudices had been such a terrible burden on them, had taken a vigorous part in this struggle. The movement for full equality between husband and wife, between sons and daughters, began to be waged within the family, too.

The outburst of the movement for the complete emancipation of women was a direct and natural outcome of the great work and struggle which the Party had waged incessantly from the time it was founded. The Party had told the Albanian women that the only way for them to win their emancipation was by their participation, as extensively and actively as possible, in the people's war for national and social liberation, for the abolition of any oppression and exploitation in political and social life and in the work for the socialist construction of the country.

Putting the teachings of the Party into practice, the Albanian women won equal rights with men by taking an active

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and speeches 1967-1968», Speech delivered on February 6, 1967, p. 8, Alb. ed.

part in the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and shedding their blood.

Under the leadership of the Party, the Albanian women, freed from class oppression and exploitation like all the other workers, became a great force in all fields of the construction of socialist society. The progress achieved in the direction of the complete emancipation of the Albanian women in a period of a little more than two decades had been colossal, bearing in mind that before this the majority of women were like slaves, with more than 90 per cent of them illiterate.

Despite the advance, the Party was conscious that a great deal still remained to be done for the complete emancipation of women.

Considering the problem of the complete emancipation of women as an exceptionally important social problem, without the solution of which «the freedom of the people and each individual, the progress of the country and the realization of our aims are inconceivable,»* the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party analysed this problem in a special meeting held in June 1967.

The Plenum laid down the guidelines for the further deepening of the movement for the complete emancipation of women and the enhancement of their role in socialist society.

The Central Committee of the Party re-emphasized that the main way to ensure the complete liberation of women is to draw them ever more extensively into productive labour and political, social and cultural life.

The entire Party, the people's power and the social organizations were mobilized to implement these directives of the Central Committee.

The success achieved during the years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the direction of the participation of women in work was further developed and deepened. In 1971 women constituted 45 per cent of all the working people of the country. This problem, which has decisive importance for the liberation of women, could be considered already solved.

Successes were scored also in the participation of women in socio-political life. The number of women deputies and councillors increased considerably. In 1970 they represented 42 per cent of the members in the elected organs of state

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 260, Alb. ed.

power. The number of women communists increased more than in any other period. In 1971 they made up 22.05 per cent of the total number of the communists as against 12.47 per cent in 1966. In the same period, the number of women comrades in the plenums of the party committees increased from 8 per cent to 25.1 per cent.

The Central Committee demanded that a change must be made in the promotion of women to positions of responsibility to ensure their greater participation in leadership, both in the field of production and in the fields of socio-political and cultural activities, with the aim of attaining equality between men and women from this standpoint, too. In this direction, however, a great deal of work and struggle still had to be done to overcome many obstacles before this aim could be achieved.

The old disparaging concepts about women, which are deeply rooted in the people's consciousness, especially in men, but also in women themselves, were a great obstacle in this direction. The Party considered it essential, first of all, to fight these concepts more persistently, more sternly and systematically.

Another obstacle was the lower cultural-educational and technical-professional level of women as compared with men. To overcome this obstacle the Central Committee charged the organs of the Party and state power with ensuring that all the girls completed their 8-year schooling on the basis of the law on compulsory schooling, that the greatest possible number of them go on to the general secondary schools and that priority be given to sending girls to vocational and higher schools. It also gave instructions that work must be done at the same time to ensure an ever greater participation of women in part-time schools and qualification courses. As a result of the measures taken to implement this directive, the proportion of women with secondary and higher schooling increased. In 1971, 43 per cent of the working people with secondary and higher schooling were women. There were more women doctors and engineers than the number of girls attending primary and secondary schools in 1938. But to attain equality between men and women in their educational-cultural and technical-professional levels, of course, would still require a considerable time.

Household duties continued to be another very great obstacle to women gaining full equality with men. The classics of Marxism-Leninism had envisaged that only when the

household economy is socialized, when it is transformed into a branch of social production, only then will the women be completely free from this drudgery. But this is a very complicated matter. It requires a very highly developed material-technical base of socialism, such great material and financial means that, for a long time, the socialist state is unable to provide fully. Without waiting for the complete socialization of the household economy, in order to free women from the heavy burden of household duties, the Party stressed the need to work with greater determination in two main directions: first, every man should feel it his social duty to take part in the household work together with the woman to lighten the burden of this work which she has borne alone. In place of the old concept it was necessary to implant in the mind of every man and every boy, beginning from an early age, the new concept that the household tasks are not for women alone, but for men, too, for all the members of the family. Second, the network of social services should be better utilized and extended more rapidly. Thus, the number of creches and kindergartens envisaged was increased, dining-rooms, laundries, etc. were established, the production and sale of more means facilitating housework and prepared foodstuffs was extended.

The complete emancipation of women depends to a large degree on the development of socialist relations in the family.

In order to create and strengthen the new socialist family, following the teachings of the Party, the struggle to eradicate the old relations in contracting marriage and in married life, to establish new marriage relations and correct relations between husband and wife, between the wife and the other members of the family, relations divested of the sense of private property, the religious norms, backward customs and views, was intensified and made more concrete. To assist the consolidation of socialist relations in the family, certain old juridicial norms governing family relations were revised and replaced with new norms in keeping with the conditions of the new stage of the development of the socialist revolution.

The complete emancipation of woman remained one of the most important constant tasks of the socialist revolution and one of the most important fronts of the class struggle. The struggle on this front must in no way be left half-com-

pleted, otherwise the revolution and the socialist construction would stop half-way.

The Movement for the Revolutionization of the School

The struggle to carry out the task set by the 5th Congress regarding the revolutionization of the school assumed the character of a broad popular movement. The movement included all aspects of education and schooling.

Actions were undertaken to revolutionize the content of lessons, to alter and improve the school programs and text-books, to employ new, more revolutionary teaching methods and forms.

Initiatives were launched for the systematic study at school of the documents of the Party and the works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The entire school youth rose in struggle against religion and backward customs, not only inside the school but also outside it.

The initiatives to link school with production were very important. In this direction the national and local actions of the youth on various economic projects in which all the school youth took part, played a special role. Apart from this, the setting up of production bases (factory workshops and sections) attached to schools began parallel with the establishment of links with the state enterprises and agricultural cooperatives. The number of workers and cooperativists attending school part-time increased.

Measures were taken, at the same time, to establish a sounder linking of lessons with physical education and military training, devoting more time to the latter and employing new methods and forms.

The out-of-school activity of teachers and pupils was especially invigorated. The Party supported the teachers' initiatives, which spread throughout the country, for a closer linking of teachers with the peasant masses.

The movement for the revolutionization of the school was pervaded by the spirit of revolutionary criticism of outdated, conservative and reactionary methods and norms of the traditional bourgeois pedagogy and of authoritarianism in the relations between teachers and pupils.

The Party treated the revolutionization of the school as

a very important component of the revolution in the field of ideology and culture, but also as a weapon to carry forward the technical-scientific revolution.

The Party had always paid very great attention to the school. In the period of the people's power the Albanian school had become a cradle of knowledge, culture and revolutionary education for the broad masses of the people, a forge in which cadres were prepared for all fields of the life of the country.

However, the school in Albania had not been completely freed from the influence of bourgeois pedagogy and the bourgeois school. The teaching and education, in general, were divorced from life, from production. There was formalism and conservatism in the teaching methods, authoritarianism and suppression of the pupils' personality in the relations between teachers and pupils. These were inherited from the old school. The Soviet school had also exerted an influence in this direction. The experience of that school had been useful to Albanian education, but it turned out that that school, too, had not been completely freed from the features of the bourgeois pedagogy and, as a consequence, had its negative aspects.

The radical changes in the socio-economic base of Albania made it essential that the school, too, as a component part of the superstructure, should undergo such revolutionary transformations that it could respond better to that base and the objective of the complete construction of socialist society.

The instructions of the Party for the further revolutionization of the school were given by Comrade Enver Hoxha at the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA on March 7, 1968. These instructions were a further elaboration of the ideas put forward in his speech of December 1965 at the «Qemal Stafa» secondary school in the capital. His speech to the Political Bureau «On the Further Revolutionization of Our School» constituted a great program of work. This program envisaged that:

First of all, the school must strengthen and improve its work for the formation of the new man with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist world outlook. For this purpose, the study of Marxism-Leninism through the subjects of dialectical and historical materialism, political economy, and the history of the Party, should be organized on a sounder basis. Marxism-

Leninism should be taught also in other subjects, which must be pervaded through and through by Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the proletarian policy of the Party.

The revolutionary tempering of the pupils, the inculcation of the Marxist-Leninist world outlook in them must be ensured also by means of the close linking of the lessons with life, of the school with production, with the work for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland, by means of the active participation of young pioneers and the youth in useful social labour, economic and political life and the class struggle.

The close linking of lessons with productive labour and military and physical training, with the life of the country, is dictated also by the need to solve major socio-economic and technical-scientific problems related to the development of the productive forces, the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism and defence.

The entire educational system would be further improved in conformity with these instructions.

The programs and textbooks for all categories of schools would be revised, raising their scientific level and removing from them anything superfluous and unnecessary, confusing phraseology and formulations, and especially any trace of idealism. «We must not conceive our new socialist school,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «with textbooks of any kind in which bourgeois-idealist concepts coexist with Marxist-Leninist concepts. We must not make any concessions to bourgeois-idealist philosophy, nor the slightest concession to theology.»*

The methods of teaching and education would be further revolutionized, discarding the obsolete methods of the old bourgeois pedagogy, the formalism, stereotypism, dogmatism and empty phraseology, characteristic of that pedagogy.

A radical change was required also in the relations between teachers and pupils, combating authoritarianism and bureaucratic tutelage in these relations, while developing the spirit of revolutionary democracy at school, the revolutionary understanding of the discipline and authority of the teacher and encouraging the creative thinking of the pupils and students.

The revolutionization of the school also required rev-

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», Speech delivered on March 7, 1968, p. 358, Alb. ed.

olutionary teachers, imbued with dialectical materialism, the ideas of Marxism-Leninism, who know and resolutely apply the political line of the Party and who, at the same time, make incessant efforts to extend their scientific knowledge and improve their professional ability.

The Party made the revolutionization of the school the concern of the entire Party, the state power and the whole people. To this end, it organized a great popular discussion on the basis of the theses and directives which Comrade Enver Hoxha presented, a discussion which continued for nearly a year. The discussion was conducted by a special commission of the CC of the PLA. About 600,000 people expressed their opinions, made critical suggestions and valuable proposals in the course of this discussion.

The Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which met in June 1969, analysed these opinions, suggestions and proposals. On the basis of this analysis and the theses of Comrade Enver Hoxha, it took important decisions for the uninterrupted revolutionization of the Albanian school.

The essence of these decisions was the main directive of the Party: «We must create a school which fully responds to the tasks of the complete construction of socialist society.»

The reorganization of the school at all its levels was carried out in conformity with these decisions.

Eight-year education became compulsory in all regions of the country.

The network of two-year elementary technical-vocational schools was extended to ensure the supply of young qualified workers.

The four-year secondary school system was extended with the opening of a number of new general and vocational secondary schools of various profiles. It was extended in all the regions, including the mountainous zones.

The structure of higher education was improved with a view to training higher specialists in various branches. Courses in the higher schools, in general, were reduced by one year. Male students were admitted to higher school only after doing one year's work in production after graduating from secondary school. After completing his university studies, every student was obliged to do a probation period of 8-9 months of concrete work (according to his specific branch), in the course of which he was to prepare his diploma thesis.

The number of pupils and students attending part-time and full-time schools increased markedly. In 1970 there were about 30 per cent more pupils and students than in 1965. The number of workers and cooperativists attending school increased three-fold. Besides many 3-year and secondary schools, branches of the University of Tirana were opened in a number of cities and industrial centres.

Apart from schools, the regular educational system included many kinds of courses of various restricted profiles for the qualification, retraining and specialization of workers.

The reorganization of the school ensured, first of all, a sounder proletarian ideological content in the teaching and education of pupils and students, a more thorough assimilation of the Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary political line of the Party.

The embodiment in law of the linking of lessons with productive labour and military and physical training was especially important. They became linked together as component parts of a single entity.

Another objective of the reorganized school was to give the pupils and students a more complete educational, cultural, scientific and polytechnical training.

A change was made in the schools especially in connection with the principles and methods of the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary pedagogy, as well as in the norms of socialist democracy, which were applied more fully and thoroughly.

The revolutionary concept that in socialism the school does not train ready-made leading cadres or only officials and graduates for privileged intellectual work, but trains educated workers and cooperativists, revolutionary specialists, able and ready to serve the people and socialism faithfully wherever the Homeland needs them, was also made clearer.

Like all the other sectors of the life of the country, the school, too, was placed under the direct and more systematic control of the broad working masses, especially the working class and the cooperativist peasantry.

The process of the revolutionization of the school was not without obstacles and difficulties. The Party and the state had to wage a stern struggle against the old regressive mentalities, customs, methods and practices, to make great efforts to solve many problems of a material and financial character as well as of an ideological-social character in order

to carry out the decisions of the Plenum of the Central Committee on the school. It was also necessary to fight and defeat any attempt of the class enemy to obstruct the movement for the revolutionization of the school.

The Party was conscious that the revolutionization of the school could not be completed through a single movement. It would be a continuous process which would advance, like any other process, through a fierce class struggle and through a great deal of all-sided creative work.

For the Revolutionization of Literature and the Arts

The struggle for the revolutionization of the life of the country also included the field of literature and art, which constitutes «one of the important fields of the ideological activity of the Party.»*

This field has always been at the centre of attention of the Party and the people's power. As a consequence of this care, the new Albanian art and literature, created during the years of the dictatorship of the proletariat, forged ahead confidently on the correct course of socialist realism. After the directives given by the special plenum of the Central Committee of the Party on the arts and literature, in October 1965. the creative work in this field had assumed new impetus, was enriched with new works of a higher artistic level and a sounder ideological content, and had gained a more militant character and a greater educating force.

However, the bourgeoisie together with modern revisionism waged a fierce struggle against the scientific method of socialist realism, while in the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist countries the modernist trends in literature and art had become widespread. Literature and art in Albania were not immune to the influences these trends could exert on them. The 5th Congress of the Party had criticized the cultural and artistic institutions, the Writers and Artists' League, the Publishing House and the organs of the literary press, the basic organizations and the leading cadres of these institutions that had not shown the proper vigilance and had allowed publication of literary and artistic works, the content of which was incompatible with the proletarian ideology, and had not waged a

* Enver Hoxha, «Speeches 1967-1968», Speech at the 17th Party Conference of Tirana, December 21, 1968, p. 478, Alb. ed.

continuous struggle to implement the directives of the Party in the field of literature and art. It had set the task of stepping up the struggle for the development of a literature and art of socialist realism, and quickly ensuring a revolutionization of literary publications and all creative artistic and literary work.

The Party and the cultural and artistic institutions took a series of measures to implement this directive. The literary and artistic works of poor and unsuitable content were subjected to all-round criticism. The struggle was directed against bourgeois and revisionist, modernist liberal concepts, as well as against conservative concepts. The so-called «theory of distance», according to which literature and the arts cannot respond by immediate reflection of the reality without impairing their artistic level, was especially attacked. This bourgeois theory divorces the writer and the artist from reality, from the life and vigorous activity of the masses.

The Central Committee of the Party paid close attention to the struggle for the revolutionization of literature and art. With a view to imparting a new impetus to this struggle, in December 1968 the leadership of the Party returned to the acute and delicate problems of creative work in literature and the arts, demanding that this work must absolutely keep in step with the advance of the masses of the people, with the advance of the working class. Comrade Enver Hoxha defined the motto of the Party, which should guide the whole of literature and the arts, in these words: «Everything for the people; everything which is created should bear the brand of the people's creativeness, of the revolutionary popular spirit and socialist realism. Outside these nothing is of any value.»*

Responding to this basic orientation of the Party, many writers and artists went to live and work in industrial centres, construction sites and agricultural cooperatives. Life amidst the workers and peasants, participation with them in productive labour, helped them to gain a better knowledge of the heroism of the masses, of their creative spirit and strength, of the gigantic progress, the acute problems, all the strong and weak points, the obstacles and difficulties in the work for the construction of socialism. This served to inspire the writers and

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the 17th Party Conference of Tirana. «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», p. 487, Alb. ed.

artists to more prolific, more realistic, more revolutionary and militant creative work than ever before.

At this time, the amateur artistic movement in enterprises and agricultural cooperatives, also, assumed a further development. With this the role of the masses in the creation of the new art was raised to a higher level.

The movement for the revolutionization of literature and art resulted in the deepening of the class struggle in this field. The revolutionization of literary and artistic activity foiled the plans of the hidden enemy elements who hoped and tried to attack the line of the Party and the socialist order by means of bourgeois and revisionist influences on the front of culture, in literature and art. Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of December 1968, which struck a crushing blow at alien manifestations in literature and art, made these enemies pause, forced them to retreat, to alter their tactics somewhat in order to appear as supporters of revolutionization. In fact, they did not stop their undermining activity, but merely tried to make more noise to create the impression that they were carrying out the Party's directives «in a creative way».

However, the enemies did not have the base and strength to enable them to stop the process of the revolutionization of literature and art in Albania. The development of the fierce class struggle and the revolutionary policy followed by the PLA in this struggle were to completely expose their true features and the rottenness of their bourgeois and revisionist views, which the Party and the working masses totally eradicated.

4. REVOLUTIONIZATION IN THE FIELD OF THE ECONOMY

In the economic field the revolutionization was concentrated mainly on deepening the technical-scientific revolution, on improving the management of the economy and the fulfilment of the tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan.

Deepening of the Technical-Scientific Revolution

The Plenum of the Central Committee of October 1967 reached the conclusion that the requirements for the complete construction of the material-technical base of socialism could not be met without further development

of the technical-scientific revolution as a component part of the socialist revolution.

The development of the socialist economy in Albania had opened up new perspectives to the country. But what must we do to ensure that these perspectives are attained? — Comrade Enver Hoxha posed this question in the Plenum. «We must take up the technical-scientific revolution with multiplied forces, not only in industry but also in agriculture and all the other sectors. In all directions, we must go beyond the artisan stage to advanced technique and modern agrotechnology. We can say that we have the necessary bases to deepen the technical-scientific revolution.»*

This revolution would do away with artisan practices and the artisan mentality in production, eradicate from the workers the sense of inferiority in regard to technology, which had been deeply implanted in their consciousness in the conditions of former backwardness. It would ensure the widest possible dissemination and ever more profound mastery and application of modern technology and scientific knowledge in production.

The question of mechanization was considered to be the main link of the technical-scientific revolution at that time.

The development of the mechanical-engineering industry would solve many technical-economic problems and would ensure the fulfilment of many needs for the local production of spare parts, equipment and machinery for the mines, the oil industry, for agriculture, construction, etc.

On the one hand, the Party sought the full utilization of all the productive capacities of the existing mechanical-engineering industry and, on the other hand, its further development, by solving a series of problems regarding its concentration, specialization and cooperation.

The deepening of the technical-scientific revolution raised a number of other problems related to the development of the people's economy. It required a greater mobilization and better organization of the study of the theory and laws of science, the application of strict scientific discipline, more systematic qualification and preparation of the cadres, specialists and workers of all sectors on a sounder basis, and more

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», speech delivered at the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA, October 14, 1967, p. 250, Alb. ed.

persistent efforts on their part to master advanced technology.

Among other things, Comrade Enver Hoxha also drew attention to the need for a correct understanding of the technical-scientific revolution in the conditions of socialism. «It would be a mistake,» he said, «to think that the technical-scientific revolution will be carried out by a few learned people... No, like every other true revolution, the technical-scientific revolution will be the deed of the broad working masses...»* Therefore, the Party put forward the task that learning to master the equipment, qualification and specialization, scientific experimentation, innovations, inventions and rationalizations should be made the concern of broad collectives, should be taken up by the masses. To this end it demanded complete unity between the workers, engineers and technicians and between the cooperativists and the agronomists in their work. The new generation, in regard to which the Party and the socialist state showed great concern for raising its ideo-political, educational and technical level, would be the backbone of this revolution.

The directives of the Party on the technical-scientific revolution gave it a new impulse. In the application of these directives, initiatives of the. working masses burst out in the fields of production, education, organization and management. The movement for innovations and rationalizations assumed fresh development. Scientific-research work and scientific experimentation were placed on sounder foundations.

While ensuring the continuous deepening and extension of this revolution, the Party, which guided it, was careful to ensure, also, that always it developed in the correct way. The bourgeois and revisionist ideologists present the technical-scientific revolution as the remedy for all the ills, one which will wipe out all the evils of capitalism, which will eliminate antagonisms and extinguish the class struggle, and transform capitalist society into socialist society! Refuting those absurd claims of the bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed that regardless of the great role which the technical-scientific revolution plays, «That which

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1967-1968», speech delivered at the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA, October 14, 1967, p. 255, Alb. ed.

will destroy the state power of the capitalist bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists in order to establish socialism is and will always be the proletarian revolution and not the technical-scientific revolution.»*

The Further Revolutionization of the Management of the Economy

The major immediate and perspective tasks for the development of the economy and deepening the technical-scientific revolution raised the need for improvement of the management of the economy.

This was dictated also by the completion of the collectivization of agriculture in 1967 and the further enlargement of the agricultural cooperatives through combining them in big economic units.

However, the further improvement of the management of the economy, in general, was hindered by the practicist routine and excessive centralism. As the Plenum of the CC of the PLA pointed out in June 1970, these weaknesses and shortcomings stemmed from the marked petty-bourgeois character and the cultural backwardness of the country in the past and the lack of a tradition of an advanced, scientific organization of work. They stemmed also from the bureaucratic distortions in the activity of the state and economic organs, and in the work of the Party and the mass organizations.

Having analysed the concrete circumstances, the Central Committee decided to take measures for the revolutionization of the management of the economy, too.

The economic enterprises and agricultural cooperatives were given greater competences without infringing the principle of the centralized management of the economy. «The increase of competences and prerogatives of enterprises,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «must be seen as a very important measure aimed at achieving the greatest possible results in the rapid development of production and strengthening the socialist democracy on the Marxist-Leninist course. The objective of all this is to inculcate as deeply as possible in the worker the feeling, the psychology, the conviction that he is the master of the enterprise, that he himself is running the

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», speech at the 18th Party Conference of Tirana, p. 442, Alb. ed.

enterprise, that the future progress of the enterprise and production are in the hands of the workers themselves.»*

With a view to improving the revolutionary scientific management of the economy great efforts were made to implement the directives of the 5th Congress about the proper and persistent use of the economic categories and levers to increase productivity, to reduce costs, to increase accumulation and use it with maximum effect, to make savings in investment and circulation funds, to utilize all productive capacities and increase profitability in the operation of enterprises.

The strengthening of the organization of the work played a decisive role in the improvement and revolutionization of the management of the economy and the deepening of the technical-scientific revolution.

The directives of the Plenum of the CC of the PLA in June 1970 on the practical and theoretical significance of the organization of work served as the basis for this. The Plenum made it clear that organization is a constituent part of and the key to implementation of the directive, task, or law. It is a powerful means which drives development, work and thought forward. Perfect organization requires knowledge, strong will and tireless work. It is an art which is based on extensive scientific, political, economic and theoretical knowledge. «If the work is not organized in conformity with the requirements of the objective laws, there are serious dangers that great failures may occur,»** taught Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The strengthening of the Party's work of leadership and organization in the economy exerted a direct influence on the revolutionization of the management of the economy.

The Fulfilment of the 4th Five-year Plan

The results of the economic policy of the Party, of the great work done by it and the working masses for the revolutionization of the economy were apparent in the fulfilment of the tasks of the 4th Five-year Plan.

Despite the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade, the plan of overall industrial production was fulfilled ahead of schedule, in 4 years and 7 months. Its annual average

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1970-1971», speech in the Political Bureau, December 7, 1970, pp. 133-134, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1969-1970», p. 377, Alb. ed.

growth was 12.9 per cent, as against 8.7 per cent envisaged in the directives of the 5th Congress. The highest figures of growth were marked in the chemical, engineering, electrical and building materials industries, the production of which over the five years was respectively 7.0, 3.2, 2.8 and 2.6 times greater.

During the five-year period 200 big projects, important to the economy and the people's culture, were built.

Agricultural production also achieved considerable growth. In the 4th Five-year Plan agriculture received 6 times more chemical fertilizers, while the level of mechanization of agricultural work processes increased by 80 per cent.

The forecast national income was exceeded and the forecast improvements in the well-being of the people were also fulfilled. There was no rise in prices, no trace of inflation, at a time when, in this period, such phenomena had become chronic ills in the capitalist and revisionist countries and heralded the outbreak of a profound economic crisis of massive proportions in the capitalist-revisionist world.

Two major victories of an economic and social character were: the completion of the electrification of all the villages of the country in October 1970, 13 months before the time set in the decision of the Plenum of the CC of the Party of December 1967, and the complete abolition of the system of taxes by decision of the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers in November 1968. **Thus, socialist Albania, formerly the most backward country in Europe, became one of the few countries of the world with electric power supplied to all the villages and the first country in the world without taxes.**

The Central Committee of the Party and the government adopted a number of other measures advantageous to raising the material well-being of the people, like the reduction of prices of certain mass consumer goods, medical preparations, insecticides, some agricultural machines, and several kinds of services; the abolition of the annual tax on the incomes of the agricultural cooperatives of the mountainous and hilly zones; the conversion of credits provided for these cooperatives by the state into grants and the reduction of the charges of the machine and tractor stations for their operations carried out in these zones, etc.

Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The 4th Five-year Plan will

go down in history as the period of the people's great initiatives and mass heroism, when the united force of the people, under the leadership of the Party, shook the mountains and plains.»*

5. THE CONSISTENT REVOLUTIONARY CHARACTER OF THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE PARTY

The PLA always paid very close attention to the development of the international situation. It did not do this as a spectator, but as a participant, with active involvement in the external situations.

For the Party and the Albanian people, living with these situations has always been a question of vital importance for the fate of the revolution and socialism in Albania. The aim of the Party is to understand them thoroughly and evaluate them correctly, to take a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist stand concerning this or that event and the international situation in general, to distinguish its friends and its enemies unerringly, to anticipate the threats to national independence and socialism which come from abroad, to ensure the support of the revolutionary, progressive and freedom-loving forces of the world, to know how to carry out all the internal tasks of socialist construction and defence of the Homeland in conformity with the situations and to make its contribution to the common cause of the national and social liberation of the peoples.

Implementing the directives of the 5th Congress, the Party of Labour of Albania continued to follow a consistent principled foreign policy in all directions and on all problems.

This policy is reflected in its revolutionary stands on the major international problems and events, as well as on the relations of socialist Albania with other countries.

The Revolutionary Stands of the PLA in Regard to International Problems and Events

One of the major problems at that time was the Chinese question.

The PLA came to the aid of the Chinese people at that very critical period which China was going through, as a result of deep internal upheavals and savage attacks directed against it

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA. «The 6th Congress of the PLA», 1972, p. 70, Alb. ed.

by the united imperialist-revisionist front. Thinking that China was a socialist country and the CP of China a Marxist-Leninist party, the PLA always displayed its solidarity with them and fought for the ever greater strengthening of the friendship and militant alliance between the two parties and the two countries, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, notwithstanding the opposition it had to a series of non-Marxist views and actions of the Chinese leadership.

From these positions the PLA supported the Cultural Revolution in China. However, it supported the main objective of liquidating the capitalist and revisionist elements, which this revolution was supposed to achieve, and not every tactic and method employed in that turmoil, called a revolution, which as the course of events proved, «was neither a revolution, nor great, nor cultural and, in particular, not in the least proletarian.»* The PLA could not reconcile itself to the anarchic character of actions in the Chinese Cultural Revolution, to the lack of leadership by the working class and its Communist Party in it. It defended the cause of socialism in China, the Chinese people and the Communist Party of China, but it did not defend in any way the factional struggle over opposing lines waged by opposing trends, between which there were even armed clashes, not to save or establish the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism, but to seize power, each for its own ends.

The PLA had made continual all-round efforts to defend China in the international arena.

Socialist Albania had waged a long and persistent diplomatic struggle for the restoration of the rights of the PR of China in the UNO, which were denied it by the American imperialists and their allies and indirectly by the Soviet revisionists. At last, in October 1971, the General Assembly of the UNO adopted the Albanian resolution put forward jointly with a number of other countries, and the PR of China took its seat in this international organization.

Meanwhile the PLA had views opposed to those of the Chinese leaders on many problems of their foreign policy. Prompted by the interests of revolution and socialism on a world scale, it had several times expressed to them, in a comradely way, the desire that China should act more vigorously

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 392. Eng. ed.

and with more initiative in defence of the interests of the peoples, in support of the revolutionary movement and the liberation struggles. This would have been in the interest of China itself. However, the Chinese leaders followed a policy of narrow national interests, which had estranged it from the freedom-loving peoples and the world.

The PLA and the Albanian people continued to give the liberation war of the Vietnamese people against American imperialist aggression all possible support and aid.

Seeing that they could not conquer the Vietnamese people on the battlefield, the American aggressors employed all sorts of trickery to achieve their aim in other ways. In the end they chose the course of imposing their will through «peace talks», the last resort left to them, and for this they had the help of the Soviet revisionists. The PLA considered the course of talks to be useless and very dangerous. It remained firm in its view that the Vietnamese people would certainly win, but would achieve this victory only with arms.

In 1970, when the American imperialists launched an armed aggression against the Cambodian people, the PLA immediately took a resolute stand on the side of the Cambodian people in the fight against this aggression and internal reaction.

Likewise, it unhesitatingly condemned the aggression launched by the Israeli army, with the direct aid of the USA, in June 1967, against Egypt, Syria and Jordan and exposed the whole essence of this aggression as a great inter-imperialist plot against the freedom, independence and economic interests of the Arab peoples. Not only the American imperialists, but also the Soviet imperialists were active behind the scenes in this plot. Each of these imperialist powers, which immediately assumed the role of arbiter, wanted to occupy military and economic positions in the Middle East, which is a very important strategic junction and a region very rich in oil.

While expressing its support for the just cause of the Arab peoples in general and the Palestinian people in particular, the PLA expressed its view that the Arab peoples should trust neither the Soviets nor the Americans, for both are their enemies. There could not be a peaceful solution to these problems. Only by uniting in the liberation armed struggle against the Zionists and the imperialists, without permitting any foreign interference, could the Arab peoples defend their honour and win their legitimate rights.

The PLA took similarly resolute, principled, revolutionary stands on the other international events and problems.

It resolutely opposed the manoeuvres of the American imperialists and Soviet revisionists over the question of disarmament. The purpose of all their clamour about this problem was to lull the peoples to sleep. At a time when they were having so much to say about their «desires» and «efforts» for disarmament and setting up countless committees and commissions, they were continuing the unrestrained armaments race, developing weapons of mass extermination and extending and consolidating their military bases and naval fleets. The PLA especially exposed the so-called «Treaty on the Non-proliferation of Nuclear Weapons» signed in Washington, Moscow and London in March 1970, describing it as a great imperialist-revisionist plot, a new attempt to deceive the peoples, an agreement which in no way constituted a «step towards disarmament», as its authors proclaimed, but a new step in the race between superpowers to increase and perfect these weapons and, consequently, an increase in the threat to the peace and security of the peoples.

The PLA exposed the imperialist-revisionist fraud about European security. The Albanian people, like all the other peoples of Europe, ardently desired peace and security on the continent and throughout the world, but the Soviet revisionists and the American imperialists, whose armies, navies and military bases, together with their enslaving capital, were suffocating Europe, would not bring it peace and security. The «European security» which the revisionist Soviet Union and certain countries of Western Europe, backed by the USA, were seeking, instead of security merely added to the insecurity, perpetuated the status quo of the Soviet-American domination in Europe and made the burden of the imperialist-revisionist exploitation of the European peoples even heavier.

The PLA exposed the real purpose of the Soviet-West-German agreement, signed in August 1970. The purpose of this agreement was by no means peaceful, as the Soviet revisionists claimed. On the contrary, both sides were prompted by ambitions for hegemony in Europe. This agreement was concluded without any consultation with the peoples who had fought and shed their blood in the war against German nazism.

The PLA followed the development of events in the former socialist countries with the greatest attention. Capitalism had

now been completely re-established there, bringing all its consequences of oppression and exploitation of the workers, inflation, price rises, economic, political and spiritual crises, the bourgeois way of life and nationalist foreign policy. In these countries, including the Soviet Union, disturbances, strikes, protests and revolts occurred repeatedly as a result of the dissatisfaction of the popular masses. In 1970 the workers of a number of cities in Poland came out in a general strike and clashed with the police force in the streets and factories. This event caused the downfall of the traitor clique of Gomulka, but it did not and could not bring about any radical revolutionary change in the situation. Unarmed, lacking unity, without the necessary ideological and political preparation and revolutionary leadership, the working class and the broad working masses were incapable of radical actions. In these circumstances, the PLA considered that «The working class of the revisionist countries is now faced with the historic necessity of coming out again on the battlefield, of hurling itself into a merciless and consistent fight to the finish to overthrow and smash the traitor cliques, to carry out the proletarian revolution once again and to re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.»*

The Denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty

The principled revolutionary stand of the PLA on international issues was displayed especially in the case of the military aggression which the Soviet revisionists carried out against Czechoslovakia in August 1968.

Besides the Soviet army, the armies of Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria and Hungary also took part in this aggression. These armies occupied the whole territory of Czechoslovakia, overthrew the Dubček clique which capitulated ignominiously without the least resistance, and established another traitor clique, totally servile to Soviet imperialism. Betrayed and left without any leadership, the Czechoslovak people put up only passive resistance.

The PLA resolutely condemned this barbarous act, defining it as a «fascist-type aggression» which «constitutes the greatest

* Article by Comrade Enver Hoxha published in the newspaper «Zëri i popullit», «The Working Class in the Revisionist Countries Must Take the Field and Re-establish the Dictatorship of the Proletariat,» March 24, 1968.

debasement of the honour and prestige of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people by the Brezhnev-Kosygin Khrushchevite revisionist clique», «the sternest warning to the Soviet people, the peoples of the socialist countries and the countries ruled by the revisionist cliques, to the peoples of Europe and the entire world, about the danger posed by the counter-revolutionary revisionist clique ruling today in the Soviet Union, about its imperialist ambitions for domination over the peoples and the fascist methods it employs.»* The PLA expressed the most resolute internationalist support for and solidarity of the Albanian people with the people of Czechoslovakia in these difficult moments they were going through, while reminding them that «the only way to escape enslavement and regain their freedom... is the road of uncompromising struggle to the end against the foreign occupiers, the Soviet, German, Polish, Hungarian and Bulgarian revisionists, against American imperialism and German revanchism, and against all the revisionists and reactionaries of the country.»** At the same time, it called on all the communists and the revolutionaries of the world to condemn this barbarous aggression and to express their solidarity with the just cause of the people of Czechoslovakia.

The aggression against Czechoslovakia carried out by the armies of the Warsaw Treaty proved that this Treaty had been completely transformed from a means of defence into a means of aggression and enslavement, just like the aggressive NATO bloc.

From the time when the betrayal by the Khrushchevite revisionists was revealed, the Warsaw Treaty was no longer a means of defence for the PLA and the Albanian socialist state, but became a threat to the freedom and independence of the Albanian people. In fact, the revisionists had long since excluded socialist Albania from the Treaty. Since 1961 Albania had severed any connection with the Treaty and had not participated in any of its meetings. Consequently, Albania bore

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* Declaration of the CC of the PLA and the Council of Ministers of the PRA, August 22, 1968. Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5. p. 412, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 413.

no responsibility for the decisions and actions of that military organization which had demonstrated its aggressive character more and more openly. The PLA and the Albanian state had continually spoken out against these essentially imperialist decisions and actions of the Soviet revisionists and their satellites of the Warsaw Treaty. Hence, Albania had long had the juridical right to dissociate itself from the Treaty and denounce it. After the brutal aggression against Czechoslovakia the PLA considered it essential to break off any connection with the Warsaw Treaty de jure, too. This aggression completely exposed the fascist and imperialist nature of the Soviet revisionists.

The CC of the PLA took the decision to denounce the Warsaw Treaty at its plenary meeting of September 5, 1968. The Plenum pointed out that in the conditions created in the international situation by the aggression against Czechoslovakia, «this act is one hundred per cent in our favour».*

The decision to leave the Warsaw Treaty and to denounce it was sanctioned by a special act of the People's Assembly in its session of September 13, 1968. This act freed socialist Albania juridically from any obligations stemming from that Treaty which it had joined in May 1955.

This decision found the immediate and complete endorsement of the entire people, who expressed this stand through a new outburst of revolutionary enthusiasm in carrying out the tasks in the various fields of socialist construction and the defence of the country.

This courageous decision was received with feelings of solidarity and admiration by progressive and revolutionary opinion throughout the world, too.

The denunciation of the Warsaw Treaty expressed the determination of the Albanian Party and people to pursue their Marxist-Leninist course, to safeguard their freedom, national independence and socialism. It showed also that the only way to defend freedom, independence and socialism was through unwavering opposition to the hegemonic and enslaving policies of American and Soviet imperialism and resolute struggle against revisionism.

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* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 5, p. 419, Alb. ed.

The Revolutionary Stand of the PLA in the Relations of Albania with Other Countries

The PLA always tried to establish correct relations on the basis of the reciprocal interest and benefit without any interference in internal affairs, with all peoples and countries. It was against the establishment of relations only with the two imperialist superpowers and the fascist regimes.

It struggled to establish correct relations and develop them on a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist basis with the neighbouring countries, in particular.

In May 1971 diplomatic relations were established between Albania and Greece. Proceeding from the reality and the reciprocal desires and interests of the Albanian and Greek peoples, the PLA and the Albanian state had been making efforts in this direction for years. Only the absurd pretentions of the monarcho-fascists to Southern Albania and the so-called state of war between Greece and Albania had prevented the fulfilment of this desire. The establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states in fact, put an end to the abnormal situation and served as a basis to promote friendship and collaboration between two neighbouring peoples and to strengthen peace and security in the Balkans.

The policy of good neighbourly relations pursued by socialist Albania had brought about the normalization of state relations with Yugoslavia, with which trade and cultural exchanges were carried on. The PLA expressed its desire for the continuous improvement of state relations in all fields of reciprocal interest. On many occasions, it displayed the friendship of the Albanian people with the peoples of Yugoslavia, forged in the anti-fascist war, and declared that it wished to see those peoples free, independent and sovereign, and that it would always be beside them to withstand blackmail, threats or aggression against them by the one or the other imperialist power.

At the same time, the PLA did not hide its opposition to the revisionist ideology and policy of the Yugoslav leadership. On the contrary, it consistently carried on the principled struggle against Titoite revisionism which always remained an enemy and a danger to Marxism-Leninism, the revolution and socialism.

The PLA raised its voice against the pro-social-imperialist

foreign policy of the Bulgarian government, a vassal of Soviet revisionism, which constituted a threat to socialist Albania and peace in the Balkans.

The expansionist ambitions of Soviet imperialism in the Balkans were known. However, the PLA could never accept the proposal, made to it by the Chinese leadership through Zhou Enlai in 1968, to establish a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania, allegedly «in order to resist» these ambitions. The leadership of the PLA rejected this proposal as an ill-intentioned attempt to lead socialist Albania into the trap of warmongering plots, as an imperialist manoeuvre to turn the Balkans into a powder keg.

The PLA strove for friendship and harmony between the Balkan countries and stressed that this friendship and harmony should have their bases in the people. The peoples of the Balkans were quite capable of deciding for themselves, in a sovereign way, on the relations between them. It was the imperialists who had turned the Balkans into a «powder keg» in the past. Now the American imperialists and the Soviet revisionists were pursuing the same policy towards the Balkans. It was the duty of Balkan peoples, said the PLA, to take the situation in hand themselves, breaking their connections with the aggressive military pacts and blocs of NATO and the Warsaw Treaty in order to have genuine peace in the peninsula.

The consistent, principled, revolutionary foreign policy followed by the PLA and the Albanian state had raised their international prestige and authority. Instead of being isolated, as the enemies wanted and struggled to achieve, socialist Albania had strengthened its position in the world. This was shown by the establishment of diplomatic relations with a series of other countries in the four years 1968-1971. Moreover, it was demonstrated most clearly by the ever greater support for and solidarity with Albania from the revolutionary forces and the freedom-loving peoples of the world, who admired Albania because of the continuous, courageous revolutionary struggle, on a principled basis, which it waged on a national and international scale.

CHAPTER VIII

THE STRUGGLE OF THE PARTY FOR THE DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN ALL FIELDS THROUGH STERN CLASS STRUGGLE

(1971-1976)

1. THE 6th CONGRESS OF THE PLA. THE TASKS FOR THE DEEPENING OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION IN ALL FIELDS

The 6th Congress of the Party was held in Tirana from November 1 to 7, 1971. Participating in it were 676 delegates with a deliberative vote and 174 with a consultative vote, representing 86,985 communists, including 18,127 candidate members.

The Congress analysed the activity of the Party over the previous five years. On this basis, it summed up the experience, drew lessons and outlined new tasks which had as their objective the deepening of the socialist revolution in all fields. It approved the directives of the 5th Five-year Plan of the economic and cultural development of the country.

The Strengthening and Perfecting of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat on the Basis of the Further Development of Socialist Democracy

The 6th Congress of the Party deemed it necessary to dwell on the problem of the strengthening and revolutionization of the dictatorship of the proletariat again, for several reasons. The PLA resolutely adhered to the Marxist-Leninist teaching that without the dictatorship of the proletariat

there is no socialism, no full national sovereignty and independence, no advance to communism. In the circumstances when the dictatorship of the proletariat had been liquidated in the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries, when the modern revisionists and all the enemies of socialism had spearheaded their attacks against it, both in theory and in practice, the defence, strengthening and revolutionization of the dictatorship of the proletariat in Albania remained one of the major fundamental tasks for the Party and all the working masses.

The very important political, ideological, and organizational measures which the Party had taken in the preceding five or six years, the struggle against bureaucracy and other manifestations dangerous to the proletarian state power, had led to considerable strengthening and improvement of the state power, the dictatorship of the proletariat.

However, despite all those measures, despite the blows which bureaucracy, especially, had received, despite the great progress made in the participation of the people in governing the country, the Congress reached the conclusion that there were many instances in practice which showed that the importance of the struggle against bureaucracy had not been properly grasped still, that this struggle was being hindered by conservative and liberal concepts, was frequently waged in a formal way and directed at side issues, and, was encountering the resistance of bureaucratic elements.

For these reasons the Congress instructed the party organizations and the organs of the state power to keep their attention focussed constantly on the struggle against bureaucracy as a «struggle of vital importance,» while seeking and applying new revolutionary methods and forms.

The Congress laid down that the general line for strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order, in the concrete circumstances, was through the development of socialist democracy. «Without socialist democracy,» stressed the Congress, «there is no dictatorship of the proletariat, just as there can be no genuine democracy for the working people without the dictatorship of the proletariat.»*

The ever more extensive and more active involvement of

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 6th Congress of the PLA, Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, 1978, p. 129, Alb. ed.

the working people in governing the country constituted the essence of the further development of socialist democracy.

This would be achieved, in the first place, by inculcating in the minds of the masses a deeper understanding of their role in political, social, and economic life, as the prime movers of the revolution, the builders of socialism and the makers of history.

The Congress gave explicit instructions that the method of consulting the masses and the control by the masses from below, especially the worker control, must be applied more systematically. It charged the organizations of the Party and the trade-unions with the special task of making the working class ever more conscious, ensuring that «it itself understands not only its role as the decisive productive force, but, above all, its political role as the vanguard class in our society.»*

For the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of socialist democracy, the Congress insisted that the decisions on the circulation of the cadres, on their direct participation in productive labour, on placing them under the control of the masses, and on their rendering account to the workers and cooperativists, must be applied consistently, without vacillations or distortions.

The enhancement of the role of the elected organs of the state power would serve the deepening of socialist democracy. The achievements in this field in recent years needed to be developed further, and in no instance should the executive organs and their apparatuses be allowed to displace them from this role. Work was required to ensure that the word of the councillor and the deputy was listened to with the greatest attention, and especially to ensure that the decisions of the people's councils were implemented without the slightest vacillation.

The Congress also dwelt on the major problem of the defence of the Homeland in the context of strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In this connection the Marxist-Leninist idea of arming and training the whole people and keeping them in fighting readiness was developed further. Guided by Lenin's instruction that «every citizen must be a soldier and every soldier a citizen,» the Congress issued the directive that all the working people

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 132, Alb. ed.

should work, learn and train for defence at the same time. This implied the implementation of the instructions that Comrade Enver Hoxha had given the Ministry of the People's Defence in 1970 about the transition to the system of the free military school.

As the 12th Plenum of the CC of the Party of July 1971, said, the People's Army was only a part of the armed people, whereas the Homeland should be defended by the entire people. The Congress described the army as an army of the people, of the revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, an army merged with the armed people, different from the armies of bourgeois and revisionist countries, which are barracks armies, secluded castes kept apart from the people, above the people and against the people.

Manifestations of arrogance, conceit, despotism, keeping aloof from the soldiers are alien to the People's Army, stressed the Congress. This was a criticism of those officers in whose conduct there were manifestations of such things, which were in conflict with the line of the Party and the revolutionary character of the army.

The purpose of the military training of the army and the entire people was to prepare them for people's war on the basis of the theses of the Council of Defence on the People's Military Art.

The Congress laid particular stress on strengthening the leadership of the Party in the army. «The Party has been and still is the heart of the army, the brain which guides it on the correct course, the life-giving force which makes it invincible. In our army, at the head of our defence, the Party is in command.»* This was aimed at attacking the manifestations of weakening the leading role of the Party in the army, at all those military cadres affected by the disease of bureaucracy and technocratism, who tried to push the basic organizations and the party committees aside, to turn them into tools of the commands and staffs.

The Congress decided that a new Constitution of the Albanian socialist state should be drafted. This was a measure of great theoretical and practical importance for the consolidation and perfection of the system of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revision of the Constitution was made necessary

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 137, Alb. ed.

by the new economic, social, cultural and ideological conditions created in Albania after the building of the economic base of socialism. Many articles of the existing Constitution no longer responded to these new conditions. The Congress gave instructions that the new Constitution «should fully reflect the line of the Party embodied in our revolutionary practice and inspire the working people in the struggle for the complete construction of socialist society.»*

To Proceed Resolutely on the Road of the Uninterrupted Development of the Ideological and Cultural Revolution

The 6th Congress summed up the experience of the great revolutionary movements of an ideological-social character, which developed after the 5th Congress, drawing lessons to further deepen the ideological and cultural revolution. «To fail to undertake the deepening of the ideological and cultural revolution with all our might,» Comrade Enver Hoxha said in the report, «would mean to abandon the socialist revolution half-way, to endanger its achievements in the economic and political fields, and to pave the way to bourgeois degeneration in all fields.»**

The ideological-social movements proved that the more the working people are freed from the old, regressive prejudices, concepts and habits, the more they are unaffected by the influence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideology, the more they become conscious resolute fighters for socialism. On the other hand, they showed that only socialism creates the necessary conditions and is capable of liberating people, not only from oppression and exploitation, but also from those moral evils which society divided into antagonistic classes cultivates.

However, their spiritual liberation is not achieved simultaneously with their political and socio-economic liberation. Their political and socio-economic liberation: is the basis for their spiritual liberation. The ideological-social movements, the whole ideological and cultural revolution which was taking place in the country had such a basis, prepared during 30 years of continuous revolutionary struggle and radical political and economic transformations carried out by the working masses under the leadership of the Party. The old reactionary ideologies

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 140, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 142.

had received crushing blows during this period, but had not been entirely eradicated. They no longer had their capitalist political and socio-economic basis. Nevertheless, the so-called «bourgeois right» (although very limited) in socialism, the distinctions between town and countryside, between physical and mental labour, qualified and unqualified work, etc. cannot fail to exert an influence on keeping alive remnants of old concepts and customs and the petty-bourgeois mentality. The world capitalist system also is a major source of outside influence in this direction.

Therefore, the 6th Congress demaned that the ideological-cultural revolution, the struggle against religion, backward customs, petty-bourgeois mentality, alien stands towards work and socialist property, the struggle for the complete emancipation of women, for a truly democratic life in the family, etc., must be continued ceaselessly. The struggle on the ideological front will last as long as the class struggle continues, and, as the Congress pointed out again, this continues during the entire period of the transition from capitalism to communism.

It is known that the reactionary old, which is negated and destroyed, must be replaced with the revolutionary new. This new, which emerges in the course of struggle, is not well established at first, therefore it must be supported with all forces, must be continuously strengthened until it has completely affirmed itself. If the void is not filled by the new, a healthy new in uninterrupted development, the old will come back. The triumph of the new is achieved through class struggle. With this teaching in mind, the Congress affirmed: «We counter the bourgeois and revisionist concepts and ideas with our Marxist-Leninist views. We counter the old petty-bourgeois outlook with the new socialist outlook. We counter manifestations of bourgeois and petty-bourgeois individualism and indifference with socialist collectivism and solidarity. We counter bourgeois liberalism and patriarchal conservatism with our sound progressive spirit. We counter tendencies to personal ease and arrogance with the spirit of sacrifice and action, the practical spirit, modesty and demands upon ourselves.»*.

The new objective conditions, created by the profound transformations and the great socio-economic and cultural

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, pp. 152-153, Alb. ed.

progress of a socialist character, and by revolutionary action, play a major role in forming and strengthening the new socialist outlook, pointed out the Congress. Therefore, it was essential that all the propaganda and educational work of the Party should be better linked and combined with life, with the achievements and the tasks of socialist construction.

The political-educational work would, as always, include all the working people, the whole population, young and old. The Congress demanded that special attention be paid to the education of the working class and the youth.

The Party instructed that priority should be given, as always, to the ideo-political education of the working class, because of its role as the leading class in power, in order to make it completely conscious of this mission.

The role of the youth as the most active force of the revolution and the socialist construction dictated the need for special attention to the revolutionary education of the youth.

The PLA and the Albanian working class have always had the youth on their side. They have educated it with revolutionary ideas, fulfilled its natural political, material, cultural and spiritual dreams and demands of the present and of the future, thrown it into revolutionary action and made it a gigantic revolutionary force. They never forget that the class which has the youth on its side will triumph.

The school has a special task in making the youth capable, conscious fighters for the revolution and socialism. The Congress instructed that the struggle to fully apply the directives of the Party about the school must be carried on persistently on all fronts.

The Congress attached special importance to the cultural development of the new man. It instructed the party organizations, the organs of the state power, the mass organizations to show greater concern and work harder for a higher level of culture in life and production, to create more cultured conditions for the work, rest and recreation of the working people, for a better environment in the streets, the parks, the residential centres and everywhere. «Socialist life, is and should be culture.»*

Concerning literature and art the Congress laid down the task of applying the method of socialist realism more

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 157, Alb. ed.

thoroughly. «The further flourishing of the arts of socialist realism will be achieved by consolidating the positions achieved in struggle against any alien influence which is incompatible with our socialist ideology, against both modernist trends and conservatism...,»* said the Congress.

As for sciences, the task was set of extending and improving research activity. At the present stage, it was stressed, rapid progress cannot be made in any field without scientific studies and generalizations of both immediate and long-term problems, without developing the technical-scientific revolution.

Enhancing the Leading Role of the Party

The Party came to its 6th Congress stronger, more tempered and politically and ideologically sound, with steel Marxist-Leninist unity, closely linked with the people and with greater international prestige.

The struggle for the further revolutionization of the life of the country had strengthened the leading role of the Party and provided fresh proof that the revolution and socialism can advance on a correct course only under the leadership of the Party of the working class. The Congress drew the conclusion that «With the development and consolidation of socialism, the leading role of the Party is not gradually diminished, but, on the contrary, is exercised ever more strongly and perfectly.»** As the negative experience in the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and the events in China during the Cultural Revolution showed, without consistent, real, sound leadership by the party of the working class counter-revolution emerges and flourishes instead of revolution, capitalism emerges and develops in place of socialism, anarchy and disorder emerge and develop, all sorts of lines, schools and poisonous weeds, which sap and smother the revolution and socialism, germinate and grow.

The Congress deemed it «essential to raise the role of the Party as the leader, educator, organizer and mobilizer of the people to a higher level,» describing this as «a permanent vital task.»***

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* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 159, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 163.

*** Ibidem.

The Congress stressed two points as the keys to enhancing the leading role of the Party: **the example of the communists as vanguard fighters and the invigoration of the basic organizations as the foundation of the Party**.

The responsibility for the implementation of the line of the Party and ensuring its leading role everywhere and over everybody devolves on all the communists, stressed the Congress. The communist does not do only the work for which he is paid. He has a major role. It is his duty, first of all, to lead the class, the masses, in the uphill struggle of the revolution, socialism, through his work and personal example. The communist must not do rash, ill-considered things, must not be reckless, but either should he be hesitant or indifferent.

For the party member the question is: either you are a communist and in the vanguard, just, honest, courageous, always a revolutionary fighter, setting your example everywhere, or there is no point in being a member of the PLA.

The Congress set the party organizations the task that they must work to help and educate those lagging behind, to correct those who had made mistakes, to put everyone in a militant position, to make them march in step with the time, so that they would be worthy of the lofty title of member of the Party. The incorrigible, those who in one way or another had lost the qualities of the vanguard fighter, should be expelled from the ranks of the Party.

The vanguard role of the communists cannot be conceived apart from the leading role which the basic organization of the Party performs. The Party leads in an organized, collective way on the basis of democratic centralism. The basic organization is the decisive link which ensures the leading role of the Party in every cell of the life of the country. A feature which distinguishes the Marxist-Leninist party from any fake workers' party, is the role of the basic organization as the leading organism in the centre in which it is set up and operates, a role which the organizations in the revisionist or social-democrat parties absolutely do not have.

To enhance this role the Congress demanded: the basic organizations «must be faster to move and more daring, must not wait for ready-made solutions from above for the problems which concern them and must not act in a mechanical way, without taking into account the character of the directive and

the situation in the enterprise, cooperative, or institution where they operate.»*

Criticizing a narrow concept of the basic organization, which was seen in practice, the Congress stressed, «the basic organization is not only its meeting, but the whole activity of all its members individually and jointly, before, during and after the meeting...»**

The Congress dwelt also on the profound theoretical and practical meaning and extensive application of democracy in the Party. In his report to the Congress Comrade Enver Hoxha explained. «The essence of it is that every communist should take an active part in formulating and implemeting the line of the Party..., openly criticize the shortcomings, and make self-criticism of his own weaknesses.»*** Democracy is strengthened through debate and the clash of opinions. Carried out in the proper way, the struggle of opinions is not an expression of lack of unity, but an indispensable means for strengthening unity. Where there is no threshing out of ideas, where there is false peace and harmony, there is stagnation, and the unity has a formal character. Such a unity is very harmful. It paralyses the organization, which will find itself faced with bitter surprises. When the clash of opinions is based on the policy and interests of the party, the class and socialism, it is never harmful. On the contrary, it is necessary and useful, because it strengthens the militant character of the unity, provides better possibilities to discover and combat mistakes and shortcomings and violations and distortions of the line, and to take more correct decisions. Fear of the clash of opinions is characteristic of the petty-bourgeois, of the bureaucrat, who wants no troubles or worries.

The further strengthening of the leading role of the Party made it necessary to perfect its links with the masses, by basing itself on the great experience accumulated over recent years in the struggle against bureaucracy and for the revolutionization of the entire life of the country.

As a true Marxist-Leninist party, the PLA has never separated itself from the class and the masses, has never placed itself above them, but neither has it identified itself with

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 172. Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 173.

*** Ibidem, p. 174.

the masses and the class. While being the vanguard detachment of the working class, the leader of the masses in the revolution and socialist construction and having the full right to speak on behalf of the class and the masses, it has never given itself the right to dominate the masses.

Bearing in mind this reality, the Congress laid down the task that any manifestation of formalism, any superficial work, any inattentive attitude, any form of work isolated from the masses should be eliminated. The basic organizations of the Party were to come before the working collectives regularly and render account to them on how they have implemented the directives of the Party and their own decisions, and how the communists have worked individually and, as a whole. «Placing the entire activity of the party organizations and communists under the control of the working class and the working masses,» the Congress said, «is an important matter of principle to ensure that the Party does not become isolated from the class and the masses, remains revolutionary to the end and loyally serves the interests of the people.»*

The strengthening of the social composition of the Party would also serve to enhance its leading role.

The Congress regarded the fact that the worker communists now comprised the biggest group in the composition of the Party as a major victory. In the future, too, it instructed, the struggle must go on to increase its ranks with workers, in the first place, without under-rating admissions from the ranks of the cooperativist peasantry and bringing a greater number of women into the Party.

While emphasizing the great significance of the sound composition of its membership, the Congress repeated the well-known attitude of the Party that this factor in itself is not everything. The worker and cooperativist composition of the Party plays its great role when it is accompanied with the ideo-political proletarian education of its members. The Marxist-Leninist ideology and the proletarian line of the Party have not allowed the Albanian communists to become covered with mould, to become bureaucrats and degenerate, and have ensured that, irrespective of their social origin or status, they always act as consistent and resolute fighters for the cause of communism.

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* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 176, Alb. ed.

The Directives of the 5th Five-year Plan

The Congress drafted the directives of the 5th Five-year Plan (1971-1975) in conformity with the fundamental orientations of the Party for the complete construction of socialist society, with the new stage of the development of the country towards this strategic aim, and with the new tasks for deepening the socialist revolution in all fields in the conditions of the imperialist-revisionist blockade.

The fundamental task of this five-year plan was: **To ensure the all-round strengthening of the national economy through the transformation of Albania from an agricultural-industrial country into an industrial-agricultural one, with the aim of increasing the degree of self-sufficiency of the economy, further strengthening the socialist order and raising the level of material well-being and culture of the population, while reducing the essential differences between city and countryside, in particular, and enhancing the defence potential of the country.**

The Party had consistently followed the policy of creating a powerful national industry. As a result of the heroic work of the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the people's intelligentsia to implement this policy, the age-old economic backwardness had been eliminated and giant strides had been taken in the socialist industrialization of the country. On the basis of this achievement and the development of the productive forces in general, the Congress reached the conclusion that now the material conditions had been created for a relatively greater increase in industrial production. This would ensure the raising of the industrialization of the country to a new level and, at the same time, a more rapid and harmonious development of agriculture, in this way fulfilling the task of enhancing the level of self-sufficiency of the people's economy. It was no accident that the Party stressed the need to increase the self-sufficiency of the economy. In the circumstances of the imperialist-revisionist blockade, this was of vital importance to cope with any eventuality, to safeguard national sovereignty and continue the advance on the road of socialism.

In conformity with this far-sighted, revolutionary economic policy of the Party, the Congress defined the objectives to be achieved in the course of this five-year plan in the various branches and sectors of the economy and in the field of culture.

Social production would increase 54-58 per cent.

In total industrial production an increase of 61-68 per cent would be achieved. Production of means of production would be increased at higher rates.

The fundamental task was defined as raising industrial production to a new qualitative level and extending and improving its structure, building the first ferrous metallurgy combine, strengthening the energy base, increasing the supply of raw materials and the more rational exploitation of the country's resources and riches. The 5th Five-year Plan was the five-year plan of the construction of major projects of heavy industry, like the metallurgical combine in Elbasan, the hydro-power station at Fierza, the oil processing plant at Ballsh, etc.

Meanwhile, agriculture still remained the basic branch of the economy. The 5th five-year period was defined as the period of a general drive on a wide front for the rapid, all-round development of agricultural production, which would be increased 65-69 per cent. The rapid increase of bread grain production, without neglecting livestock farming and the other branches of agriculture, remained the fundamental economic and political task. The increase in agricultural production would be ensured mainly from increased yield rates. Ninety-two thousand hectares of new land would be brought into production. The Congress demanded that the organization and scientific management of agricultural cooperatives should be raised to a higher level to turn them into modern economies of large-scale socialist production. «Higher-type cooperatives» would be organized in the lowland zones.

To fulfil the tasks of the plan, directives were issued for the investment of 70-75 per cent more funds than in the 4th Five-year Plan. Of the total volume of investments, 83 per cent would be used for the productive sectors.

The national income would increase 55-60 per cent, and 34-37 per cent of this income would be used for accumulation. The real per capita incomes of the population would increase 14-17 per cent, while the incomes of the cooperativist peasantry would more than double. During the new five-year plan a full system of pensions and social insurance would be established in the agricultural cooperatives. During this period 80 thousand apartments and houses would be built in town and countryside.

In the field of education, the greatest increase, 77 per

cent, was envisaged in the number of secondary school pupils, while in the countryside this increase would be as high as 110 per cent. The number of specialists of various fields and profiles to be trained in the higher schools would be three times greater than in the 4th Five-year Plan.

As always, the unchanging course of self-reliance would be followed in carrying out the tasks of the 5th Five-year Plan.

The Uncompromising Struggle against Imperialism and Modern Revisionism Must Be Carried on to the End in Alliance with All the World Revolutionary and Freedom-loving Forces

The 6th Congress was held in the conditions of sharpening contradictions and great confrontations on a world scale. It made an all-round scientific analysis of these circumstances and, on this basis, defined the tasks of the Party in the international arena.

This analysis and the tasks laid down brought out very clearly the unwavering course of the Party, based on the Marxist-Leninist principles, of uncompromising struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, and of solidarity with all the revolutionary and freedom-loving forces of the world. At the same time the counter-revolutionary, pragmatic stands of various revisionists and opportunists on the major international problems were unmasked and attacked.

The Albanian communists were convinced that the future belongs to the freedom and indepedence of the peoples and socialism, observed the Congress. However, this conviction did not prevent them from seeing the very turbulent international situation and the dangers threatening socialist Albania and all the peoples. These dangers stemmed from American imperialism and the new Soviet imperialism, from their aggressive policies and activities, and their ambitions for world domination.

American imperialism remained the main enemy of all the peoples, the greatest oppressor and exploiter of other countries and the bastion of international reaction. It was continuing its barbarous war in Vietnam, had extended its aggression to Cambodia and Laos, incited and supported Israel in its occupation of Arab territories, organized plots and putsches wherever it could, while assisting the fascist reactionary regimes and forces in every way, had encircled the continents with its

military bases and its naval fleets, was brandishing weapons everywhere and threatening everyone with war. Hence, nothing had changed in its reactionary nature and policy, in its aggressive strategy or in the degree of the danger it posed to the peoples, the revolution and socialism.

For these reasons, the Congress described the struggle against American imperialism as «a supreme duty for all the revolutionary forces of our time, for all the peoples,»* while it described the stand towards it as the «'touchstone' for all the political forces of the world.»**

These revolutionary views of the PLA, expressed by its highest forum, were a resolute reply not only to the Soviet revisionists who had long been following a policy of alliance with American imperialism for the division of the world, not only to the Yugoslav revisionists who had long since sold their country to the American imperialists, and not only to all the other revisionists who had eliminated the struggle against imperialism from their programs, they were also aimed against the Chinese opportunist leaders who were displaying marked vacillations in the struggle against imperialism.

The Chinese leaders had abandoned the correct stand which defined American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism as equally dangerous main enemies of the peoples, a stand embodied in the Albanian-Chinese Joint Declaration of May 1966. Now they described Soviet social-imperialism alone as the main and most dangerous enemy. Meanwhile, towards American imperialism, which they no longer described as dangerous, they were pursuing a policy of concessions and retreats.

In the summer of 1971. the secretary of the American Department of State made a secret visit to Beijing, where talks were held on the «normalization» of Sino-American relations and an agreement was reached about a visit by the President of the USA, Nixon, to China. The visit was made in 1972. The American President was received by Mao Zedong in person. This event marked a radical change in Chinese policy. China was joining the dance of imperialist rivalries for the redivision of the world, with a view to having a share

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 83, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, p. 84.

for itself by taking the side of one superpower, the USA, against the other superpower, the Soviet Union.

The CC of the PLA lost no time in drawing the correct conclusion that this was a very dangerous policy and strategy of China.

That is why it deemed it indispensable to write a letter to the Central Committee of the CP of China to express the resolute opposition of the PLA to this turn-about which ran counter to the interests of People's China itself and to the interests of the revolution and. socialism on an international scale. The letter said, «...We consider your decision to welcome Nixon to Beijing to be incorrect and undesirable. We do not approve or support it. We also hold that the announced visit of Nixon to China will not be approved by the peoples, the revolutionaries and the communists of various countries.»*

At that time, the PLA could not publicly proclaim its opposition to Nixon's visit in China and to the sharp turn-about in the Chinese foreign policy. However, the world could not fail to notice the radical difference between the stands of the PLA and the CPC towards American imperialism. This difference was expressed at the 6th Congress of the Party, too.

While describing American imperialism as the main enemy, the Congress expressed the view that, «the new Soviet revisionist imperialism is just as perfidious, aggressive and dangerous an enemy to the peoples and the revolution as American imperialism.»** The Soviet Union had already been completely transformed into a fascist, neo-colonialist state, a social-imperialist superpower. Just like the USA, the revisionist Soviet rulers had set up military bases in the satellite countries of Eastern Europe and were trying to set up new ones in the various countries of the world, had filled the oceans with cruisers, torpedo-boats and submarines, had plunged into a feverish race to build up an arsenal of mass extermination weapons, displayed boundless greed to grab the wealth of peoples, had become major traffickers in arms and insatiable usurers, inspirers of counter-revolutionary plots, instigators of conflicts between nations, initiators and organizers of

* Letter of the CC of the PLA addressed to the CC of the CPC, August 6, 1971, CPA.

** Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 84, Alb. ed.

military adventures, had carried out the shameful aggression against Czechoslovakia and were threatening other countries with war. Comrade Enver Hoxha described the «theory of limited sovereignty,» fabricated by Brezhnev after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, as «a theory of great-power chauvinism and expansion, a theory through which the new Soviet imperialists are seeking to extinguish any sovereignty of other peoples and create for themselves the 'sovereign right' to intervene wherever and whenever they want.»*

As American imperialism and Soviet revisionist imperialism constitute the main enemies, equally dangerous to the peoples, the revolution and socialism, the struggle against one superpower cannot be separated from the struggle against the other. On the contrary, it is essential to merge these struggles into a single current and not act as the Chinese leaders did, in giving up the struggle against the US imperialists.

The Congress pointed out that, irrespective of the efforts the two superpowers made to preserve and strengthen their alliance, between them there were and could not but exist profound contradictions, which were the source of fierce squabbles and rivalries, which hindered the achievement of full unity and a sound Soviet-American alliance. While trying to synchronize their watches in the struggle for world domination, each side was planning to stab the other in the back.

Should the revolutionary forces, the freedom-loving peoples and the Marxist-Leninists exploit these contradictions? Of course they should exploit them, but only with the aim of unmasking these aggressive and predatory plans and actions, so that the peoples would thoroughly understand the danger of the outbreak of another world war, which came from the rivarly between the two imperialist superpowers, so that the peoples would rise against them and foil their plans. There was nothing Marxist-Leninist about the tendency which the Chinese opportunists were displaying to reach agreement and link themselves with the USA against the Soviet Union, under the pretext of exploiting the contradictions between these two superpowers. In criticizing this tendency, the Congress categorically declared, «You cannot rely on one imperialism in order to oppose the other.»**

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 86, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, p. 88.

Modern revisionism constitutes the most dangerous ideological base of capitalism and imperialism. That is why «The ideological struggle against revisionism always remains on the order of the day, and a primary duty which must be carried through to the end, until revisionism is completely destroyed,»* stressed the Congress.

There were contradictions also among the revisionists, between those in power and all others. Such contradictions have the same base and the same nature as the contradictions among capitalists. For this reason, the PLA also rejected the anti-Marxist stand of the Chinese leaders of relying on one set of revisionists, the weaker ones, in order to fight the other, stronger side — Soviet revisionism. It had rejected in disgust every proposal the Chinese had made to cease the ideological struggle against Yugoslav revisionism and the other revisionist trends and to limit the fight to the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism alone!

The Congress viewed the uncompromising struggle against imperialism and revisionism not only as an essential condition to defend and guarantee the freedom and independence won and socialism in Albania, but also as «an inseparable part of the general revolutionary struggle of the peoples.»**

The Congress once again expressed the sincerest feelings of friendship, solidarity and fraternal collaboration with the countries and peoples who were waging a heroic liberation struggle, with all the anti-imperialist and revolutionary forces of the world. It also adopted a special resolution in support of the liberation war of the Vietnamese people.

The Congress described the new Marxist-Leninist parties, which had been or were being formed in many countries of the world, as an important factor for the development of the liberation struggle of the proletariat and peoples. The revival of the Marxist-Leninist movement on revolutionary foundations had disturbed imperialism, reaction, and especially the modern revisionists, who were on the attack against them, resorting to all the forces, means, pressures, blackmail and slanders at their disposal. The Congress warmly welcomed the new Marxist-Leninist parties and groups and wished them ever greater

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 86, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 96.

successes and victories in the interests of the great common cause. It assured them that the PLA would back them up with all its strength and possibilities. «We consider this to be a first-rate internationalist duty, just as we value the solidarity and support of the revolutionary forces and parties for our Party and country as a very important factor for the cause of socialism in Albania.»*

The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist communist parties that took part in the Congress brought to the Party of Labour and the Albanian people the revolutionary support and friendship of communists and revolutionaries from all over the world. On behalf of all the delegates, Comrade Enver Hoxha assessed this support and friendship as a «great encouragement and inspiration» for the Albanian communists and working people. The Communist Party of China had not sent a delegation to the 6th Congress. The Chinese leadership tried to justify this brutal violation of recognized practice in the relations among sister parties with absurd pretexts. In fact this was a sort of «revenge» for the criticism which the CC of the PLA had made in its letter of August 6 over the visit of Nixon to China, and pressure on the PLA to make it give up its revolutionary stand and adopt the new course of the Chinese foreign policy.

All the proceedings of the 6th Congress were a resolute defence of Marxism-Leninism. Nevertheless, the Congress judged it necessary to dwell especially on this question because of the distortions of Marxism-Leninism by the revisionists of various currents.

The revisionist betrayal had become the cause for the emergence of all kinds of «new» theories and doctrines in defence of the capitalist order, for the revival of all kinds of anti-Marxist currents — Trotskyite, anarchist, Maoist, which had infiltrated among the youth, especially in the school youth, and in the ranks of the intellectuals of the capitalist countries. No slight confusion had been caused by Mao Zedong thought with the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

In these conditions, the Congress stressed, the struggle of all Marxist-Leninists to liberate the working class and the

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 201, Alb. ed.

other working masses from the influences of the bourgeois ideology, and arm them with the only scientific ideology — Marxism-Leninism, assumed very great importance.

The bourgeoisie and the modern revisionists had directed their attack against the hegemony of the working class, the revolution and socialism in particular, therefore, the Congress also dwelt on the defence of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these three major questions. It defended them, basing itself on the past and present experience of the world revolutionary movement and the revolutionary experience of Albania. From this basis it refuted with scientific argument the views, both of those who negated the leading role of the working class, the revolution and scientific socialism outright, and of those who distorted the teachings of Marxism-Leninism on these questions.

«Their attitude towards the working class and its leading role is a touchstone for all revolutionaries... The conditions that make the working class the decisive force in contemporary social development, the leading force in the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the capitalist world, have not changed in the least,»* stressed the Congress.

The revolution led by the working class remains the only means for the radical transformation of the capitalist world, the only road to complete social and national liberation. The revolution has its own laws, discovered and formulated by Marx and Lenin which, the Congress pointed out, «are universal and indispensable for any country. Denial of these laws leads to revisionism.»**

The objective of the revolution led by the working class is the construction of a genuine socialist society. «In our time, the problem of copying the revisionist forms of pseudo-socialism, or of inventing some sort of new socialism, does not arise. Socialism exists and is developing both in theory and in practice. It has accumulated a wealth of historical experience, which has been summed up in the Marxist-Leninist theory, the vitality of which has been confirmed in life. By relying on this scientific theory and applying it in the con-

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, pp. 185-186, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, p. 193.

ditions of each country, the revolutionary forces will find the correct road to socialism.»*

At the end of its proceedings the 6th Congress elected by unanimous vote the central leading organs of the Party: the Central Committee of 71 members and 39 alternate members, and the Central Control and Audit Commission. Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC.

The proceedings of the Congress reflected the correct and consistent Marxist-Leninist line of the Party, which was enriched and further developed; the steel unity of its ranks; its close ties with the people ; its internationalist solidarity with all the Marxist-Leninist and revolutionary forces of the world; the maturity, foresight, determination and courage of the Party in the struggle against all enemies of communism, against any difficulty and obstacle, for the complete construction of socialist society and for the defence of the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

2. SOCIALISM IS BUILT BY THE MASSES, THE PARTY MAKES THEM CONSCIOUS

Like each previous congress of the Party, the 6th Congress opened new horizons of revolutionary work and struggle on the course of the socialist construction of the country, the defence of the Homeland and the defence and creative application of the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The entire attention of the Party was concentrated on ensuring thorough understanding and mastery of the ideas and directives of the Congress, first of all, by the communists and by the working class and all the working people, in order to implement them correctly and completely.

Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech of February 26, 1972 to the Plenum of the Party Committee of the Mat District played a major role in the attainment of this goal.

The main aim of this speech was to ensure a deeper understanding and a better application of the great Marxist-Leninist principle that socialism is built by the masses, while the role of the party of the working class is to make them

* Principal Documents of the PLA, vol. 6, p. 199, Alb. ed.

conscious, a principle which was particularly stressed by the Congress.

Throughout its existence the PLA had applied this principle. It advanced resolutely on this course. Why, then, did it raise this problem again so forcefully?

As Comrade Enver Hoxha explained, the struggle for the construction of socialism had entered a stage which required more vigorous and militant participation of the masses of the people on the basis of a higher level of socialist consciousness, a more profound political and ideological understanding of the tasks on their part.

In carrying out the major tasks of the new five-year plan, many kinds of difficulties and obstacles would be encountered, a stern class struggle against the reactionary regressive old, against the internal and external enemies, would have to be waged. Only through the determination in work and struggle of the deeply conscious masses guided by the Party could these obstacles and difficulties be overcome and the triumph over the old and the enemies be achieved.

However, the active, militant participation of the masses was hindered by mistakes and distortions of directives of the Party, which were noticed in the work not only of a few rank-and-file communists but also of some cadres. Comrade Enver Hoxha demanded that a new general assault should be launched against such manifestations to prevent them from getting worse, to correct the mistakes and to avert any violation or distortion of the correct line of the Party.

The Preservation and Improvement of the Correct Relations between the Party, the Cadres and the Masses

The role of the Party always remained decisive. It was the Party which had worked out and always applied a correct revolutionary line and which, by implementing this line, had ensured such great victories and achievements in all fields of the life of the country. However, these victories and achievements would have been inconceivable without the heroic work and struggle of the people.

Since it is the masses who carry out the revolution and build socialism, the party of the working class can work out a correct line only by taking as the basis for this the desires and demands of the masses, only by relying on their

practical experience and their direct participation. Likewise, mistakes are combated and shortcomings corrected only with the participation of the people, stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha. «Herein lies one of the great Leninist principles from which we have never deviated and never will deviate.»*

The PLA has always been the genuine vanguard of the working class. What does this mean? The working class «is always in struggle, it works in the mines, in factories, in agriculture, on work sites, canals and everywhere, encounters all kinds of difficulties and privations and struggles to overcome them. Then what about its vanguard, the Party, where should it be? It has to be in the forefront of the struggle, of the work, in production. That is the place of honour for the communists, otherwise the Party cannot play the role of the vanguard.»** Therefore, the overwhelming majority of the communists should be in production, should go and work in the most difficult fronts of the struggle and the work. «Otherwise,» warned Comrade Enver Hoxha, «we become 'gentlemen', 'commanders'.»*** The vanguard role of the Party, the leadership of the Party, can never be secured through «gentlemen» and «commanders», through gathering the majority of the communists in offices.

The Party has never been against the maintenance of apparatuses of the Party, the state, the economy and the mass organizations, but it has waged a resolute struggle against inflation of them. The Central Committee of the Party pointed out that the tendency to inflate the apparatuses with unnecessary officials had not been completely wiped out. Therefore, the leadership of the Party demanded that this tendency should be restrained, that new measures should be taken to shake up these apparatuses and free them from unnecessary people.

This tendency stemmed from underestimation of the role of the elected state organs, of councillors and deputies, the army of the worker, cooperativist and intellectual social activists, and the mass organizations.

The Central Committee considered it a great mistake that the councillors and deputies, the direct representatives of the

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 22, Alb. ed.
** Ibidem, p. 23.
*** Ibidem.

people, elected by the people to run the affairs of the state and control the economy, were not activized to the proper extent, and issued instructions that greater attention must be paid to this problem, ensuring all the possibilities for them to exercise all the competences accorded them under the law, in line with the teachings of the Party.

It was necessary also to establish a more correct ratio between the communists and non-party people in the state organs, in the apparatuses of the administration, in the economic organs and the mass organizations. It was not in order that in the central apparatuses about 50 per cent of the cadres were communists, and even more in some ministries, or that in the apparatus of the Youth Union at the centre and the base more than 51 per cent were communists, in the Trade Unions over 67 per cent, in the Women's Union about 66 per cent, and so on. In the People's Assembly likewise there was a high percentage of communist deputies. This came about because the criterion for choosing leading cadres from the ranks of the best working people was applied one-sidedly, taking the easiest way, since the communists were better known. But not only the communists are revolutionary working people. There are many others in the ranks of non-party working people capable of being leading cadres. An obstacle to the promotion of non-party people to leading positions was a certain distrust of them.

Comrade Enver Hoxha sternly criticized this distrust and this insufficient concern that was shown for appointing non-party people to work in leading positions. «Marxism-Leninism,» he said, «teaches us that the communist must treat the non-party person as his equal, must behave towards him as a trusted brother... This has great importance, comrades, for us and for every party.»*

A very important issue of principle was also the bringing of the maximum number of workers, communists and non-party workers into the organs of state power and the economy. The reality of the socialist country in which the working class is in power makes this absolutely essential.

Bringing the maximum number of workers into the organs of the state and the economy was a form of the worker control. The Party was struggling very hard especially

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 34. Alb. ed.

over the problem of the worker control, but waverings and zigzags could still be observed in the implementation of the directive on this major problem of principle. Comrade Enver Hoxha raised the issue that a persistent struggle must be waged for the application of this directive without hesitation and that measures should be taken to ensure that the workers' instructions were carried out in the shortest possible time. «Otherwise,» he said, «there is no control by the class but only talk.»*

The working collectives, the workers and cooperativists must not only demand that the leading cadres regularly render account, a real and not a perfunctory account, of how they have performed their functions and duties, but must also express their opinion on every new appointment or transfer of cadres. In fact, this practice of seeking the opinion of the workers had been applied before this, but now it would become obligatory. The decision by the respective organs about the appointment or transfer of cadres on the basis of the approved staffing establishment would be taken only after the various working collectives of workers and cooperativists had been consulted and their approval had been given. Such a democratic procedure is very advantageous to the Party, the popular masses and the dictatorship of the proletariat, because people are sorted out better and unworthy people, like bureaucrats, technocrats, servile elements, idle talkers and career-seekers, are kept out of leading posts. The opinion of the masses would necessarily be sought about all applicants for admission to the Party.

The questions which Comrade Enver Hoxha raised and the measures he advised constituted a further deepening of the struggle against bureaucracy.

Despite the crushing blows which bureaucracy had received, it still raised its head and tried to damage the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and hinder the advance of the country on the socialist road. It was the bureaucrats who distorted the directives of the Party and hindered the full application of the line of the masses in depth and extent, who prevented the Party from learning the real state of affairs at the base and who tried to conceal the

* Enver Hoxha, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 41, Alb. ed.

shortcomings and mistakes so that their own lack of ability would not be revealed.

The Central Committee once again demanded that high vigilance and fighting readiness must be displayed to defend the Party, to constantly strengthen its links with the working class and the masses. It insisted on the need for the most profound understanding that the strength of the Party lies precisely in these links, that the Party has rights, but these are not unlimited, that it has the right to do what the people want, what the class wants, what the laws permit, what its Marxist-Leninist line advocates. It demanded great vigilance against all those who, in the name of the Party, distorted its line, violated its principles, directives and norms, so that these persons would be unmasked and put in their place.

The Line of the Masses Is Applied Correctly by Fighting both Sectarianism and Liberalism

In order to ensure that the great ideas of the speech which Comrade Enver Hoxha delivered in Mat were assimilated and applied, a study of this speech by all the communists and working masses was organized, and a special popular discussion was held. This brought a further invigoration of the work of the Party and the state, enhanced the revolutionary spirit and the mobilization of the working people in carrying out economic and social tasks. In the course of this study and discussion, many mistakes and distortions of the directives, which had not been noticed before, were brought to light and combated.

The Central Committee of the Party, which followed the discussion closely, took care to ensure that it developed in a correct way, without one-sided interpretations and conceptions of the problems raised in Comrade Enver Hoxha's speech.

The study and discussion of this speech had just begun when the leadership of the Party drew attention to the fact that there was still an incomplete understanding and even a distorted conception of certain problems.

Since the Mat speech stressed the broad participation of the masses in state affairs and economic management, through the free expression of opinions on every problem, through unhesitating and unrestricted criticism of shortcomings and errors, against those who distorted or violated the directives of

the Party or the laws of the state, there were some who thought that now the path was open to liberalism. Under the guise of the struggle against sectarianism and bureaucracy, enemy elements began covertly to incite liberalism. However, the Central Committee did not allow things to take the wrong course. «From superficial and immature judgement...,» it warned, «dangers could arise of the Party's deviation to the right or the left... Liberalism would be one of the great dangers, just as sectarianism could be in the other direction... Both these manifestations, liberalism and sectarianism, are very dangerous and must be fought in every form in which they appear.»*

This warning enhanced the vigilance of the Party against the danger of liberalism.

However, while calling attention to the danger of liberalism, while demanding enhanced vigilance, the Central Committee instructed that care should be taken to see that this did not serve as a pretext for closed, sectarian work, and did not become an obstacle to the development of the broad democracy of the masses.

There was no reason why the directives, the decisions, and main problems should be kept secret in the conditions when the working class and its Party were in power, when the whole people were with them. It was not right that the decisions of the party committees remained unknown to the masses, and that only a limited number of cadres were informed about them. «If you, leading comrades of the districts, want to be at the head of affairs, at the head of the masses,» advised the leadership of the Party, «then it is necessary to work so that the problems you deal with are immediately and extensively taken up by the broad masses of the people in the district, in the mass organizations of which they are members.»**

Comrade Enver Hoxha raised the issue that it was wrong to maintain secrecy about the directives and decisions or the serious mistakes, the grave faults committed by a communist, a secretary of an organization, a party secretary, a member of the Central Committee or the Government, since

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 24, 1972, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 69, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 75.

they were not only criticized and punished for these mistakes but also discharged from their posts. «There is no reason why the Party... should not say that this or that communist has gone wrong..., not inform the masses even when a whole organization has been wrong, and tell them what must be done to correct the mistakes properly, in a radical way. Indeed, in order to do this it must certainly seek the aid and opinion of the non-party people who constitute the overwhelming majority of the working people. By proceeding on this course we shall be in order with the masses, who certainly will say, 'Long live the Party, because this is the right way for it to act!'»*

In order to strengthen the links of the Party with the masses still greater importance was given to the letters from the people sent to the Central Committee, the district committees and the basic organizations of the Party. Sternly criticizing the reprehensible stands by those leading cadres who did not pay proper attention to letters from the people, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed their great importance for linking the masses with the Party. «The letters which the rank-and-file people send to me,» he said, «are... a priceless treasure... A letter from the people is one of the frankest, most valuable and fruitful talks, which explains things to us, reveals problems, criticizes us, offers us advice and strengthens the Party and the state, denounces enemies, swindlers and liars. Therefore, anyone who underrates these letters, underrates the directive of the Party and the role of the masses who build socialism.»** Of course, Comrade Enver Hoxha and the other leaders and cadres of the Party maintained links with the people not only through letters. They had frequent direct contacts with the masses.

The Central Committee took great care to ensure that the work for a deeper understanding and more thorough application of the directives of the Party and the ideas of Comrade Enver Hoxha on the line of the masses was continued and improved.

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 24, 1972, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», pp. 79-80, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA, April 11, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», pp. 188, 191, Alb. ed.

3. DEEPENING THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AGAINST ALIEN MANIFESTATIONS AND LIBERAL ATTITUDES TOWARDS THEM

After the 6th Congress an upsurge of the class struggle could be seen. This upsurge was linked with the increasingly acute clashes between the Albanian people, headed by their Party, and external and internal enemies, especially between the proletarian ideology and reactionary ideologies, old and new.

The American imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists, the Yugoslav revisionists, all the lackeys of the international bourgeoisie and revisionism, disillusioned by the failure of their efforts in the 60's to divert the PLA from its revolutionary course and to set socialist Albania back on the course of capitalism, intensified their pressure. They extended and strengthened their ideological diversion to incite and support peaceful counter-revolution in Albania. The enemies' ideological pressure took the form of a real ideological aggression. At the same time, they tightened the economic blockade, stepped up their work of espionage, sabotage and blackmail, and their preparations for military aggression for which the ideological aggression was paving the way.

This intensified activity of the external enemies found support amongst the internal enemies, who had managed to infiltrate the ranks of the Party, the state power, the army and leading organs of the people's economy.

The Party Bars the Way to Liberalism

The aim of the enemies was to conquer the Party and to liquidate socialism in Albania, the only socialist stronghold left in Europe, which served as an example inspiring the revolutionary forces and the peace-loving peoples of the world. Imperialism, revisionism, the international bourgeoisie hoped that they would achieve their aim.

The course they pursued had already been tested: the incitement and spread of liberalism everywhere, in the Party, the state and the economy, of the degenerate bourgeois way of life, of modernist music, literature and figurative arts, and the degeneration of the intelligentsia and the youth in particular. The enemies employed every possible means to this end, in particular the opening up of «socialist» China to the USA. They also strove to make use of the struggle which the

PLA waged against bureaucracy and conservatism and for the extension of socialist democracy for their own purposes, by trying to distort this struggle, as well as of a certain euphoria apparent in many working people and cadres on account of the great achievements in the economic, social, cultural and other fields.

The «peaceful» destructive activity was carried out in legal and clandestine ways, according to the occasion and possibilities.

This activity gave rise to a number of alien manifestations of a bourgeois-liberal character, appearing mainly in the ideological and cultural fields, especially in literature and the arts, as well as in the way of dressing and behaviour of many young people and in the organizational and ideo-political work among the youth and the intelligentsia. These manifestations were connected with the hostile activity carried out by the enemy group headed by Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja, former members of the Central Committee.

However, the Party did not allow these manifestations to become firmly established. It barred the way to liberalism, and thus averted the great danger which threatened the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialism in Albania. Tempered as it was in the revolutionary battles against the savage external and internal enemies, against traitors in its own ranks, the Party was not caught unawares. Neither were the people caught unawares. Nevertheless, there were party organizations, communists, cadres and working people who had relaxed or lost their vigilance.

The signal for struggle against alien manifestations and liberal attitudes towards them was issued by Comrade Enver Hoxha in January 1973, in the speech he delivered at the meeting of the Presidium of the People's Assembly. After making a stern criticism of these manifestations and stands, he instructed, «While waging an active struggle against the various manifestations of conservatism, we must not slip into liberalism, lose our vigilance against the current corrupting influences of bourgeois ideology and culture. We must not minimize these influences, or take a passive attitude towards them, but must fight them with determination and the necessary revolutionary passion.»*

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Presidium of the People's Assembly on January 9, 1973, CPA.

The entire Party rose in this struggle, especially after the speech of Comrade Enver Hoxha at the general meeting of the communists of the apparatus of the CC on March 15, 1973 on the theme, «How the Imperialist-revisionist Encirclement Should Be Understood and Fought.»

The party leadership demanded that any underestimation of this encirclement be eliminated, that everybody should thoroughly understand this encirclement, with all the dangers it posed, and act with high revolutionary consciousness and mobilization to break it in any situation and under any circumstances.

It criticized certain working people who, with an astonishing lack of concern, said, «We are very strong, they can't do anything to us.» «Man is brave,» explained Comrade Enver Hoxha, «when he fully understands what he has to defend, that he must defend what he has created himself with blood, sweat and toil. Negligence, laxity, liberal attitudes, the slackening of vigilance, euphoria are grist to the mill of the enemy.»

The Party was against the mistaken view of some who said: «Why should we raise these questions? We should not make a fuss about them.» Comrade Enver Hoxha said it was essential to combat this non-revolutionary view. He especially demanded that the efforts of F. Paçrami and company — the political ruffians, to describe conservatism as the main danger must be routed. «This is the thesis of the enemy,» he said. Then he asked them the question: «Are you for the thesis of the Party or the thesis of the class enemy?»* The Party consistently followed the only correct method of the struggle on both flanks, against both liberalism and conservatism, against both opportunism and sectarianism. Only because it fought in this way the enemies had been and always would be unable to catch it unawares.

It was obvious that the class enemy had a finger in the incitement of liberalism. Therefore, Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed the necessity for the Party to mobilize the opinion of the whole country and create a steel front against the enemy front, comprised of the external and internal enemies, to ensure that the working people thoroughly and correctly understood

* Enver Hoxha, Speech held on March 15, 1973, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 264, Alb. ed.

the dangers which the enemy front presented and that a relentless, concrete ideological, political and economic struggle be waged against this front, without any laxity or underrating of the danger.

At the same time, it was necessary that the ideological struggle against the remnants alien to socialism in people's consciousness should be understood correctly, to ensure that it was not reduced to lectures and talks, but was appreciated as a complicated all-sided struggle, which demanded the greatest attention of the Party, the state power and the masses.

The communists, the working class, the youth and all the working people took to heart the theses and tasks which Comrade Enver Hoxha put forward in his speech of March 15, 1973. Analysing their work in the light of these theses and tasks, each party organization, each collective pointed out and criticized the mistakes, the shortcomings, the alien manifestations, the liberal stands observed among communists, working people and cadres. A lively atmosphere of debate and confrontation, of mobilization to correct the shortcomings, to gain a more correct understanding of the relationship between rights and duties, to strengthen discipline and vigilance, and to carry out the tasks and apply the directives of the Party and the state laws to the letter, was created everywhere.

The Defeat of the Enemy Group of Fadil Paçrami and Todi Lubonja

All the roots and ramifications of the hostile activity of F. Paçrami, T. Lubonja and their followers were uncovered in the heat of debates, confrontations and criticisms by the communists and the working people.

The conclusions of the discussion in the ranks of the Party and among the masses of the people on the struggle against alien influences and liberal manifestations, as well as the hostile activity of the group of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja, were taken up for analysis by the 4th Plenum of CC of the PLA, which was held from June 26 to June 28, 1973.

The Plenum observed that the discussion on the struggle against liberal manifestations was a great school which showed how necessary was the criticism and the thrashing out of acute problems in the Party, how educational and fruitful was the open consultation with the working class and the other work-

ing masses on these problems. The Party drew great lessons from this discussion.

It must never be forgotten that all the pressures of the surrounding capitalist and revisionist world are concentrated on socialist Albania, that it is subjected to ideological aggression from all sides. This aggression is permanent, therefore the struggle against it must be continuous and must be waged every day, every month, every year.

The essence of the bourgeois-revisionist ideological aggression is the incitement of liberalism in all fields. Liberalism, «in whatever form and wherever it appears, is in essence an expression of ideological and political opportunism, renunciation of the consistent class struggle..., acceptance of peaceful coexistence with the enemy ideology.»* The retrogressive pressure of internal enemies was combined with the pressure of external enemies in a single front and for a common aim — to provide the soil, the necessary nourishment, for right opportunism, revisionism. All the enemies of the Party and the people have been rightists, regardless of the left wing disguises they have adopted in order to mislead the masses.

This must never be forgotten. However, the danger of leftism must never be overlooked, either, and the struggle against manifestations of left opportunism must never be relinquished. The fight has always to be waged on both flanks, otherwise the line of the Party would be vacillating, unstable and incorrect.

The Plenum observed that the fundamental reason for the penetration of alien influences into literature and art was «the failure to consistently apply and deviation from the correct orientations of the Party on waging an all-sided ideological struggle against both conservatism and liberalism.»** The enemy elements took advantage of this failure, trying to eliminate the method of socialist realism under the pretext of the struggle against conservatism.

The party committees and basic organizations did not concern themselves as much as they should have done about the problems of literature and art. The ideological sectors of the apparatus of the Central Committee had not given suf-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 306, Alb. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 312.

ficient assistance, either, to ensure that the way was blocked to alien manifestations in literature and art. In particular, the Party Committee of the Tirana district was criticized for its inadequate work and concern over this problem. The majority of the writers and artists and the main artistic institutions of the country were in Tirana, where the spirit of liberalism had spread more than anywhere else. The League of Writers and Artists bore great responsibility for the deviations from the line of the Party in literature and the arts. Some leading cadres of the League had not only permitted the spread of alien concepts and theories, but had frequently fostered them with their liberal attitudes. The Ministry of Education and Culture, which had underrated the danger of liberalism and had retreated in the face of liberal pressure, also bore very great responsibility for these deviations. Later it emerged that the leading cadres of this Ministry had themselves fallen into the morass of liberalism.

However, those mainly to blame were F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja and their anti-party group. The former, in his capacity as secretary of the Party Committee of the Tirana district, and the latter in his capacity as director of the Radio-Television service, with definite hostile aims, deliberately distorted and sabotaged the line of the Party in literature, the arts and culture.

The Plenum of the CC charged the party organizations and organs with the task of eliminating any neglect of literature and art, of infusing the spirit of proletarian partisanship into every aspect of literature and art, of giving them direct guidance, always bearing in mind that the influence of literature and art on the masses «is great and has powerful repercussions, not only on the state of mind of the working people, but also on their work and on production.»* The Party expressed the conviction that, with revolutionary efforts, the writers and artists would eradicate the noxious weeds and, by following its Marxist-Leninist line, would boldly carry forward the great cause of literature and art, of socialist culture, that they would close their ranks more tightly around the Party, with which they were linked like flesh to bone, and create valuable new works.

In the struggle against alien manifestations and liberal

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 4th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, «Reports and Speeches 1972-1973», p. 326, Alb. ed.

attitudes towards them, the Plenum set important tasks in regard to inculcating revolutionary concepts about the way of life, behaviour in society and ideo-aesthetic tastes.

The way of life, behaviour and ideo-aesthetic tastes are component parts of the ideology and culture, the superstructure of the society. Their socialist character, like that of the whole superstructure, is formed and strengthened under the direct influence of the socialist economic base and through the class struggle against old, backward concepts and customs from within, as well as against the influences of the bourgeois ideology, culture and way of life from abroad, against conservatism and liberalism.

In recent past years conservative concepts had received heavy blows. Meanwhile, the struggle against bourgeois-revisionist influences, against liberal manifestations in the way of life had been somewhat underrated. The enemy group of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja exploited this to encourage bourgeois vices and violations of the norms of socialist morality by means of the literary-artistic writings, theatre, musical programs, etc. At the same time, a certain indifference towards manifestations alien to this morality was observed among many working people.

The Plenum considered it essential to continue on a broad front the struggle against such phenomena. The masses had to be aroused to take part in this struggle, doing away with any sign of indifference, in order to create an atmosphere in which violations of the norms of socialist morality would be stifled. This required the formation of a united front of positive influence for the revolutionary education of the youth with socialist concepts on the way of life, ideo-aesthetic tastes and behaviour, a front in which the common efforts of the school, the work centre, all the means of propaganda and culture, the social organizations, the family and the whole of public opinion would be merged.

The Labour Youth Union of Albania ought to play a special role. The Plenum of the CC of the Party demanded that this organization correct the mistakes observed in its ideo-political, cultural and organizational activity, stemming from the liberal stands of Agim Mero, former first secretary of the CC of the LYUA, and take radical measures to establish a healthy situation, by guiding and leading the revolutionary enthusiasm of the youth. Among the youth, as everywhere else, the

fight would be waged on both flanks, both against patriarchalism and conservatism and against liberalism.

The Plenum deemed it necessary that the struggle against alien manifestations and liberal stands should be extended to the other fields of life, especially to the economy.

The discussion within the Party and among the working collectives uncovered weaknesses in this very important field, too. Shortcomings and mistakes in the management and administration of the people's economy, manifestations of voluntarism and subjectivism, of underrating economic laws, of narrow personal, departmental, local and group interest, and breaches of discipline at work were observed. Towards these weaknesses and alien manifestations liberal attitudes were maintained. People were not called to account and a strict state control was not enforced. The Plenum criticized the economic departments, especially the State Planning Commission and the Ministry of Finance for such manifestations and stands and instructed them to make a critical analysis of their activity in administration and management.

It also criticized the Trade Unions for self-satisfaction and formalism in their work and demanded that they improve their work to educate and convince the workers and the other working people, wage a persistent struggle against alien attitudes towards work and socialist property and for sound proletarian discipline, the protection of the common property, for high quality and productivity of production, etc. They should not retreat in the face of petty-bourgeois pressures, but should fight to arouse the working masses in irreconcilable struggle against these pressures.

In the context of the struggle against alien manifestations and liberal attitudes towards them, the Plenum also analysed the activity of the Party. It pointed out that similar manifestations and attitudes had appeared in its life and activity, too. Those party organizations which did not assume full responsibility for the state of affairs and the leadership of the work in the places where they were set up and operated and permitted alien manifestations to spread, which did not demand strict application of the principles and norms of the Constitution by all the communists and cadres, irrespective of whether they held leading posts and functions, and did not struggle to make every communist set the personal example as a vanguard fighter, maintained liberal attitudes.

The Plenum set the task of further strengthening the leadership by the Party, and this would take concrete form in the correct and full implementation of its decisions and directives, state laws, and tasks in the various fields of life, on the basis of the profound ideological and political convictions of the masses, perfect management and organization of affairs, and improved functioning of the powerful levers of the Party, such as the organs of state power and the social organizations.

While analysing the conclusions of the discussion within the Party and among the masses on the problems of the fight against liberalism, and drawing lessons and tasks from this analysis, the Plenum of the CC also finally smashed the enemy group of F. Paçarami and T. Lubonja. This group had begun its activity in the 60's, when the all-round struggle against Soviet revisionism commenced, and pinned its hopes on the deep «crisis» which it thought the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade was bound to cause in Albania. These enemies thought that, in the conditions of this «crisis», they would be able to realize their plan of spreading revisionism and restoring capitalism. However, there was no sign of the «crisis» they desired. In the early 1970's, when the revisionist trends and pacifist spirit became more wide-spread internationally, when the Chinese leadership began openly to follow the policy of reconciliation with American imperialism, the enemies intensified their activity. Their aim was, in the first place, to corrupt the youth and the intelligentsia and pit them against the Party and socialism, as the revisionists in the former socialist countries had done. In Albania, however, the enemies were defeated in their aims and routed.

On account of the anti-party and anti-socialist attitudes of F. Paçrami and T. Lubonja, both in theory and in practice, the harm they had done to the Party, the state and the construction of socialism, the Plenum of the CC of the Party expelled them from the Central Committee and the Party and, at the same time, dismissed them from all state functions.

The conclusions and decisions of the 4th Plenum of the CC further strengthened the unity of the Party, raised its vigilance and militant readiness to a higher level and improved the activity of the party organs and organizations. They helped deepen the class struggle against influences of bourgeois-

revisionist ideology, against all alien manifestations, against distortions and violations of the party directives, state laws and the norms of socialist society.

As it turned out later, however, not all the enemies in the ranks of the Party had been uncovered and defeated. The traitor group that the 4th Plenum smashed constituted only one limb of the betrayal. During those grave moments they were experiencing, the other enemies were terrified. They did not cease their anti-party and anti-socialist activity, but made a retreat, waiting for the «tide» to ebb, and hoping especially that the «crisis» they desired so desperately would be created so that they could go openly on the offensive. Meanwhile, they tried to distort and reduce the profound and far-reaching significance of the decisions of the Plenum, presenting these decisions as though they had to do only with literature and art and some alien manifestations in the way some of the youth dressed and the length of their hair.

However, the tide of the revolutionary struggle did not ebb. It was rising continually. This tide, that was spreading and penetrating everywhere, would go on to cleanse other stables of the filth of betrayal.

4. THE ALL-ROUND STRENGTHENING OF THE DEFENCE OF THE COUNTRY

For years the Central Committee of the Party had been concerned about alien manifestations, violations and distortions of the directives of the Party, which were observed in the army and which hindered the revolutionary program for the training of the army and the entire people for defence by means of people's war.

In the new revolutionary upsurge, which swept the entire life of the country, the Party finally discovered that these manifestations, violations and distortions had their roots in the secret hostile activity carried out by the traitor group of Beqir Balluku, former minister of People's Defence, Petrit Dume, former chief of the General Staff, Hito Çako, former chief of the Political Directory of the Army, and others.

The Smashing of the Enemy Group of Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume and Hito Çako

The leaders of this group had long been in opposition to the line of the Party and in the service of revisionists. Following the decisions adopted by the Central Committe of the Party in 1966 to do away with military rank, to set up party committees and restore political commissars in the army, the traitors had undertaken the task of sabotaging the implementation of these profoundly revolutionary decisions, of arousing discontent and objections in the ranks of the army cadres and, on this basis, of combating the Marxist-Leninist military line of the Party, and replacing it with a counter-revolutionary revisionist line; finally, when they thought the suitable moment had arrived, they would carry out an armed putsch to overthrow the socialist order, after liquidating the CC of the Party and the Government, and seizing political power.

Step by step, they gathered around themselves a number of individuals confused by the imperialist-revisionist ideological and political pressure, persons with individualist and careerist tendencies, with pronounced vestiges of the old reactionary ideologies, and degenerate elements, thus creating another very dangerous group of conspirators and putschists.

In order to achieve their criminal aims, they had to have aid and support from abroad. To this end they made efforts, using every possibility, to revive their old connections with the Soviet revisionists. At the same time, they secured aid and support from the Chinese leadership which became the main instigator of the group of conspirators. The traitors were ready to use any aid and support to achieve their aim.

It was precisely this aid and support from foreign enemies of socialist Albania that encouraged the traitors to intensify their anti-party and anti-socialist activity after 1971, in the situation of a pronounced sharpening of the class struggle within the country and on a world-wide scale.

Knowing nothing of this activity, the Political Bureau of the CC and Comrade Enver Hoxha had criticized B. Balluku, P. Dume, H. Çako on several occasions over unhealthy manifestations, irregularities, grave shortcomings and mistakes in the work of each of them, in the activity of the Ministry of Defence and its Political Directory, the commands and the party organizations in the army detachments and units, as well as in the stands of many leading cadres of the army.

Nevertheless, by employing the forms and methods of professional conspirators, the traitors had managed to conceal the plot and all their hostile activity for years on end. On the one hand, they violated and distorted the decisions and directives of the Party and the Council of Defence, and on the other hand, they tried to create the idea that they were carried out excellently in the army, that everything was going perfectly there! They deceived the Central Committee and the Government, and likewise deceived the cadres, the communists and the soldiers, by pretending that everything they did was on the orders or had the approval of the party leadership. The worst of it was that many cadres and communists, infected by the diseases of careerism, servility, conformism, by the pursuit of personal comfort and self-interest and the weakening of vigilance, were taken in by these lies and slanders. The conspirators capitalized on the «specific character» of the army and the maintenance of military secrecy to close the doors to control by the Party, the state, and the masses, to transform the army into an ivory tower, to eliminate the principles of collective leadership and democracy in order to apply their counter-revolutionary policy.

Nevertheless, the plot eventually came to light, though not the whole of it immediately.

The first signs of it became apparent precisely at the moment when the traitors, terrified by the rising revolutionary tide which had swept the entire country after the 4th Plenum of the CC, displayed impatience and haste (as well as indecision) to strike the decisive blow before they were exposed.

First of all, the so-called «theoretical-military theses» worked out by the putschists on the basis of the view of the Chinese leadership, according to which Albania could not be defended against external aggression, especially Soviet aggression, except by applying the tactics of partisan warfare (!), were discovered. Zhou Enlai had expressed this view, as well as the proposal for a military alliance with Yugoslavia and Rumania, to B. Balluku in 1968, when the latter went to China at the head of a party and government delegation. Immediately it was informed of these proposals, the leadership of the PLA rejected them without hesitation, describing them as anti-Albanian and counter-revolutionary. B. Balluku had been obliged to associate himself with this stand formally, but afterwards, without the knowledge of the Central Committee of the Party

and the Council of Defence, he secretly organized the drawing up of these «theoretical-military theses» and distributed them to the commands of the military detachments in order to ensure their support. These theses, or rather anti-theses, which the Party described as «black materials», were in opposition to the revolutionary military line of the Party and the Theses of the Council of Defence on the People's Military Art. Defeatism, the opening of the doors to foreign invasion and capitulation to this invasion was the fundamental content of these materials.

Calling B. Balluku to account for this illegal activity brought to light that he was guilty, not only of issuing the «black materials», but also of promoting hostile aims and an entire hostile activity. Placed with his back to the wall, the arch-traitor admitted part of his guilt, though he denied having hostile aims. However, he said nothing significant about the chief accomplices, his associates in the plot. Meanwhile, P. Dume and H. Çako tried to present themselves as the «saviours» of the Party and put all the blame on B. Balluku. The aim of the traitors was to save their enemy group, by sacrificing as little as possible so that they could carry the plot through to the end even without B. Balluku.

The 5th Plenum of the Central Committee of the Party, which met on 25-26 July 1974, condemned the anti-party and anti-socialist activity of B. Balluku, decided to expel him from the Central Committee and the Party and discharged him from all the state and social functions he held.

The other conspirators thought for a moment that this was the end of the matter. However, through revolutionary intuition the Central Committee of the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha had reached the conclusion that they had to do not with an isolated instance of hostile activity by one person, nor only with a revision of the military line of the Party and the Theses of the Council of Defence on the People's Military Art, but with a more far-reaching activity for more deep-seated aims against the Party and people. Therefore, they instructed that the question should be discussed widely in the Party in order to bring to light the whole aim, all the threads and ramifications of the hostile activity.

The conclusions drawn by Comrade Enver Hoxha in the meeting of the Political Bureau of the CC on October 10, 1974, on the hostile activity carried out in the army, and

his speech, «We Should Apply the Iron Broom to Clean up the Hostile Activity of B. Balluku», delivered at a meeting with the leading cadres of the Armed Forces on October 14, not only laid bare the roots of this business, but also set the discussion of the question in the party organizations ablaze. The hostile activity carried out in the army was thoroughly thrashed out in the Party for nearly six months. From this discussion and thrashing out the aims, directions, tactics, forms and the danger of the traitor group emerged very clearly.

The conclusions from the discussion in the Party were presented at the 6th Plenum of the CC which was held on 16-17 December 1974. The Plenum made a thorough analysis of the anti-party, counter-revolutionary activity of the enemy group and dealt it the final crushing blow.

The aim of the group to liquidate the Central Committee of the Party and the Government by means of a coup d'etat, to usurp power and establish a bourgeois-revisionist order was proved on the basis of many facts, documents and materials. Their links and collaboration with the external enemies were also proved.

In their efforts to achieve their hostile aim the traitors attacked in two main directions: to liquidate the leading role of the Party and to eliminate the people's revolutionary character of the army.

The invincible strength of the People's Army has always been based on the leadership by the Party, The weakening and elimination of its leading role would make the army incapable of carrying out the great tasks of defence; faced with an imperialist or social-imperialist aggression, it would be destroyed immediately.

The plotters took every possible opportunity to distort and sabotage the Marxist-Leninist line, principles and norms of the Party. They distributed the documents and materials of the Party and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha, sent to the army, in very limited numbers and hindered the study of them. At the same time, they illegally distributed translations of revisionist and bourgeois political and ideological materials, which they published in large quantities, to units and detachments. The enemies strove to place the commands and staffs above the party committees or party organizations, to introduce the military hierarchy and discipline and the spirit of command into the internal life of the Party. They propagated that «the army

can do without party committees, organizations and commissars, but it cannot do without commands, staffs and commanders»! In this way they prevented the commanders and other senior cadres from being criticized or called to account in the party organizations. In particular, they violated the directives and policy of the Party on cadres, replacing it with a policy of individual choice, such as prevails in the bourgeois and revisionist armies.

The Party has created, built up and educated the People's Army as an army of the people, the revolution and socialism. The traitors strove to divest it of its revolutionary people's spirit, to turn it into a barracks army suitable for plots and military coups, while sabotaging in every way the Leninist teaching, the party directive and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha on arming and training the entire people for defence and on the free military school. They waged a systematic fight against the measures of the Party for the democratization of the army. They whispered high and low that «the line of the masses destroyed the army.» They worked to retain the longing for rank and to create the opinion that orders must be carried out blindly, even when they ran counter to the directives of the Party and the laws of the state. With their personal example, they strove to create a gulf between the cadres and soldiers, between the higher cadres and the medium and lower cadres. With their personal example, they strove to cultivate amongst the cadres the evil vices of the bourgeois and revisionist officer, such as arrogance, despotism, haughtiness, conceit, careerism, servility, deceit, moral degeneration.

However, the traitors were quite unable to achieve these aims, just as they were unable to revise the military line of the Party and to sabotage the implementation of the people's military art, or to carry out an armed putsch to seize power, which was their final objective, because the Party uncovered their hostile plans and work and utterly routed them.

The 6th Plenum of the CC described the enemy group at the head of the army as «the most dangerous the Party and our country have seen up to date», while it described the discovery and destruction of this group as «an exceptionally great victory which saved the fates of socialism in Albania and the freedom and independence of our people.»*

* Letter of the CC of the PLA addressed to the working people to inform them of the conspiratorial activity of B. Balluku, P. Dume and H. Çako, December 1974. CPA.

Judging on the basis of the damage they had brought to our defence, their criminal, conspiratorial aims and activity, the Plenum expelled P. Dume and H. Çako from the Central Committee and the Party and handed the chief conspirators over to the organs of justice for trial.

From the thorough-going Marxist-Leninist analysis it made of the hostile activity of the traitor group in the army, the Central Committee drew other important lessons for the Party and the people. Apart from the party organizations, the Central Committee informed all the working masses of this analysis, the decisions it had adopted, and the lessons it had drawn.

The Implementation of the Directives on Defence

The communists, in the army and amongst the civilian masses, the entire people, set about a major revolutionary work to carry out the directives of the 5th and 6th Plenums of the CC of the Party, to eliminate any consequence or trace of the hostile activity, to develop and strengthen the army, in particular, and the defence capacity of the country, in general, in a revolutionary way.

By implementing these directives and teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, very great results were achieved within a relatively short time.

The organizations and committees of the Party placed themselves fully in the leadership of the work in the units, detachments and sub-detachments. After the Political Directory of the Army was dissolved, by decision of the 6th Plenum of the CC, as an unnecessary organ, the Central Committee of the Party took over the direct leadership of the party work in the army, in the same way as among the civilian population. This revolutionary measure barred the way to the danger of putting the commands above the Party. For the same reason the function of the political commissar was separated from that of the secretary of the party committee of the unit. After this the party organizations and organs in the army functioned with completely revolutionary Marxist-Leninist methods, like the organs and organizations of the Party outside the army, with the same duties and rights laid down in the Constitution of the Party. All the party committees and organizations of the districts gave unsparing aid for strengthening the work of the Party in the army-

The ranks of the army cadres were purged without hesitation, but with revolutionary justice and maturity, on the basis of the directive of the 6th Plenum of the CC. Only a very small number of cadres had been conscious tools of the traitors, while the others had been led into error unwittingly, therefore they had to be given all-round assistance to correct themselves, and in fact this aid was given them. At the same time, new cadres from the ranks of the permanent forces and reservists, people with proletarian partisanship and loyalty, with the necessary ideo-political and military training, and capable organizers and educators, were promoted to leading posts.

The Party carried out extensive and thorough-going work for the Marxist-Leninist ideo-political education of the army, especially the cadres. The systematic study of the Marxist-Leninist theory through the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the documents of the PLA and the Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha was organized, linking this study closely with the heroic work and struggle of the working class and the cooperativist peasantry and the revolutionary tempering of the cadres of the army in revolutionary activity. Through determined class struggle, the manifestations of bureaucracy, liberalism, technocratism and intellectualism, arrogance and other bourgeois vices were smashed and socialist democracy and the line of the masses, the direct worker and peasant control and the practice of the communists and cadres rendering account to the mass of the soldiers were applied. At the same time, a steel but conscious military discipline was established. All the proletarian qualities with which the Party had always tempered the army since the time of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War developed with fresh vigour, becoming a great moral motive force in the fulfilment of the tasks of the defence of the Homeland in general.

The revolutionary Marxist-Leninist basis of the military training of the People's Army and the entire soldier people for people's war in particular were strengthened. The free military school became a universal system for the military training of the working masses and all the military structures, with well-studied programs compiled on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist military line of the Party, the people's military art and the instructions of the Council of Defence.

In this way, the army and the armed people ensured a high level of readiness and capacity for defence, as never before, being capable of performing their military tasks in any situation, in any variant, against any possible aggressor or coalition of aggressors.

This did not mean that everything had attained perfection, that there was no further need for concern or to continue the struggle to eliminate even the slightest trace of the reactionary anti-people activity of traitors. The performance of the duty of defence, which the Party has described as the duty above all duties, required continuous great revolutionary work and struggle, a high level of readiness and vigilance, sacrifices by the entire people, perfect knowledge and organization and, above all, the wise, proletarian leadership of the Party in everything.

5. THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD

One of the main fields of the struggle of the Party was the economy, in which it fought to ensure that its economic policy and the tasks of the 5th Five-year Plan were carried out. This was a complex struggle which developed in several directions, all interconnected with one another.

The Smashing of the Enemy Group of Abdyl Këllezi, Koço Theodhosi and Kiço Ngjela

The fiercest struggle of the Party for the implementation of its economic policy and the fulfilment of the targets of the plan was waged against the hostile activity of the traitor group of Abdyl Këllezi, former chairman of the Planning Commission, Koço Theodhosi, former minister of industry and mining, and Kiço Ngjela, former minister of trade.

This group, like the others, had been engaged in clandestine hostile activity for years, taking advantage of the posts its members held in the Party and the state and the shortcomings in the work of the party organizations and state and economic organs. In the course of the upsurge of revolutionary class struggle, the Party eventually discovered the subversive sabotage activity of this group, which it carried out in connection and collaboration with the two other traitor groups, with

the urging and support of external enemies, for the same aim: the liquidation of socialism in Albania. Both the group headed by B. Balluku and the group of A. Kellezi and Co, relied on the aid of the Chinese leadership which incited the traitorous counter-revolutionary activity of these groups.

Being opposed to the economic policy of the Party, the traitors tried in every way to distort it, to hinder its implementation, to spread bourgeois-revisionist views and practices and to introduce the forms and methods of Titoite self-administration and capitalist economics in the management and organization of the economy.

They attacked the principle of the centralized management of the economy by extending the relations of supply and distribution among enterprises beyond all limits and outside the plan, avoiding the state, financial and bank control, etc.

They made efforts to overload the state and economic apparatuses with employees, by creating many unnecessary organisms and filling them with officials and technocrats, by inventing the so-called supplementary staff lists to increase the non-productive bureaucratic personnel which they described artificially as workers.

The traitors caused great irregularities in planning in order to pave the way to spontaneity and anarchy in the development of economy and lead the socialist economy up a blind alley.

Their sabotage activity, which caused incalculabe damage to the people's economy, constitutes their greatest crime against the people and socialism.

For years on end they sabotaged and disorganized the discovery, extraction and processing of oil and gas. At the same time, their influence resulted in reduced extraction of coal. They also carried out sabotage in the sectors of geology. They made great efforts, co-ordinated with the plans of the Chinese leadership, to sabotage the construction of the new projects and disorganize the use of funds for fundamental investments, in general. With the support of former leaders of the Ministry of Agriculture, they carried out undermining activity in agriculture, too. In foreign trade, they carried out a wide range of destructive activities.

The aim of the enemies was to leave socialist Albania without essential strategic raw materials and without bread, to hinder the development of industry and the whole economy,

to set this economy on the wrong road. To this end they aimed to arouse discontent among the people and to open the doors to imperialists and revisionists by making the people's economy dependent on them and transforming the Albanian market into an appendage of capitalist markets.

They made use of the network of foreign trade to maintain the links of the traitor groups with the external enemies whom they served.

Apart from this, by exploiting their official positions, the traitors misused large monetary and material funds.

The traitorous activity in the economic field began to be uncovered in February 1975. The enemies employed every manoeuvre and left no stone unturned to escape complete exposure and judgement of their anti-party anti-socialist and anti-popular activity by the communists and the working masses. However, as soon as the signal was given and with the assistance of the Central Committee of the Party, the party organizations and working collectives of the economic sectors, where the traitors had carried out their hostile activity, set about a thorough analysis of the work and affairs, brought to light all the hostile activity, in all its nakedness, and put the traitors with their backs to the wall.

This traitorous activity was analyzed and finally destroyed by the 7th Plenum of the CC of the Party which was held from 26-29 May 1975. The discovery and smashing of the activity of the saboteurs, said Comrade Enver Hoxha at the Plenum, «is a major victory which must strengthen our awareness and confidence in the correct and vital activity of the Party, which is guiding and leading us correctly in the work for the construction of socialism and in the class struggle against all enemies who try to damage the Party and our people's power.»*

The Plenum expelled A. Këllezi and K. Theodhosi from the Central Committee and the Party and, at the same time, dismissed them from all state and social functions. The decision to expel K. Ngjela from the Central Committee and the Party was taken by the 8th Plenum in October 1975.

In the process of smashing the enemy group of the saboteurs the Central Committee and the entire Party rein-

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. CPA.

forced the lessons drawn from the 4th, 5th and 6th Plenums.

One of the most important lessons, which was linked specifically with the liquidation of the hostile activity in the field of the economy by the 7th Plenum, was that a fierce class struggle, interconnected with the struggle in the political and ideological fields, goes on in this field, too. The Plenum came to the conclusion that if this question is thoroughly understood and everybody acts accordingly, then the work will go well everywhere, the economic policy of the Party will be applied correctly and the targets of the plan will be fulfilled.

In informing the Party and the entire people of the decisions and conclusions of the 7th Plenum the Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha called upon them to mobilize all their energies to ensure complete fulfilment of the plan of 1975, which was the last year of the 5th Five-year Plan, and to prepare themselves for fresh battles to fulfil the targets of the coming five-year plan.

Overcoming Difficulties and Obstacles in Carrying out Economic Tasks

Overcoming the difficulties of growth was a very important objective of the struggle in the economic field.

The fulfilment of the difficult tasks of the plan and the prospect of the development of the economy required a further improvement of the socialist relations of production as a whole.

To this end, the Party and the state took a series of measures aimed especially at raising the scientific organization and management of the economy to a higher level. Great efforts were made to improve the work with norms on the basis of a more profound ideo-political and economic understanding of the system of norms as a regulator of production, as a means to mobilize the working people for ever greater achievements in their productive activity. Thus, the percentage of the workers and cooperativists who worked with norms was increased. In particular, a struggle was waged to go over from simple statistical norms to progressive technical norms.

To overcome the difficulty which stemmed from the disparity between the level of technical-professional training of the working people and specialists and the modern equipment and technological processes, attention was paid to raising

the level of qualification of the working people in courses and schools, through individual efforts and mutual help. In order to encourage them to raise their qualification, to master the equipment and methods of work, the system of cultural and professional certification of the workers and the technical-administrative personnel and employees was established as a means to assess their level of qualification. Likewise, the various work processes and jobs were divided into different categories according to the technology of production.

The employment of nearly 40,000 new work forces, which were created every year, was a continuing problem. The solution of this problem could not be left to spontaneity. On the basis of the directive of the Central Committee, after a detailed study the state organs employed these forces in agriculture, on the major projects, in the mines, saw-mills, constructions and elsewhere.

A measure of great socio-economic, ideological and political importance, which the Central Committee of the Party and the Council of Ministers decided on in April 1976, was that on a new reduction of high salaries and certain improvements to the system of wages and salaries of the working people. This brought about a further reduction of the ratio between the higher and lower wages. This ratio was reduced from its former level of 1:2.5 to 1:2, while that between the pay of directors of enterprises and the average wage of workers was reduced from 1:2 to 1:1.7.

In the new adjustments to the pay system the Party proceeded: first, from the principle of consistently reducing the sphere of operation of «bourgeois right» in socialism the more this society advances towards communism when this right will be totally abolished; second, from the principle that in remuneration priority should be given to productive work over all other kinds of work. It is productive work which creates the material blessings, therefore it serves as the basis for setting up a fair system of remuneration according to the work done. These two revolutionary principles have long been rejected in the revisionist countries where the bourgeois principles and laws of remuneration operate, just as in any other capitalist country.

Continuing the constant care which the Party has displayed for the working peasantry, at this time it took new, revolutionary measures to improve the socialist relations, to

develop the productive forces and raise the standard of living in the countryside.

The first major measure which the Party took after its 6th Congress was the creation of the **higher type cooperatives**. From 1972 to the end of 1975 tens of such cooperatives were set up in the Republic. This measure was taken with the aim of accelerating the rates of the development of agricultural and livestock production and taking a step forward on the road of bringing the property of the group closer to the property of the entire people.

The new distinctive feature of the higher type cooperatives, in comparison with the ordinary cooperatives, is the participation of the state in the cooperativist agricultural social economy with non-repayable funds and means, as well as the implementation of certain forms of organization, management and remuneration which are more like the forms used in the state sector.

The correctness of this measure was proved within a few years. Although this was a new experience applied for the first time in Albania, four years after their creation the higher type cooperatives, which occupied 23 per cent of the arable land of the whole cooperativist sector, produced 25 per cent of the bread grain, 40 per cent of the sunflower, more than 50 per cent of the rice and cotton, etc.

Other measures in favour of the development of the countryside, for narrowing the distinctions between town and countryside, were: the taking over, on the part of the state, of the expenditure for social-cultural services, the investments for building schools, kindergartens and creches, houses of culture and health institutions; the increase of state investments in the hilly and mountainous zones for the construction of new irrigation projects and for the extension of the irrigation network; the reduction of the prices of nitrogenous fertilizers for these zones; the increase in pensions for the cooperative members, etc.

To overcome the difficulties of growth, and solve the problems arising from this, the Party waged a stern struggle against shortcomings and weaknesses, especially against manifestations of liberalism, bureaucracy, technocratism, narrow interest and glossing over unsatisfactory items with general totals which were encouraged by the traitor group in the economy in order to hinder the implementation of the economic

policy of the Party and fulfilment of the plan. Other harmful manifestations which were attacked were: commencing the construction of some projects without complete studies and designs, exceeding the investment funds allocated for the projects under construction, violations of the discipline of the plan and discipline at work, breaches of contracts, weaknesses in cooperation and collaboration, and damaging and misusing the socialist property.

The Party and the state had to overcome great obstacles and difficulties to break the imperialist-revisionist blockade, to avert any negative influence of the economic crisis of the capitalist world on the people's economy of Albania. In the existing situation the Party put particular stress on increasing the reserves, the discovery of new resources of raw materials to ensure a greater proportion of them within the country, the local production of many articles and goods, especially of spare parts, which were imported from abroad.

Serious difficulties and obstacles for the fulfilment of the economic plans were created as a result of the failure of the Chinese side to carry out official agreements and protocols. The designs and many items of machinery, equipment and other materials for the economic projects which were built on credits from China were delivered to Albania with great delay. Because of these delays, many projects were not built within the planned time schedules. This had a negative influence also on the fulfilment of the production plans in particular branches and in industry in general.

Fulfilment of the 5th Five-year Plan

The revolutionary struggle of the Party and masses of the people to overcome the difficulties of growth, against shortcomings in work and alien manifestations, against the imperialist-revisionist encirclement and blockade and enemy groups, resulted in the fulfilment of the tasks set by the 6th Congress for the development of the people's economy and culture.

During the 5th Five-year Plan total industrial production increased at an average annual rate of 8.7 per cent. In 1975 the people's economy was able to ensure the production of 85 per cent of the mass consumer goods in the country.

Agricultural production increased at an average annual rate of nearly 6 per cent. Proceeding on the course of

intensification, agriculture was provided with a more powerful and extensive base of more complex machinery.

During the five-year plan, work proceeded on 310 important economic and socio-cultural projects, 155 of which were completed and handed over.

Exports increased 8 per cent more than imports.

The national income increased at an average rate 3 times higher than the increase in the population. Real per capita income increased 14,5 per cent overall, as envisaged in the plan, while in the countryside it increased 20.5 per cent.

The health network was extended further, especially in the countryside. In 1975 there was one doctor per 870 inhabitants, as against one for 1,800 inhabitants in 1970. The average life expectancy reached 68 years.

Education was further extended during the 5th Five-year Plan. In 1975 one out of every three inhabitants attended school.

The Academy of Sciences was established in 1972.

The new enthusiasm and revolutionary drive, which the 4th, 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the CC aroused, were materialized even better in a series of new achievements in 1976. The greatest achievement was the local production of all the bread grain needed by the population for the first time. This can be considered an historic achievement of socialist Albania.

The correctness of the revolutionary economic policy followed by the Party becomes even clearer if the achievements are compared with those of 1960, when the Soviet revisionists began their blockade against socialist Albania. In 1975 industrial production was 4 times greater, and agricultural production 2.5 times greater. Production of the electric power industry was more than 7 times greater, that of the engineering industry 14.5 times and the chemical industry nearly 25 times greater. There were 17 thousand tractors working in agriculture, as against 4.5 thousand in 1960, while 25 times more chemical fertilizer, all produced at home, was used. In 1976 the average yields of grain reached 27 quintals per hectare (in the plains 33 quintals per hectare), as against 7.4 quintals per hectare in 1960. During the 15 preceding years, over 6.5 times more cadres and specialists of various profiles were trained in the higher schools of the country.

Some targets of the 5th Five-year Plan were not fully realized, and some industrial projects were not built on time, mostly because of the sabotage of the Chinese leadership and the hostile activity of traitors, but also because of the difficulties stemming from the weaknesses in the management and organization of the work. However, no cause, no circumstance, no difficulty, no external pressure could stop the triumphant march of socialist Albania.

6. ENHANCING THE LEADING ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS AND FURTHER STRENGTHENING THE PARTY

The more the socialist revolution advanced in all fields through fierce class struggle, the more indispensable became the strengthening of the leading role of the working class, as the class in power, and its Party.

Extension and Deepening of the Direct Worker and Peasant Control

The working class in power always carries out its leading role through its party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. However, as the bitter experience of the Soviet Union and the other former socialist countries has shown, these may degenerate, may be infected by dangerous diseases of bureaucracy and liberalism and be transformed from a workers' party and state power into a bourgeois-revisionist party and state power. It is precisely the great duty of the working class, in the first place, to prevent this degeneration and ensure that «the transformation of state organs from servants of society into masters of society,»* as F. Engels put it, does not occur, and that the proletarian character of the party and socialist state is preserved and constantly strengthened.

The struggle for the destruction of the conspiratorial traitor groups, combined with the frontal struggle against liberalism, bureaucracy and technocratism, showed even more clearly how decisive is the performance of this task by the working class, how indispensable is the worker control over the

* K. Marx, F. Engels. Selected Works, vol. 1, 1975, p. 504, Alb. ed.

activity of the organs and organizations of the Party, the state and economic organs, the apparatus and cadres, everywhere and in everything, in town and countryside, as the 6th Congress of the PLA instructed.

Since April 1968 when Comrade Enver Hoxha, in his speech on the worker control, demanded a more correct understanding and implementation of this control as a basic element of the leadership of the working class, great steps forward had been taken in this question. The direct worker control had become a component part of the revolutionary activity of the Party, the state and the working masses. However, zigzags, narrow or one-sided understanding of it and incorrect practices were still observed, and obstacles were encountered in the implementation of the directive of the Party and the teachings of Lenin on the worker control.

The efforts of the Party were directed, first of all, at ensuring a more profound ideological and political understanding of the direct worker control as an objective necessity, a basic principle of socialist social and state life.

The worker control was extended more widely by including the cooperativists in it, hence it began to be called the **worker and peasant control**. The working class cannot leave out its close ally, the cooperativist peasantry, from participation in government and the management of the economy, nor can it leave it out from the exercise of its direct control, as one of the most important means to achieve this participation.

According to instructions of the CC of the Party, officials are not allowed to participate in the worker and peasant control. However, when considered necessary, officials who are specialists may be drawn in, not as members of the control groups, but as expert assistants.

The aims of the worker and peasant control were clarified better. Often this control had failed to grasp the fundamental issues. Views were expressed that the worker and peasant control could not be applied on administrative, juridical, financial and technical questions, in the sectors of education, science, literature and art, because on these questions and in these sectors the workers and the cooperativists allegedly cannot give mature, precise, and clear opinions, since they are not specialists and competent! It was also said that the worker and peasant control cannot be exerted on any question of defence, because everything is a secret there! These views

were peddled and encouraged mainly by enemy elements and bureaucrats in order to escape the control of the masses, which uncovered the distortions and violations of the line of the Party and laws of the state.

The Central Committee and Comrade Enver Hoxha personally had to intervene several times to clarify the great aims of the worker and peasant control. These aims are: to verify the correct application of the ideology and line of the Party, to ensure the full realization of the targets of the plan, the observation of the state laws, the norms of socialist society; to combat bureaucracy, liberalism and all the alien manifestations to ensure order and steel discipline everywhere, at work and in the state administration; to protect socialist property from damage.

In regard to the worker control two opposite but equally harmful tendencies were observed: the tendency to spontaneous control, and the tendency to bureaucratic control, a stereotyped control.

The Party combated both these tendencies.

It made it clear that the direct worker and peasant control has to be guided correctly. The Party leads it, as it does all political, economic, social, cultural, military and other activity. «The leadership of the PLA, the revolutionary vanguard of the working class of our country, constitutes the primary condition for the proper exercise of the worker and peasant control which is not a spontaneous and anarchic action, but an organized control.»*

However, while strengthening the leadership of the direct worker and peasant control by the Party, the Central Committee instructed that care must be taken to avoid transforming it into party control. These two controls should in no way be confounded with each other, though both are control by the working class. They have different spheres of action and different competences. Though led by the Party, the worker and peasant control always remains a direct control by the workers and cooperativists, whereas the party control is carried out directly by the leading organs and the organizations of the Party.

* Decision of the Political Bureau of the CC of the PLA, «On the Further Strengthening of the Direct Worker and Peasant Control», November 27, 1975. CPA.

For a more perfect organization of the worker and peasant control, by decision of the Central Committee of the Party, special control groups, composed of vanguard workers and cooperativists, communists and non-party people, were set up under the basic organizations and bureaus of the Party in enterprises and cooperatives, as well as under the party committees of the districts.

However, the organization of the worker and peasant control did not mean to compile plans and programs of this control for three, six or twelve months. Such programs would result in this control becoming bureaucratic and losing the capacity to act swiftly and without forewarning, which it must have.

Who and what problem should be controlled is decided by the party committee or the party organization, when the need arises. Whenever they see that in the one or the other sector, enterprise, cooperative or institution affairs are not running smoothly, the tasks and directives are not carried out for this or that reason, and when worrying problems arise, the organs and organizations of the Party which lead and control all the work, decide in a collective way to send the worker and peasant control at once to discover the shortcomings, mistakes and faults, to verify the damage, to discover the persons responsible and to determine the necessary measures.

The direct worker and peasant control is vested with competences.

When the groups of this control discover stands and actions which run counter to the laws, orders and regulations in force, and the decisions and directives of the Party, the respective cadres and organs are obliged to correct them immediately.

The groups of the worker and peasant control have the right to suspend any leading cadre or official from his functions, when it is obvious that he has committed grave mistakes and violations, until the matter is finally decided and settled by the competent staffing organs.

The other measures which the control groups consider necessary are proposed to the party organizations and organs, the state and economic organs, and the working collectives.

In every instance, the measures, tasks, recommendations and problems which the worker and peasant control raises, are submitted to the judgement of the working people.

The trade-union organizations do not lead the direct worker control, but they can in no way remain aloof from it. They have the duty to carry out extensive educational work to make the working class conscious of its great leading mission and the significance of the direct worker control, to assist the control groups and to mobilize the working people in carrying out the instructions and solving the problems it raises. The organizations of the Front, the Youth Union and the Women's Union have a similar task for the ideo-political preparation of the working masses, the youth and women in the exercise of the worker and peasant control.

The state organs, the people's councils with their executive committees, the courts and the offices of the State Attorney, the commands of the military units and the organs of Internal Affairs are also obliged to give the groups of the worker and peasant control great all-round assistance.

Special attention has been paid to providing the control groups with ideo-political training and expertise. According to the instructions of the Central Committee and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, their training is ideological and political, as well as specialized, in order to make the members of control groups competent in dealing with issues and problems.

It was particularly important that the connection between and the harmonious functioning of the direct worker and peasant control, the party control and the state control should be clearly understood. All these three forms of control are control by the working class, have a proletarian character, hence, from this viewpoint, they constitute a single control. But they do not replace one another, just as they do not exclude one another. If only one of them is lacking or weak the control by the class will be crippled and the work will not go well. That is why the Central Committee demanded continuous care to ensure that the direct worker and peasant control is not transformed into an appendage of the party control or the state control, and likewise, that the party control and state control are not underrated, that the three forms of control are exercised in close connection with one another, so that the one helps and supplements the other.

The results of the direct worker and peasant control, like those of the party control and state control, are not assessed from the number of checks carried out, but from the fulfil-

ment of the tasks and the reduction of cases of alien manifestations, violations and distortions of the directives of the Party, the state laws, the norms of socialist society, contraventions of regulations and crimes.

The Revolutionary Tempering of Cadres in the School of the Working Class

As directed by the 6th Congress, the Party gave increased attention to and intensified the struggle for the continuous revolutionization of the cadres.

In its assessment of the role of cadres, in training and educating them, the Party has always been guided by the Marxist-Leninist principle on the relationship of cadres to the masses, according to which the cadres are servants of the masses. The merits and worth of cadres are always determined by the service they render the people, the working class, the revolution, and socialism.

Speaking about the role of leading cadres, Lenin said, «No class in history has become the ruling class without producing its own political leaders, its advanced representatives, capable of organizing and leading the movement.»* And the working class cannot do without its leaders, its leading cadres, either. Like every class it, too, trains its own cadres.

Important as it is that the working class and its party train the cadres to lead the revolution and socialism, it is equally important to protect them against any bourgeois influence, to educate and temper them continuously as revolutionaries, so that they remain its servants and servants of the people to the end.

In the Soviet Union, it was the cadres who had got beyond the control and leadership of the working class, lost the revolutionary spirit and become bourgeois, who imposed their law on the class and the party, who carried out the counter-revolution. From this fact the PLA drew very great lessons to exert its continuous control and guidance, and the control and guidance of the class, over the cadres. *«The cadre..., first of all, must be educated in the school of the working class,»* teaches Comrade Enver Hoxha. «If he has not gone through the school of the class, the cadre is of no value. If a cadre has not been equipped with the education and spirit of the

* V. I. Lenin, «The Immediate Tasks of Our Movement», Collected Works, vol. 4, p. 432, Alb. ed.

class, he is prone to climb on the backs of the Party and the masses sooner or later, if he has the opportunity.»*

After its 6th Congress the Party carried out very intensive and careful work to apply this teaching.

It fought and smashed the efforts of liberal and bureaucratic enemy elements to change the policy on cadres from a monopoly of the Party into their monopoly, to make it serve their aims and interests.

It made even clearer that the cadres policy is the monopoly of the Party, while at the same time eliminating the distortions of a bureaucratic, sectarian or liberal character.

In regard to cadres the Party has a well-defined political line, criteria, directives, establishments and procedures, to which all without exception must be subject. Those responsible for the implementation of this policy are not just a few special persons charged with the work with cadres, nor just the respective secretaries of the party committees, who are engaged in it, but all the organs and organizations of the Party, all the communists, all the leading cadres, secretaries and chairmen, ministers and directors, commanders and political commissars. Nothing is allowed to be done individually, neither the assessment of the work of each cadre, appointments and promotions, nor disciplinary measures when these are necessary. All the decisions on cadres are taken collectively.

The cadres play an irreplaceable role in the implementation of the line of the Party, but they are not the Party. They can play their role only under the leadership of the Party, its organs and basic organizations. «The cadres have their place, their role,» pointed out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «however, they do not impose their law on the Party, but the Party and the class impose the law on them.»** The functions and competences with which the cadres are vested are not privileges; they cannot be employed according to the wishes or interests of this or the other individual, but only in order to carry out the tasks, the laws, the directives and decisions of

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* Enver Hoxha. «The Cadres Should Be Educated in the School of the Working Class», March 31, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 149, Alb. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on March 26, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 133, Alb. ed.

the Party. In the organization of the Party there are no badges of rank or titles. The organization commands and leads there, not the cadres. Every cadre, whatever his responsibilities, is obliged to submit himself to the judgement and will of the organization. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «The Party must immediately and unhesitatingly bring down from their high horse and break the noses and bones...»* of cadres with the kulak, bureaucrat or liberal mentality, who think that they are untouchable that they are omnipotent to do and decide everything without consulting the organization, the class and the masses.

The education of the cadre in the school of the class means that he should work together with the class, with its tempo and discipline, that he should toil and sweat as the class does and, at the same time, assimilate the ideology and policy of the class, be guided in every activity by this policy and ideology, be under the constant control of the masses of working people and render account to them systematically.

In order to carry out this line of the Party, the various manoeuvres, which a number of office cadres undertook to avoid productive labour, were combated.

Stricter order was established in the circulation of cadres. The resistance of bureaucrats who hindered the circulation of a number of cadres, especially allegedly irreplaceable specialist cadres in scientific and educational departments and institutions, was broken.

The Party did a great deal of educational work to correct those cadres who had unwittingly fallen in some way under the influence of hostile groups of conspirators. Not only did it differentiate between those who were real enemies (and they were very few), and those who had been caught up fortuitously in the enemy activities, but it gave the latter its parental care, re-educated them, helped them return to the ranks of the loyal fighters for the revolution and socialism, just as it acted with other cadres who made mistakes, but who, with the help of the Party, understood and corrected their mistakes.

Great improvements were made especially in the question of the promotion of cadres.

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on April 4, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 184, Alb. ed.

After the criticism and instructions of Comrade Enver Hoxha in his speech at Mat (February 1972), the proportion of communist cadres to non-party cadres changed everywhere. In 1976, nearly 72 per cent of the people in the elected organs of the state power, the mass organizations and the agricultural cooperatives were non-party people, while the non-party officials appointed in all sectors (except the army) amounted to 82 per cent. This testified to the Party's steel links with the people, to its great trust in the non-party working people, to their equal treatment with the communists, and to the socialist democracy.

At the same time, the proportion of cadres of worker origin improved. The cadres of worker origin, background and status in the leading organs of the Party, from the centre to the base, comprised 46 per cent of the cadre force, while in the government departments they comprised 40 per cent. Meanwhile, in the elected organs of the state power, the mass organizations and the agricultural cooperatives, workers and cooperativists made up 70 per cent of the total. This shows the class trend which the Party deliberately pursues in its cadres policy in order to ensure that the cadres do not lose their proletarian character, as occurred in the Soviet Union and elsewhere.

Obvious success was marked also in the promotion of young cadres. More relatively young cadres were brought into the Central Committee of the Party, the People's Assembly, the Council of Ministers, the party committees, the people's councils and all the organs of the Party, the state, the economy and the mass organizations. In 1976, 40 per cent of the total cadres of all nomenclatures were 30 years of age or less, and 31 per cent between 31 and 40 years of age. Practice confirmed to the hilt that such a stand by the Party is absolutely correct and indispensable. However, the Party never made the mistake of underrating the old cadres and treating them with less consideration. It always tackled the problem of cadres with the greatest wisdom and maturity, adhering to the line of achieving the best possible harmonization between young and old cadres, bearing in mind both the current and the future requirements of the revolution.

At this period the Party also cleared up another important matter of principle which has to do with the role of the school in the preparation of the cadres. Schooling, of course,

plays an important role in this question. Socialist society cannot be built and run without culture, education, science. However, the school does not turn out ready-made leading cadres. They emerge from the revolutionary struggle and battles for the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland. The Party, with the working class and the cooperativist peasantry, promotes them to leading positions on the basis of the determination and ability they display in this struggle and in these battles.

The new reduction of higher salaries and some other improvements in the system of pay and remuneration also had an influence in the revolutionary education of the cadres and the intelligentsia. This further narrowed the sphere in which the danger of their bourgeois-revisionist degeneration could operate. «Just as 'private property gives birth to capitalism every day,'[1] fat salaries' arouse the desire for greater gains, both regular and irregular,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, explaining why the Party should take this measure. «They give rise to the desire to live, eat and dress better [than the others], and you become bourgeois, while disguising yourself under communist slogans and even carrying the party card in your pocket.»*

The reduction of high salaries did not lead to any weakening in the activity of the cadres and the intelligentsia, in general. On the contrary, it led to a more extensive development and further improvement of management of affairs, higher education, scientific research and affairs.

The struggle against the tendency to inflate the establishments also secured this end. The Party aroused the masses of the people against this tendency, under the slogan: «When the class speaks, bureaucracy is silenced,» which Comrade Enver Hoxha issued in the speech he delivered in Mat.

The struggle of the Party for the revolutionary education and tempering of the cadres in the school of the working class created healthier conditions for the implementation of the teaching of Comrade Enver Hoxha who instructed, «The cadre should make revolution all his life, should be in rev-

1 Saying of V. I. Lenin.

* Enver Hoxha, Contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on March 28, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 144, Alb. ed.

olution with himself and the others. This should be a law, otherwise the cadre becomes rusty, is affected by petty-bourgeois sclerosis, which has many names — conceit, arrogance, careerism.»*

The Further Strengthening of the Party through the Class Struggle

The further strengthening of the Party, which was achieved through a fierce class struggle, played a decisive role in the fulfilment of the tasks which the 6th Congress set.

The struggle was waged, in the first place, against the enemy groups of F. Paçrami, B. Balluku and A. Këllezi and company. These groups were discovered and smashed one by one, but, as was proved in the course of the struggle for their liquidation, they were component parts of a single, co-ordinated, counter-revolutionary plot which was being prepared to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat and the entire socialist order and to bring about the occupation of Albania.

The enemies were very few in number, but the danger they posed was great. This danger was not in proportion to either their number or their support in the Party and the people, because they did not enjoy this support. They were a danger to the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist order because of the important positions and functions they had in the leading organs of the Party, the state, the economy and the army, and also because they were agents of external enemies.

However, the danger was averted, because the traitor groups were discovered and smashed before they could consolidate themselves and become crystallized into opposing anti-Marxist trends and lines within the Party. Once they were discovered and attacked by the Central Committee, they were attacked and crushed by the entire Party and the people. All the communists and working people, to a man, rose against the traitors and their anti-party, anti-socialist and anti-national activity.

This showed once again that a great and permanent danger of the emergence of factionalist trends and opposing

* Enver Hoxha, Contribution at the meeting of the Secretariat of the CC of the PLA on March 26, 1975, «Reports and Speeches 1974-1975», p. 136, Alb. ed.

lines, and the birth of revisionism in the ranks of the party of the working class exists objectively. At the same time, it showed that it is possible to withstand this danger, to eliminate the opposing trends and lines, to preserve and strengthen the ideological and organizational unity of the Party by consistently following, as always, a single revolutionary line and resolutely implementing the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the Party.

In the course of its ceaseless struggle, the PLA has never allowed itself to become dizzy with success, to become conceited, on account of its strong unity, its correct line, its sound links with the masses and the great victories achieved under its leadership. Self-satisfaction, conceit and euphoria provide favourable conditions for the bourgeois and revisionist maggot to get into the party and the dictatorship of the proletariat and destroy them from within.

Likewise, the Party has fought ceaselessly against the slackening of revolutionary vigilance, for any reason. «Through the vigilance of the Party, its great experience, its revolutionary perspicacity and cool-headedness,» explained Comrade Enver Hoxha, speaking about the discovery of the traitor groups of conspirators, «the whole extent and danger of this hostile activity was discovered.»*

Its determined and consistent revolutionary stand against interference from abroad, against attempts of one or the other revisionist side to impose their anti-Marxist course on it has also protected the Party against dangers of catastrophic splits and the emergence of factionalist trends. The external enemies of Marxism-Leninism have always incited the traitors in the ranks of the PLA, as was confirmed in the case of the discovery and smashing of the recent groups, in order to plant the seed of disruption and revisionism in the Party. As always, however, this time, too, the plans of the enemies were foiled, because of the determination of the Party not to allow any external interference, to stick faithfully to its own Marxist-Leninist course. This firm principled stand confirmed even more clearly that the only reliable way to follow a correct revolutionary line is to work out and apply this line

* Enver Hoxha, Closing speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, May 29, 1975. CPA.

independently on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the only guide for any genuine party of the working class.

The struggle against the enemy groups of conspirators and saboteurs, like the struggle against earlier traitors, was, first of all, an ideological struggle, as the entire class struggle waged in the ranks of the Party is. However, the struggle also had a political character. The aim of the ideological struggle can never be achieved if it is not accompanied with organizational and political measures. The Party has carried out patient work to make things clear to and convince those who have been involved in anti-party activity in order to put them on the right road. But when this activity has assumed the character of a plot and crimes against the people and socialism, it has not hesitated to expel them from its ranks and to hand them over to the court, which has punished them according to the crimes they have committed. This is a profoundly revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist stand. The revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, cannot fail to use violence against the enemies of the Party, the people and socialism. The contradictions between us and class enemies cannot be resolved in any other way. To try to resolve these contradictions as contradictions among the working masses, between the various aspects of the socialist order, are resolved, means to fall into idealism and class conciliation.

The purging of enemy elements from the Party, its struggle to smash their anti-party and anti-socialist activity, have further tempered the Party ideologically and politically as the vanguard of the working class and leader of the people. But the struggle against shortcomings and mistakes in the work of the organs and organizations of the Party, against all manifestations alien to the Marxist-Leninist ideology, policy and norms in the activity and behaviour of the communists has also tempered it.

Objectively, it is impossible to have no mistakes and shortcomings, no alien manifestations, no negative phenomena within the organizations and leading organs of the Party, as long as the fierce class struggle between socialism and capitalism continues on a national and international scale. The aim of the struggle of the Party is to ensure that alien manifestations do not become firmly established, that they are eliminated as soon as they appear and do not turn into diseases, and that the diseases do not become incurable ones which will overwhelm

the Party and the working class and transform the Party into a bourgeois-revisionist party.

The main objective is to ensure the implementation of the correct line of the Party. Hence, its main blows were directed against any violation and distortion of directives, any liberal, bureaucratic or sectarian stand and activity, and against things which hindered the implementation of the line and damaged the policy of the Party.

All the organizations and members of the Party are responsible for the implementation of the line. The Party focussed its attention precisely on this question and demanded that every organization and communist fight consistently and without any concession against any violation of directives by anybody.

The overwhelming majority of the organizations and communists acted in this way. However, there were a number of communists and some organizations that either violated this or that directive themselves, or did not wage an irreconcilable struggle against violations and distortions of the line, against deviators and anti-party elements.

The traitors whom the Party discovered and smashed during the years 1973-1975 violated and distorted its directives in the fields of ideology, education and culture, in the fields of defence, planning, foreign trade, oil, and agriculture. A number of communists did not see these violations and distortions and showed themselves to be politically short-sighted. Others noticed alien manifestations, violations and distortions, but did not act energetically to defend the line of the Party, thus showing themselves to be liberals, lacking revolutionary courage. Meanwhile, the basic organizations of which these traitors and deviators were members, had lost their vigilance, had put technical work above the policy of the Party and, in this way, had greatly weakened their leading role. The 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th Plenums of the CC shook up these organizations and set them on the right road.

These plenums shook up not only the organizations paralyzed by the traitors, but also many other communists and organizations which did not fight the violations and distortions, did not apply the directives with the persistence, the militant spirit and consistency that the Party demanded.

The further strengthening of the Party was favoured also by the purging of its ranks not only of the enemy elements,

but also of all those who, in one way or the other, had lost the qualities of the vanguard fighter. The number of members expelled was not large, but from the viewpoint of its content and meaning the purge was very useful and necessary.

The purge carried out in the years after the 6th Congress of the Party retained the special features of all previous purges.

Unlike many other parties of the working class, the PLA has never carried out mass purges of its ranks. This is linked with the fact that it has never been possible to create factional trends and opposing lines in the ranks of the Party, the struggle for the destruction of which would have led to mass expulsions. The cleansing of the ranks of the PLA has always been carried out in a normal way, in the process of the regular implementation of the principles and norms of its Constitution.

This purge, like all the others, was carried out on the basis of the internal democracy of the Party, while also seeking the opinion of the working masses, who make their assessment of this and the other communist, proceeding from their experience of the communist as the purest person, the most determined fighter for the cause of the people, the revolution and socialism.

While purging its ranks of people unworthy to bear the lofty title of communist, the Party showed great care towards those expelled. Among them there were only a few anti-party elements. The others it keeps close to itself, helps them and educates them.

The development of work organized better and at a higher level for the study of the Marxist-Leninist theory, the reports and decisions of the Central Committee, the conclusions and decisions of the Political Bureau and its Secretariat, as well as the speeches of Comrade Enver Hoxha, played a major role in further strengthening the Party. To assist the study of Marxist-Leninist theory and the revolutionary ideo-political education of the communists and the working people, during 1972-1976 tens of books were published with the Works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, documents of the Party and Works of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

CHAPTER IX

THE PLA LEADS THE PEOPLE RESOLUTELY ON THE MARXIST-LENINIST ROAD OF THE COMPLETE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALIST SOCIETY

(1976-1980)

1. THE 7th CONGRESS OF THE PARTY — A MARXIST-LENINIST SYNTHESIS OF ITS REVOLUTIONARY THOUGHT AND ACTION

The 7th Congress of the PLA was held in Tirana from November 1 to November 7, 1976. Of the 843 delegates, 734 were entitled to a deliberative vote and 109 to a consultative vote. They represented 88,000 members and 13,500 candidate members.

The report on the activity of the CC delivered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, the contributions of the delegates to the discussion and the decisions of the Congress constituted a Marxist-Leninist synthesis of the revolutionary thought and action of the Party. The tasks which the Congress defined and the directives of the 6th Five-year Plan which it approved, opened new perspectives on the road of the complete construction of socialist society in Albania.

The Constitution of the PSRA — the Work of the Party and the People

The first question the Congress took up for discussion was that of the new Constitution of socialist Albania.

On the basis of the decision of the 6th Congress of the Party, the Central Committee had taken all measures to

complete the necessary studies and prepare the draft of this fundamental law. Comrade Enver Hoxha headed the Commission for the preparation of the draft-Constitution.

The Central Committee of the Party and the People's Assembly presented the draft-Constitution to the people for discussion in the first six months of 1976. This discussion was turned into a great people's political and ideological action. About 1,500,000 persons, practically all the adult population of the country, participated in the meetings, at which 300,000 people discussed various questions of the draft-Constitution. The very useful suggestions and proposals of the working people were reflected in the revised draft. The masses of the people unanimously approved the content of the draft-Constitution, which means they endorsed the general line and the revolutionary course followed by the PLA.

The new Constitution marks a further qualitative development of the Albanian socialist state in conformity with the new stage of the revolution — that of the complete construction of socialist society. The major revolutionary transformations carried out by the Albanian people under the leadership of the PLA, as well as the new contribution which the Party and Comrade Enver Hoxha have made to the theory and practice of scientific socialism, are embodied in this Constitution.

Under the new Constitution, the Albanian state is named the **People's Socialist Republic of Albania (PSRA).** This **name** reflects the socialist qualitative transformations made in the base and superstructure of society more precisely and, at the same time, preserves the tradition.

The Congress stressed the open class character of the Constitution.

The Constitution expressed this character:

by proclaiming and sanctioning the PSRA as a state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the working class as the leader of the whole life of the country;

by defining the Party of Labour of Albania as the vanguard of the working class, as the only political leading force of the state and society;

by sanctioning Marxism-Leninism as the ruling ideology on the basis of which the entire socialist social order develops;

by describing the class struggle as the great driving force

to carry the socialist revolution forward, by means of which the final victory of the socialist road and the complete construction of socialism and communism will be achieved.

At the same time, the Congress dwelt on the profoundly democratic and popular character of the Albanian state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its genuine socialist humanism, which are clearly and fully embodied in the Constitution. *«The dictatorship of the proletariat,»* said Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report, *«is inseparable from the most extensive, most thorough-going and complete democracy for the working people.»**

This most extensive democracy for the working people is expressed in the following article of the Constitution: «All state power in the People's Socialist Republic of Albania derives from and belongs to the working people,» as well as in a series of other articles.

The socialist democracy has guaranteed the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the other working people the right to exercise their power both through the representative organs and directly, to participate actively, on a broad scale and in an organized way, in the government of the country, and to exercise direct control over everybody and everything.

The state power in the PSRA is an indivisible whole. The representative state organs, the People's Assembly and the people's councils, which are elected directly by the people in general elections by universal, equal suffrage and secret ballot, in conformity with the Constitution, are the only organs which exercise the sovereignty of the people. All the other state organs carry out their activity under the direction and control of the representative organs and render account to them. Not only the elected representatives but also the appointed functionaries of the state are obliged to render account regularly to the people.

The Congress pointed out that «with us the structure and functioning of the entire socialist state and social mechanism proceed on the basis of the principle of democratic centralism, the essence of which is the centralized leadership by the working class of the entire life of the country through

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 19, Eng. ed.

its Party and the proletarian state, the combination of centralized management with the creative initiative of local organs and the working masses.»* By embodying this revolutionary principle, the Constitution of the PSRA is counterposed to all revisionist concepts and practices, both the liberal-anarchist concepts that negate proletarian centralism and the bureaucratic-centralist concepts which exclude the working masses from participation in government.

Unlike the capitalist and revisionist countries, where the rights of the working people are only words on paper, in the PSRA the rights embodied in the Constitution, such as equality of all citizens before the law, irrespective of sex, race, nationality, education, or social position; the right to work, freedom of speech, the press, organization and public manifestation, the right to education and medical services free of charge, the equality of woman with man, etc. are fully and effectively realized in practice. The Constitution guarantees national minorities the protection and development of their culture and popular traditions, the use of their mother tongue and equal social development.

The rights are in unity and harmony with the duties, the performance of which is based not only on the obligation deriving from the state laws, but also on the socialist consciousness, on the principle of putting the general interest above personal interest.

While describing the socialist property as the inviolable basis of the socialist order, the source of the well-being of the people and of the defence potential of the Homeland, the Constitution links social property inseparably with the socialist principle of distribution, «from each according to his ability, to each according to his work.» This principle is concretized in dispositions which guarantee a more correct revolutionary application of it, leaving no room for speculations, either from the right or from the «left», or for the creation of privileged strata. The decision taken years ago by the Party on the abolition of all taxes and duties imposed on citizens was also sanctioned in the Constitution.

The line of the Party concerning the major questions of the defence of the Homeland, freedom, independence and

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 20, Eng. ed.

national sovereignty is also fully reflected and clearly formulated in the Constitution. The defence of the Homeland, as the supreme duty, is ensured by the armed people, the main striking force of whom is the People's Army. The Armed Forces are led by the PLA, while the First Secretary of its Central Committee is the Commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and Chairman of the Defence Council. The Constitution prohibits anyone from signing the capitulation or accepting the occupation of the country in the name of the PSRA, describing any act of this kind as treason to the Homeland. Likewise, it prohibits the establishment of foreign military bases and the stationing of foreign troops in the territory of the Albanian state. Bearing in mind that there can be no true political independence without economic independence, the new fundamental law also prohibits the granting of concessions to and the setting up of foreign economic and financial companies and other institutions, or ones formed jointly with bourgeois and revisionist capitalist monopolies and states, as well as obtaining credits from them.

The Congress stressed that the preservation of economic and political independence is directly conditional on the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance. This great revolutionary principle, which the Albanian Party and people have always adhered to in the revolution, in the socialist construction and the defence of the country, was also sanctioned in the Constitution.

A series of principles, norms and victories, which are the foundation of the socialist society in Albania, were also sanctioned in the Constitution.

«The new Constitution,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, *«is the reflection of a true socialist society, built according to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, embodied in and borne out by the revolutionary practice of our country.»**

This fundamental document contributed to the further all-round strengthening and perfecting of the Albanian socialist state and imparted a fresh, powerful impulse to the revolutionary struggle and work for the fulfilment of the great tasks of the complete construction of socialist society.

After being unanimously approved by the People's Assembly, the new Constitution of the PSRA came into force on December 28, 1976.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 29, Eng. ed.

The Indivisible Leadership of the Party — a Guarantee for the Complete Construction of Socialist Society

The major tasks facing the country raised the need to further strengthen the Party and lift its leading role to a higher level.

To achieve this objective, the Congress called for work to ensure an ever better and more profound understanding of the fact that *«The leadership of the party is one and indivisible. It is achieved only when its Marxist-Leninist ideology and policy, its decisions and directives are successfully implemented in all fields and in all directions*, in the state power and the economy, in culture and the army, when all the state institutions and social organizations, all the cadres and the working people are guided by this ideology and policy, by these directives and decisions in all their activity.»*

One of the main factors, which had enabled our Party to ensure its own leading role throughout its whole existence and to ensure the hegemony of the working class so completely, was its steel ideological and organizational unity.

In order to preserve and continuously steel this unity, to achieve the indisputable leadership of the working class, stressed the Congress, it is of decisive importance to wage a persistent and permanent struggle to ensure that the existence of factions and opposing lines in its ranks is never permitted and a single, consistent Marxist-Leninist line of the Party and a single revolutionary discipline for all communists, regardless of their position or function, is resolutely implemented.

The Congress also emphasized another condition which all practice up till that time had proved to be essential to the full realization of the leading role of the Party: every organ of the Party of every level, and every basic organization must play its leading role and every communist must be in the vanguard.

The basic organization is the foundation of the Party. The stronger and more steeled this foundation, the stronger and more steeled is the Party. The Party had raised the question of strengthening the leading role of the basic organization and raised it again, because the carrying out of its historic mission, of giving proletarian leadership in the revolu-

* Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 77, Eng. ed.

tion and the socialist construction, depends on this more than on any other issue. Comrade Enver Hoxha teaches, «The basic organization must be in the lead everywhere, if we are to be in order with the principle 'the Party should lead everything'.»*

At the same time the instruction was given that continuous attention must be paid to strengthening and improving the leading role of the plenums of the party committees in the districts and the party committees in the army. «Between conferences, the plenum is the highest forum which guides all the work of the Party in the districts,» pointed out the Congress. «The bureau can never replace the plenum and can in no way carry on its functions outside the decisions of the plenum and beyond the control of the members of the plenum. It is obliged to render account of its activity to the plenum. These principles apply equally to the Central Committee and its Political Bureau, too.»**

Great experience had been gained, especially in recent years, in enhancing the role of the plenums as leading forums. On the basis of the lessons the Party had drawn from this experience, struggle would be continued to achieve a complete shift of the centre of gravity of the leadership from the bureaus to the plenums, doing away with any manifestation of the cult of bureaus and secretaries, of placing the bureaus above the plenums, of vesting the apparatuses with functions that belong to party committees.

Ensuring the most complete collective leadership in the activity of the leading organs of the Party is the essence of this struggle. «Collective opinion and action,» the Congress stressed, «is more profound and correct, and has the decisive role in the performance of leadership by the Party. Collective leadership eliminates bureaucracy and arbitrarity, while at the same time it enlivens individual thinking and action, and does not permit the creation of routine and the spread of conformism.»***

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* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the meeting of the Political Bureau. March 5, 1975, CPA.

** Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 86, Eng. ed.

*** Ibidem, p. 86.

Another major question for raising the leading role of the Party to a higher level is the ceaseless strengthening of the proletarian composition of the Party.

Since the preceding Congress, more considerable progress had been made in this direction. Of those admitted to the Party within this period, 41 per cent came from the working class, 38 per cent came from the cooperativist peasantry, and 21 per cent from among the office workers, intelligentsia and armymen. The basic organizations of the sphere of material production had admitted 82 per cent of the new members.

The overwhelming majority of those admitted were 30 years of age or under. The Congress pointed out that this testified to the steel links of our youth with the Party and communism, as well as to the constant concern of the Party to avoid its physical aging, to remain always mature and young at the same time, in its revolutionary thinking and action, a party of the present and the future.

Worker communists, who comprised 37.5 per cent of the total membership, remained the biggest group in the Party. Cooperativist communists made up 29 per cent of the membership. There had been a considerable increase in the number of women communists who comprised 27 per cent of the total, as against 22 per cent five years earlier.

The progress achieved in the improvement of the social composition of the Party would serve as a basis for its further revolutionary development.

The efforts to add new members to the Party with people coming, first of all, from the working class and from the cooperativist peasantry would continue. The Congress set the objective for the future that cooperativist communists should comprise the second largest group in the total membership of the Party, after the workers.

In the previous five years, more than in any other period, communists had been sent from administration to production, and from town to countryside, and from the less difficult to the more difficult jobs. Sixty-two per cent of the total number of communists worked in the sphere of production, 82 per cent of them directly in production. In the mines and the sector of geology they comprised more than 86 per cent of the total, and in the agricultural cooperatives 87 per cent.

The Congress demanded that in the future the ratio of the communists directly engaged in production to those working in the administration in the economic sectors must be further improved in favour of the former.

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party, the preservation and continuous strengthening of its links with the masses, the further steeling of the party-people unity can be achieved only on the basis of convincing the masses of the correctness of the line of the Party. To support this truth the Congress quoted Stalin who stressed, «To lead the masses means that you must convince them of the correctness of the Party's policy.»* Any attempt to impose the Party on the masses through the power of orders, through the mechanical application of the principle of the leading role of the Party of the working class, violates the line of the Party, departs from the line of the masses. This conviction of the masses is achieved, first of all, through the deeds of the Party which are not separated from its words, through the example of the communists as vanguard fighters.

The social organizations, as schools for the communist education of the masses and their participation in governing the country and as levers for the implementation of the line of the Party, play a major and irreplaceable role in creating profound convictions among the masses about the correctness of the decisions and directives of the Party and the concrete tasks deriving from these decisions and directives. In connection with this, the Congress demanded improved leadership of the social organizations by the organs and organizations of the Party. The rich experience of the PLA in the work with these organizations has shown that its continuous, wise, proletarian leadership of the mass organizations does not permit a state of stagnation to be created in their activity, or the birth of anti-Marxist, revisionist views and practices of divorcing these organizations from the Party, of placing them above the Party and the working class, of self-administration and economism, or negation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the contrary, it always keeps them as sharp weapons of the Party and the proletarian state power.

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* J. V. Stalin, Works, vol. 8, p. 52, Alb. ed.

The Class Struggle — the Main Motive Force Driving the Revolution and the Construction of Socialism Forward

The Congress dwelt particularly on the question of the class struggle, summarizing the line of the Party on this question, on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and its own revolutionary experience over the years.

The PLA has always had a clear-cut revolutionary line on the class struggle and has always waged and led this struggle correctly and with determination. The Congress considered it necessary to dwell particularly on this question, because in the new circumstances the class struggle assumed even more decisive importance for the fate of socialism and national independence. The more clearly and profoundly the line of the Party on the class struggle is understood and assimilated and the more correctly it is applied in practice, the better and the more complete is its Marxist-Leninist general line applied to advance consistently on the road of socialist development.

The Congress re-emphasized the well-known thesis of the Party that the class struggle «in socialism, too,... is an objective phenomenon, the main motive force that drives the revolution and the construction of socialism forward...»*

This thesis accords with the definition which the classics of Marxism-Leninism have given of the class struggle as «the force which determines the development of society,» «the real driving force of history», which continues until classes have disappeared.

«The construction of socialism is a process of stern class struggle...»** This means that not only the existence of the class struggle, but also its sternness is an objective phenomenon. Objectively, the class enemy puts up continuous resistance, exerts pressure and does not voluntarily give up his power, his wealth, privileges, etc. He wages a fierce fight against those socio-political forces aiming to wipe him out. On the other hand, only through revolution and resolute struggle can the working class with its allies achieve its

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, pp. 108-109, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 108.

objectives, the construction of socialist and communist society.

The zigzags, the ebbs and flows observed in the class struggle are different levels in the sharpness of this struggle. They are linked with the concrete issues over which this struggle is waged, with particular moments of the struggle, with the internal and international situations and circumstances, as well as with other objective and subjective factors.

A correct understanding and application of this conclusion of the Party, which practice has confirmed, is very important to ensuring that the stands adopted are always correct and that the Party falls neither into opportunism nor into sectarianism in its practical activity.

On the other hand, it is impermissible for the Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat to incite or exacerbate the class struggle artificially. The PLA has never done such a thing, has never undertaken hasty, adventurous actions.

The artificial incitement of the class struggle, explained Stalin, leads to civil war; kindling such a war in the conditions of the dictatorship of the proletariat destroys socialism.

By means of the class struggle, the antagonistic and non-antagonistic class contraditions are resolved and society develops. It has always been clear to the PLA that antagonistic contradictions do not disappear with the disappearance of exploiting classes in socialism. They continue to exist along with non-antagonistic contradictions which are characteristic of socialist society.

The antagonistic contradictions are those between the socialist road and the capitalist road, between the proletarian ideology and the bourgeois and revisionist ideology, between socialist morality and petty-bourgeois mentality, religious prejudices and backward customs, between the working people and the enemies. The non-antagonistic contradictions are found among the working masses, between different aspects of the socialist order.

Up to the triumph of communism the contradiction between socialism and capitalism remains the fundamental antagonistic contradiction.

In order to wage the class struggle correctly it is essential to have a profound knowledge of the contradictions and their character; to define correctly the fundamental contradiction on the solution of which the solution of all contradictions depends; to ensure that antagonistic contradic-

tions are not confused with non-antagonistic ones and vice versa; and that neither kind of contradiction is underrated or overrated.

Repeating the thesis of the Party that the class struggle is waged in all fields and on all fronts, the Congress stressed: «Our practice of the revolution and socialist construction teaches us that unless it is waged in all its main directions, political, economic and ideological, no class struggle can ever be complete... At given periods, now one or now the other form of class struggle may come to the fore, but in every case this struggle must be waged on all fronts.»*

The Congress also pointed out not only that it is necessary and equally important for the class struggle to be waged in all fields and directions, but also that the three main forms of this struggle — political, economic, ideological, «are interconnected and complement one another.»** Since ideology, politics and the economy are interconnected, the class struggle is waged in a complex manner.

The interconnection and equally great importance of each of the main directions of the class struggle does not negate the thesis that, until classes and enemies no longer exist, the political struggle remains the highest form of the class struggle, in the sense that it is over the seizure of state power more than any other question that this struggle becomes most acute and reaches its culmination. This is where the stern struggle, which has always been waged and will go on in the future between Marxist-Leninists and revisionists over the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has its roots.

The Congress also dwelt on the close links, the interconnection of the internal front with the external front of the class struggle. This linking and interconnection have their source in the links and collaboration of the internal and external enemies. All the internal enemies without exception are simultaneously, in one way or another, agents of the external imperialist and revisionist enemies. Many threads link the internal enemies with the external, ones. «Therefore,» instructed the Congress, *«we must cope with the united front*

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 116, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 116.

*of the enemies by strengthening our internal front in all directions, in the fields of defence and the economy, politics and ideology, always waging the class struggle consistently.»**

The class struggle is an objective law, but it is the subjective factor that plays the decisive role in the outcome of this struggle. The victory of socialism depends on the consciousness, the readiness, the preparation, the organization, the mobilization and ability of the working class and the other working masses to fight, all of which are subjective conditions prepared by the party of the working class, as the leader of the revolution.

It is required of the Party that it follows a revolutionary line of the class struggle, worked out on the basis of thorough knowledge and application of the objective laws and conditions of this struggle, that it wages the struggle with revolutionary methods, always together with the masses and under its leadership.

Any stand and action not in conformity with the objective laws and conditions, any procrastination, adventurism, bemusement, fear, and loss of bearings in the struggle, or even worse, capitulation to the pressure of the enemy or to the difficulties and obstacles, spell ruin for the revolution, cause defeat in the class struggle, and give the opposing bourgeois-imperialist, revisionist and reactionary forces the possibility to triumph.

The Congress pointed out, «The class enemy tries to benumb the vigilance of the masses, seeks periods of calm and lulls in the development of the class struggle in order to muster its forces and strike suddenly. The task of the party organizations, of all the working people, with the working class at the head, is to prevent the creation of such situations favourable to the enemy, and to be permanently on the offensive, to keep the edge of the class struggle constantly keen and be irreconcilable with the enemies and their ideologies.»**

The 4th. 5th, 6th and 7th Plenums of the CC of the Party were great schools of the class struggle. The struggle against the traitor groups, which these plenums uncovered and smashed, showed once again that *«the main danger and*

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 113, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 116-117.

*enemy for our Party, as for the entire international revolutionary communist and workers' movement, has been and still is right opportunism, revisionism.»**

The Party of Labour of Albania has had to wage a stem struggle on all fronts against right opportunism.

The Party has fought in the same way against sectarianism, against rigid, leftist stands. «Those who are sectarian often pose as 'consistent, principled revolutionaries',» says Comrade Enver Hoxha. «In fact, however, they are opportunists and act in this way in order to be 'on the safe side'.» The Congress set the task that «The Party must make these matters completely clear and explain that *opportunism cannot be fought with success if sectarianism is not fought at the same time, and vice versa.»***

The leadership by the working class is the decisive factor in waging the class struggle and for the complete victory of socialism and revisionism. Everything depends on whether this leadership is secure, whether it lasts and is not liquidated once it has been established.

The experience of the socialist construction in Albania refutes the anti-communist conclusions that the bourgeoisie and its lackeys draw from the restoration of capitalism in the Soviet Union and fully confirms the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist theory on the hegemonic role of the working class and the class struggle.

The direct worker control has served as a powerful weapon in the hands of the Party for the realization of the leadership by the working class in socialism.

While using this weapon, the Party has pointed out that the direct control should not be confused with the so-called «direct» leadership by the working class.

The working class plays its hegemonic role in the revolution by means of its own party, as well as by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, when it succeeds in establishing the proletarian state power. Throughout history no class has been able to exercise its rule and leadership directly, but only through political organizations and parties or its own state.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 109, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, pp. 117-118.

The direct control is not direct leadership. It is realized under the leadership of the Party and its aim is the preservation and strengthening of the proletarian character of the state and the Party, the complete implementation of its proletarian line and the laws and plans of the socialist state.

The Congress set the task that the leading role of the working class must be continuously strengthened. To this end, it instructed that *«in the future, too, the Party will have to work persistently to educate the working class with the Marxist-Leninist ideology, to make it conscious of its role and tasks...»**

While giving the working class the leading role which history has defined for it, the PLA has always properly appreciated the place and great strength of the working peasantry. In the upsurge of the revolution, in the fierce class battles, the Party has forged a powerful alliance of the working class with the peasantry under the leadership of the working class. «This alliance,» the Congress stressed, «has always been and still is the basic principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the foundation of the unity of the people around the Party.»**

The Rapid Rates of Socialist Development Must Be Maintained. The Directives of the 6th Five-year Plan

In setting the targets for the new five-year plan, the 7th Congress of the Party had to take into consideration all the internal and external factors which exerted a positive or negative influence.

The deepening of the economic crisis in the capitalist world, the open emergence of Chinese revisionism, the rapprochement of China with American imperialism and its embarking on the road of transformation into an imperialist superpower, had created a new international situation. This situation had brought new difficulties and obstacles, on top of the existing ones, for the economic development and the defence of socialist Albania.

However, the internal factors, which are always decisive (the revolutionary leadership and the correct line of the Party, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the steel party-people unity, the socialist economic order, the respective

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 130, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 132.

technical-material base, the army of cadres and specialists, the great mass of qualified workers and farmers, the well-established habits of production, organization and management gained in the preceding five-year plan,) provided all the possibilities to overcome the obstacles and difficulties and continue the socialist development at rapid rates.

Proceeding from this reality, the Congress laid down the following fundamental task for the 6th Five-year Plan (1976-1980): **to go on at rapid rates with the socialist construction of the country for the transformation of socialist Albania into an industrial-agricultural country, with advanced industry and agriculture, according to the principle of self-reliance, for the further all-round strengthening of the economic independence of the country; to further improve the socialist relations of production and the superstructure; to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance the defence potencial of the Homeland; to raise the material and cultural level of the working masses higher, while proceeding further with reducing the distinctions between town and countryside.**

It was calculated that the total volume of industrial production during the 6th Five-year Plan would surpass that of the preceding twenty years. 1951-1970. The iron-nickel industry, the electric power industry and the chemical industry were to have the highest rates of development. Industry would supply 95 per cent of the spare parts the country needed.

Agricultural production would equal that of the three preceding five-year plans (1951-1965) taken togther. The attainment of complete self-sufficiency in bread grain was the main objective set for agriculture. However, the Congress instructed that agriculture should undergo an all-round harmonious development in all its branches.

In the period 1976-1980 the state would invest more than it had invested in the twenty years from 1951 to 1970. The Congress stressed the use of investments with high effectiveness on the basis of complete studies, precise designs and specifications, and advanced technical-economic norms.

The national income was envisaged to increase in proportion with the growth of the total social product. Thirty-five per cent of the national income would go into the fund of accumulation. Large sums would be spent on building new houses, on the protection of the people's health, the protection of the environment from pollution, etc.

The Congress also set important tasks for the development of education, culture and science. It issued the directive that scientific research should become a universal method which would pervade and precede every kind of work and assist effectively in the solution of current and future problems of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

The Congress focussed its attention particularly on the question of reducing the distinctions between city and countryside, defining the struggle in this field as the main way in which to further strengthen the alliance of the working class with the cooperativist peasantry in the existing conditions. On this question, said Comrade Enver Hoxha in his report, the Party is guided *«by the principle that socialism is not built only in the town, just for the working class but also in the countryside and for the peasantry as well.»** The state was to make a greater contribution to the further development of the countryside through the provision of all-round aid in means and funds to raise the standard of living of the cooperativist peasantry, in general, always on the basis of the growth of agricultural and livestock production. It was envisaged that in the new five-year plan the increase of the real per capita income of the rural population would be three times that of the urban population.

The successful fulfilment of the economic tasks of the new five-year plan would further strengthen the defence of the Homeland. At the same time, to enhance the defence potential of the Homeland, the Congress set special tasks in the field of the military training and fighting readiness of the armed forces and the entire soldier people. Guided by the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party, the People's Army and all the other military structures were charged with the task of carrying out all-round, persistent work with steel discipline to ensure assimilation of the military line of the Party, the military art of people's war, and perfect mastery of the military equipment.

In the conditions of the combination of the imperialist-revisionist encirclement with the great economic-financial crisis of the capitalist world, the application of the principle of self-reliance assumed exceptional importance. «This great Marx-

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 64, Eng. ed.

ist-Leninist principle of profound revolutionary content,» stressed the Congress, «is not only a law for the construction of socialism but also, in the present conditions, an imperative necessity for our country to cope successfully with enemy blockades and encirclement.»*

The Principled Stand of the PLA on Problems of World Development

Just like its internal policy and its general line, the foreign policy of the PLA has always been a policy of proletarian principles. Throughout its existence, at every decisive moment, on every key problem, whether internal or external, the PLA has maintained a principled Marxist-Leninist stand. In 1960, when most of the erstwhile communist parties had embraced the bourgeois-revisionist course of Khrushchev, or were in the process of doing so, when Khrushchev was exerting extraordinary pressure on the PLA to force it to deviate from the course of Marxism-Leninism, Comrade Enver Hoxha, expressing the will of all the communists and the entire Albanian people, declared: «Even if we have to go without bread, we Albanians do not violate principles, we do not betray Marxism-Leninism. Let this be clear to all, friends and enemies.»**

It is precisely in this policy of proletarian principles that the Party of Labour of Albania has found the strength to oppose and stand firm against big and powerful enemies, to expose and defeat their fiendish plans.

The principled policy of the PLA is hostile to any pragmatic policy of opportunist adaptation to passing circumstances, opposed to secret diplomacy, to putting the interests of its own people or the peoples of other countries up for auction, features characteristic of the foreign policy of capitalist and revisionist countries.

The analysis which the 7th Congres of the Party made of the international situation, the stands and viewpoints expressed there on the major events and problems of world developments were the embodiment of the policy of proletarian principles which the PLA has followed consistently.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 70, Eng. ed.

** Enver Hoxha, Works, vol. 19, p. 157, Eng. ed.

The Congress declared, «Our Party is of the opinion that the peoples must be told openly about the situations, because it is only thus that their true unity, the unity of the truly anti-imperialist and progressive states and governments, is aided.»*

The Congress came to the conclusion that the world situation was turbulent and fraught with great contradictions and confrontations.

Impelled by their ambitions for domination of the world, the imperialist superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, were feverishly preparing for war.

The turbulent international situation was further aggravated by the very deep crisis, the gravest since the Second World War, which had swept all the capitalist and revisionist countries, not only the developed countries but also the less developed ones. This was an all-embracing crisis of the base and the superstructure of the capitalist and bourgeois-revisionist system, an economic, political, ideological, military and cultural crisis.

This crisis was the result of the deepening and sharpening of the contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between socialism and capitalism, between the peoples and the imperialist powers and between these powers themselves.

«The present crisis,» said Comrade Enver Hoxha, «has once again confirmed that capitalism as a social system can never escape its contradictions and its ills, that it is incapable of ensuring its own superprofits, while at the same time preserving an internal social equilibrium.»**

The superpowers were trying to overcome the crisis by seeking new forms of collaboration in divergence, but also by clashing with each other.

The Congress stressed, *«Our Party upholds the thesis that both when the superpowers work together and when they quarrel, it is others who pay the bill. The collusion and rivalry between the superpowers are the two sides of the one contradictory reality, important expressions of the same imperialist strategy to rob the peoples of their freedom and to dominate the world.»****

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 175, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 163.

*** Ibidem, pp. 185-186.

Faced with the aggressive, expansionist, predatory aims and activity of the superpowers, the barbarous oppression and exploitation by the capitalist monopolies, and the violence and terror of reaction and international counter-revolution, the peoples were becoming more and more discontented, the resistance and struggle of the proletariat, the progressive and revolutionary forces and the peoples was boiling up and becoming more and more mature. The Congress drew the conclusion, «The world is at a stage when the cause of the revolution and national liberation of the peoples is not just an aspiration and a future prospect, but a problem put forward for solution.»*

In these circumstances, the correct evaluation of the situation, the adoption of correct class stands towards the superpowers was of first-rate importance for the Marxist-Leninist forces, for all the revolutionary forces and for all the freedom-loving nations and peoples. The Congress pointed out, «A principled stand on this fundamental question constitutes the only correct basis for defining a consistent and revolutionary strategy and tactics, and the criterion for assessing who are the progressive forces and separating them from the reactionary forces.»**

Such a stand became even more necessary in the conditions when the Chinese leadership had also fully unfurled the banner of revisionism and social-imperialism. The anti-Marxist theory of «three worlds» and the policy of collaboration with the American imperialists and world capitalism against the so-called only enemy of the world, Soviet social-imperialism, were making the fog surrounding the strategy and tactics of the world revolutionary forces even thicker, and causing ideological and political confusion in the ranks of these forces.

That is why the Congress dwelt especially on the criticism of the anti-Marxist views and stands of Chinese revisionism, as well as on the criticism of the views and stands of Soviet, Yugoslav and other revisionisms. For tactical reasons it was deemed proper not to mention names, but the entire world would understand against whom the criticisms were aimed, as the counter-revolutionary «theories» and actions of the Chinese were already known to all.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 159, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 166.

Having these theories and actions in mind, the Congress stressed that it is of decisive importance to understand clearly that the two superpowers, the USA and the Soviet Union, are now the biggest and most dangerous aggressor powers ever known in history, and that individually or together, they represent, in the same degree and to the same extent, the main enemy of the revolution and socialism.

Any view that does not put the two superpowers on the same level as the main enemy, or that considers US imperialism less dangerous, because it has allegedly been weakened and is not following a policy of aggression and attacks but a policy of self-defence, that it no longer wants war and the redivision of the world but the status quo, any stand which is based on reliance on one superpower to fight the other because it is allegedly more dangerous, is not Marxist-Leninist or revolutionary, but anti-Marxist and very harmful to the revolution, socialism and the peoples, declared the Congress.

Likewise, the views and stands which do not put NATO and the Warsaw Treaty, the Common Market and the Comecon, on the same footing and do not consider them equally tools of oppression and exploitation, are also anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary. Support for one against the other and relations of collaboration with US imperialism and its allies against Soviet social-imperialism, with NATO against the Warsaw Treaty, with the Common Market against the Comecon, or vice versa, are even more counter-revolutionary. Likewise, encouragement and support for the imperialist United Europe is an anti-Marxist stand, similar to the stand of the 2nd International.

The division of the world into the «first world», the «second world», the «third world», the «non-aligned world», or «developing countries» is in no way Marxist-Leninist, just as the theories of the Soviet and other revisionists on «the non-capitalist road of development», «national socialism», or «many kinds of socialism» are not Marxist-Leninist, the Congress declared.

Such divisions and names have no proletarian class character, but cover up the fundamental contradictions between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the peoples and imperialism, between socialism and capitalism.

«Marxism-Leninism,» pointed out Comrade Enver Hoxha,

«teaches us that in our epoch countries are grouped, according to the social system prevailing in them, into bourgeois-capitalist countries and socialist countries.»*

All theories which make a division different from this, undermine the revolution and the struggle of the progressive and freedom-loving forces, and assist imperialism and reaction.

The Congress considered that such misleading, reactionary theories of the Chinese and other revisionists had to be exposed and refuted, because, in the situation when the cause of the revolution and national liberation had been put forward for solution, the proletariat, the revolutionary forces and the peoples were faced with the task of intensifying and strengthening their all-round struggle against US imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and the reactionary bourgeoisie, and must unite in the struggle for freedom, independence and social progress. To achieve this objective, first of all, it was necessary for them to establish the dividing line, to make clear who were their main enemies, whom they should fight, and with whom they should unite.

The Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian people, together with the other freedom-loving peoples, the revolutionary and progressive forces and the Marxist-Leninist parties, would resolutely continue the struggle against the two superpowers, against predatory imperialist war and against international reaction. Comrade Enver Hoxha declared, *«At every moment our country will be found standing beside all those peoples whose freedom, independence are threatened and whose rights are violated.»***

At the same time, the PLA would continue to pay the proper attention to the development and extension of the relations of socialist Albania with the neighbouring states and other countries on the basis of the recognized principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in one another's internal affairs and mutual benefit.

At its Congress the PLA once again expressed its unalterable stand of opposition to establishing any kind of relations with the USA and the Soviet Union as the main enemies of the Albanian and other peoples, the revolution and socialism.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 173, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, p. 193.

In the new international situation, observed the Congress, the struggle against modern revisionism became even more necessary and imperative as a struggle to save the revolution and socialism.

The PLA had to step up and improve this struggle so as to give it the maximum power of conviction, by exposing not only revisionism, in general, as a counter-revolutionary ideology, but also each of its individual currents.

It would continue its radical exposure of Soviet revisionism which the Congress described as the most complete theory and practice of the revisionist counter-revolution.

It would not neglect the struggle against Yugoslav revisionism which serves as a favourite weapon of the international bourgeoisie against socialism and the liberation movements.

The Congress also set the task of exposing the so-called Eurocommunism represented by the Italian, Spanish, and French revisionist parties, which posed as somewhat independent from Moscow, allegedly to mislead the bourgeoisie, but in fact to deceive the proletariat and the peoples.

Likewise the PLA would fight the new revisionist current represented by the theory of «three worlds» which, like the other currents of modern revisionism, renders a great service to imperialism and the international bourgeoisie.

The PLA would fight all the many other anti-Marxist, revisionist and «leftist» currents and theories which have emerged in the capitalist world, at the most critical moments which this senile world is experiencing, with the aim of prolonging its existence.

The Congress stressed that in the existing conditions it was more necessary than ever for the true Marxist-Leninist parties everywhere to raise high the banner of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism which had been trodden underfoot by the revisionists.

The Congress drew the conclusion that the present situation in the international communist movement resembles the situation in the historic periods of the principled revolutionary struggle of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin. They are no longer alive, but their triumphant doctrine, Marxism-Leninism, lives on. *«In this great and difficult struggle the proletariat must act in close unity, but the unity of its ranks is achieved only by faithfully following and applying the Marxist-Leninist doctrine. Our Party has proceeded in this way and will con-*

*tinue to do so. It never has and never will put anything other than Marxism-Leninism in command.»**

The Congress proclaimed its complete internationalist solidarity with the new Marxist-Leninist parties of the world which were developing and growing ever stronger in revolutionary struggle. *«Just as the Marxist-Leninist parties and the progressive peoples everywhere in the world have helped us in the past, in our struggle for national liberation and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat,»* said Comrade Enver Hoxha on behalf of all the Albanian communists, *«we, too, are duty bound to help the proletariat, the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the progressive forces in the struggle they are waging so that their peoples, too, win their freedom and build socialism.»***

The Congress considered it essential that the Marxist-Leninist parties strengthen their collaboration, naturally without being dependent on or taking orders from one another.

This cooperation, based on Marxism-Leninism, can be many-sided. First of all, it assists the exchange of experience between the parties. This can be done on a bilateral or multilateral basis. When the necessary conditions were deemed to be ripe, a large meeting of representatives of all the Marxist-Leninist parties could be organized.

As the Congress pointed out, it is this foreign and internal policy of proletarian principles which had greatly enhanced the prestige and authority of the PLA in the international Marxist-Leninist movement and strengthened the international position of socialist Albania. Albania enjoys the support of a great many friends and well-wishers on all continents, who admire and respect it for its principled policy and its consistent revolutionary struggle. The 7th Congress of the PLA itself was a testimony of the prestige and authority it has won on an international scale. The delegations of the Marxist-Leninist parties that took part in the Congress described the report of Comrade Enver Hoxha not only as a great program of struggle for socialist Albania, but also as an important document for the international Marxist-Leninist communist and workers' movement.

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* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 239, Eng. ed.

** Ibidem, pp. 241-242.

At the end of its proceedings, the Congress unanimously elected the Central Committee of the Party of 77 members and 38 candidate members, as well as the Central Control and Audit Commission.

Twelve members and 5 candidate members were elected to the Political Bureau.

Enver Hoxha was re-elected First Secretary of the CC.

Pilo Peristeri was elected Chairman of the Central Control and Audit Commission.

The revolutionary communist characteristics of the Party of Labour of Albania, such as its steel ideological and organizational unity, its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, and its determination, maturity and revolutionary courage to apply and defend Marxism-Leninism from any distortion and attack, wherever it may come from, to overcome the difficulties and obstacles in the course of the revolution and to advance nonstop toward communism, which distinguish it from the revisionist parties and any other fake party of the working class, were reflected in the proceedings of the Congress.

The 7th Congress of the Party went down in history as the congress of the new Constitution of the Albanian state in the stage of the complete construction of socialist society and as the congress in which the open struggle against Chinese revisionism began.

2. THE READINESS OF THE PARTY AND PEOPLE TO CARRY OUT THE TASKS OF THE SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION IN ANY SITUATION. FOILING THE AIMS OF THE CHINESE REVISIONISTS

In order to ensure that the decisions taken and tasks laid down by the 7th Party Congress were carried out, it was of first-rate importance to make people fully aware of the situation in which they would have to work and fight and the numerous difficulties and obstacles they would have to overcome.

All-round Preparation to Carry out the Tasks in the New Situation

As the Congress foresaw, the imperialists and revisionists intensified their ideological, political and economic pressures on Albania to hinder its advance on the road of socialism. The

Chinese leadership in particular, intensified its hostile anti-Albanian activity as reprisal against the PLA, which at its 7th Congress, made its principled criticism of the anti-Marxist theory of «three worlds».

The Chinese leaders alleged that the PLA had attacked China, the Communist Party of China and Mao Zedong at its Congress. They tried to set not only the Chinese people, but also the Marxist-Leninist parties and all the revolutionary forces of the world against it.

Through a series of stands and actions in the fields of protocol and propaganda, the Chinese leaders implied to world opinion that China no longer considered socialist Albania an ally and did not support it. They extended and strengthened their relations (state and party) with Yugoslavia in a demonstrative way and did not conceal the specific anti-Albanian purpose which this act had, among others. They invited the revisionist Tito to China, and welcomed him with exceptional honours and pomp, describing him as «a great Marxist-Leninist leader», and the Yugoslav revisionist party as «a Marxist-Leninist party», which, among many great revolutionary deeds (!), had allegedly solved the national question in an exemplary manner, at a time when the chauvinist policy of the Yugoslav revisionists towards the Albanians in Yugoslavia, in particular, and towards Albania is known world-wide.

Meanwhile, the Central Committee of the Party made clear to all the communists, and through them, to the people that the Chinese leadership was pursuing the policy of the capitalist development of China and its transformation into an imperialist superpower, that a new revisionist trend had emerged openly in the international arena. The PLA, as a consistent and resolute defender of Marxism-Leninism, would wage an uncompromising ideological struggle against Chinese revisionism, just as it did against Soviet revisionism and the other trends of modern revisionism.

In June 1977, the 2nd Plenum of the CC of the PLA took up the question of the struggle against Chinese revisionism. On the basis of the directive of the 7th Congress, the Plenum issued the instruction that the criticism of the reactionary theory of «three worlds», which constituted the essence of the revisionist views and counter-revolutionary hegemonic policy of the Chinese leaders, must be developed further. The article of «Zëri i popullit» of July 7, 1977, entitled «The Theory and

Practice of the Revolution», which had a wide international echo, made a devastating, scientifically corroborated, exposure of this theory.

While expressing its determination to continue the fight against Chinese revisionism, the Plenum of the CC warned the Party and the people that the Chinese leaders would react, not in the ideological field, because they felt incapable of fighting the PLA in this field, but in the other fields — state relations, especially in the economic and military fields, where they thought they would damage socialism in Albania. To this end, they would gradually increase their activities to sabotage the economy and defence of the PSR of Albania. They would not carry out the economic and military contracts and agreements, and finally they would completely cut off the credits and aid envisaged in these agreements.

This is what happened in fact. Right after the 7th Party Congress, many goods, items of machinery and equipment, which, according to the agreements, should have been sent from China, were not delivered or were defective. Meanwhile, the Chinese specialists working in Albania carried out various acts of sabotage on orders from above.

This hostile anti-Albanian activity, which was added to the activity of all international imperialism and revisionism, brought and would bring new great difficulties for the Albanian Party and people.

To deal with the new situation which was being created, the Central Committee of the Party took all the necessary measures to prepare the communists and the entire people from every aspect, to strengthen their confidence in their own forces so as to be able to carry out the tasks of the socialist construction and defence in any situation. This was taken up at the 3rd and 4th Plenums of the CC, held in November 1977 and January 1978 respectively.

The leadership of the Party pointed out that the difficulties and obstacles which were being created by the anti-Albanian activity of the Chinese revisionists, combined with the activity of other external enemies, would be overcome by mobilizing all the revolutionary and patriotic energies of the people, by relying on the colossal force of socialism and the major achievements in the economic and other fields. The Plenum of

the CC pointed out, «Neither today, nor at any time, has the fate of socialism and Albania depended on others. Thanks to the correct line of the Party, we have a powerful economy, developed in an all-round way and capable of marching on its own.»* It declared confidently that socialist Albania, relying on its own forces, was capable of forging ahead maintaining the rapid rates of its socialist development, without reducing the people's standard of living, and at the same time, ensuring a powerful defence potencial. It would find the strength to break the imperialist-revisionist blockade, which was now becoming more ferocious and threatening. The blockade, the Party taught the people, would be broken with revolutionary work, with exceptional mobilization, with a steel discipline, and the fulfilment of all tasks.

In the new situation, the fulfilment of the economic tasks assumed very great importance. The Party demanded that every worker, first of all, every communist, must be made fully conscious that the safeguarding and further development of socialism and the defence of the national independence are dependent on the fulfilment of these tasks.

While fighting to solve the problems and carry out the current tasks, the Party insisted that its organs and organizations, all the state, social, economic and military institutions must work with foresight, «We must never go ahead at random, blindly... without having clearly defined objectives for the present and the future.»**

The enhancement of the leading role of the Party, the perfecting of its work of leadership, organization and education and the improvement of the method and style of this work so that it acquired the maximum force to convince, mobilize and transform was decisive in that situation.

In particular, the work of the Party acquires such a force especially by eliminating manifestations of one-sidedness, which are liable to crop up on occasions when situations change. The Central Committee of the Party instructed the

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* Report of the Political Bureau to the 3rd Plenum of the CC of the PLA, November 15, 1977, CPA.

** Enver Hoxha, Speech in Gjirokastra, March 1978, «When the Present Stands on Steel Foundations, the Future Is Guaranteed», p. 44, Alb. ed.

organs of the Party, the communists and cadres to guard against one-sidedness. While putting emphasis on the economic tasks, the tasks in the political, ideological, cultural and other domains must not be neglected. While the open struggle against Chinese revisionism was beginning, the struggle against Soviet revisionism and the other trends of modem revisionism should not be weakened. While combating manifestations of liberalism, there must be no slackening of the struggle against sectarianism, bureaucracy, etc. At given moments, in conformity with the new situations and acute problems, the Party has always put the stress sometimes on one problem, and sometimes on another problem, but has never fallen into one-sidedness, has never forgotten that all the problems must be solved, all the tasks must be carried out, that it must always fight on both flanks. There exists an iron logic of the inseparable connection between all aspects of socialist society, between the tasks in different fields, between the particular and the general, between the internal and the external, duties and rights, democracy and centralism, the past, the present and the future, etc. One-sidedness is alien to Marxist-Leninist dialectics, consequently, to the revolutionary line and activity of the Party. In the concrete situation, only struggle on all fronts and in all directions, only the performance of all tasks, the fulfilment of every detail of the plans in all sectors would ensure that the difficulties would be overcome and the work go well.

Exposure of the Hostile Act of the Chinese Leadership of Cutting off Credits to Socialist Albania

Like the Khrushchevites before them, the Chinese leadership, also, commenced openly hostile anti-Albanian activities on July 7, 1978, by proclaiming its decision to immediately cut off credits and aid, both economic and military, to Albania and recall all the specialists from Albania.

The Chinese note, in which this decision was announced, was full of lies. Besides, it concealed the real cause that prompted the Chinese leaders to take that perfidious, hostile, arbitrary action.

The Central Committee of the Party and the Government of the PSR of Albania responded to that act with a letter addressed to the CC of the CP of China and the Chinese

Government on July 29, 1978. With sound argument and documented facts, the letter revealed all the lies and the real aim of the Chinese revisionists.

The Chinese act was a brutal violation of the elementary rules and norms of international relations, an act committed from the position of a big imperialist power, which attacked socialism in Albania and Marxism-Leninism in general.

The reasons for the decision to cut off credits and aid to Albania were not of a technical character, as the Chinese leadership pretended in justification of its imperialist act, but of a profoundly political and ideological character. This act was a logical consequence of the course the Chinese leadership was following for the capitalist development of China and its transformation into a social-imperialist superpower.

This course had encountered the continuous opposition of the PLA, and this had given rise to serious ideological and political differences and disagreements between the two parties.

Proceeding from revolutionary internationalist positions, and always thinking it had to do with a Marxist-Leninist party and a socialist country, hence supporting China with an open heart, the PLA had pointed out every instance of mistaken views and stands to the Chinese leaders and criticized them in a comradely spirit. From these positions it sought to prevent the contradictions and disagreements from becoming more marked and to resolve them in a Marxist-Leninist way.

However, at a time when they welcomed and warmly praised the support which the PLA gave them, the Chinese leaders did not welcome its remarks and criticisms in the least. They disregarded the criticisms which the PLA made over the question of the Chinese-Soviet state borders, over the illusion they nurtured on the occasion of the fall of Khrushchev, over their rapprochement with American imperialism and Nixon's visit to China, with utter disdain. Moreover, judging with the logic of the great party and the great state, they tried to impose their anti-Marxist views and stands on the Party of Labour of Albania. From these positions, they did not reply to the proposal of the CC of the PLA of January 1974, to send a high-ranking delegation to Peking for talks on issues over which differences and disagreements had arisen, at a time when American presidents, kings and princes, various reactionaries and fascists were being welcomed to China and farewelled by Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and others, with the

greatest honours. The Chinese leaders wanted the PLA to accept their line unconditionally before sending its delegation.

The PLA stood firm on the Marxist-Leninist principles and its revolutionary line. Precisely from these positions it criticized the theory of «three worlds» at its 7th Congress, after all the steps it had taken to hold a direct discussion with the Chinese leaders had not producted any response from them. Now the PLA was fully convinced that the Chinese leaders were deliberately pursuing an anti-Marxist hegemonic course, which was gravely damaging the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement and all the revolutionary forces of the world.

The failure of the Chinese leaders to subjugate the PLA, the fact that the PLA dared to oppose their line, and its determination to pursue its own revolutionary line independently, these are the real reasons for their decision to cut off credits and aid to Albania.

The Letter of the CC of the PLA also made the truth about the Albanian-Chinese economic relations known to world opinion.

In recent years, the facts had revealed very clearly that the credits and aid from China were not provided in the spirit of proletarian internationalism, as the PLA and the Albanian people had thought. They had sinister aims of transforming Albania into a vassal of China, into a base for its expansion in Europe.

The Letter also made it clear that the aid was not charity but credits, bilateral obligations deriving from official agreements concluded according to the desires and interests of both sides, in conformity with the international practice of relations between sovereign states.

By cutting off economic and military aid, the Chinese leadership thought, as the Khrushchevites had thought in their time, that socialist Albania either would be brought to its knees and submit to it, or would sell out to other big powers. The Party of Labour replied, «Albania will never submit to anybody, it will stand loyal to the end to Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. It will press on ceaselessly on the road of socialism and communism...»*

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* Letter of the CC of the PLA and the Government of the PSR of Albania, to the CC of the CP and the Government of China, 1978, p. 55, Eng. ed.

3. THE ALL-ROUND STRENGTHENING OF THE INTERNAL SITUATION OF THE COUNTRY

The Party neither concealed nor underrated the difficulties which resulted from the cutting off of Chinese credits, and the hostile anti-Albanian activity of the Chinese leaders in general. However, these difficulties did not lead to any crisis or the slightest weakening of the internal situation, as the Chinese revisionists intended and as the American imperialists and Soviet social-imperialists desired so that they could exploit the grave situation which would be created in Albania in favour of their counter-revolutionary and expansionist plans. This did not come about because the Party had taken timely measures to prepare itself and the people from every aspect so that it would not be taken unawares, but would be able to cope with any situation and fulfil the tasks of the socialist construction and the defence of the Homeland.

The Struggle to Fulfil the Economic Tasks

The Party took care to ensure that the decisions of the 7th Congress were carried out in all fields and directions, and especially in the economic field. In support of this stand of the Party, Comrade Enver Hoxha said, «As is known, the economy constitutes the main front of the socialist construction. At the present stage of development and in the present international conditions, its advance has become more complicated and difficult.»* A powerful economy is always the backbone of the socialist order, while in the concrete circumstances, more than in any other situation, the fulfilment of the economic tasks testified to the unconquerable strength of this order in general and the dictatorship of the proletariat in particular, to the correctness of the line of the Party, to its steel links with the masses and the level of their socialist consciousness, and also guaranteed an impregnable defence.

Now the PSR of Albania received no credits or material aid from abroad for the development of its socialist economy. And this occurred in the conditions of the grave economic-

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, January 15, 1980. CPA.

financial crisis of the capitalist world and the savage imperialist-revisionist blockade on our country.

The imperialists, revisionists and all world reaction began to clamour that it was impossible for Albania to forge ahead relying entirely on its own forces. It would be forced, they said, to beg aid of the Soviet Union, the United States of America or Western Europe! But socialist Albania was to demonstrate by its own example that a country can live very well and advance confidently without any credits or aid from the capitalist and revisionist states. The difficulties were very great, but it is precisely in difficult situations, more than at any other time, that the invincible strength of the socialist order, of a free and sovereign people, of the Marxist-Leninist party, is proven.

The difficulties were coped with, among other things, by better utilization of all the material means, productive capacities and reserves. The organizations of the Party, the organs of state power and the economy, the cadres, and the working people were placed in more militant positions, displaying greater keenness, determination and courage in thought and action, strengthening the discipline at work, resolutely combating shortcomings, mistakes and alien manifestations, thus solving the various problems of production and services more rapidly and better.

On the call of the Party, the working people of the various branches, sectors and enterprises took a series of initiatives and set to work with their own forces to build the projects which the cutting off of Chinese credits had left incomplete, to produce locally many spare parts and other new articles which were formerly imported, complete sets of equipment and machinery for industry, agriculture, construction, etc., to perfect the technology, to utilize the productive capacities more extensively and increase the effectiveness of investments, to make more savings, and carry forward production in general.

Consequently, despite the difficulties created by the cutting off of Chinese credits, the total social product and industrial production in 1979 and 1980, the first two years of the development of the people's economy without any material aid from abroad, increased at an average annual rate of 4.9 and 6.6 per cent respectively, as against 4.2 and 5.7 per cent in 1976-1978.

A large part of the «SteeI of the Party» metallurgical

combine at Elbasan, the «Light of the Party» hydro-power station at Fierza, the oil processing plant at Ballsh, another engineering plant and several new departments of the «Enver Hoxha» automobile and tractor plant in Tirana, the paper factory at Lezha, the coal mine at Valias, the ferro-chrome plant at Burrel, the pyrometallurgy plant at Laç, the Përrenjas-Guri i kuq railway, etc., were completed and put into operation. With the construction of these projects, new important bases were created for the development of the economy independently of imports. During the period 1979-1980, more than 25,000 new articles, and the equipment for about 350 new production lines, workshops and factories were produced. The task laid down by the 7th Party Congress for industry to produce 95 per cent of the spare parts within the country was overfulfilled. All these things are fruit of the toil and creative thought of the Albanian workers, cadres and specialists.

It should be borne in mind that all these achievements were realized at a time when the Albanian state and people had to make huge, unforeseen expenditure and employ large forces to repair the damage caused by the April 1979 earthquake in Shkodra, Lezha and other northern districts within 5-6 months and without any aid from abroad. The work for the elimination of earthquake damage was at the same time an expression of the steel unity of the people round the Party and the vitality of the socialist order.

Meanwhile, each year Albanian agriculture continued to produce all the grain needed for the people's bread, for industry and livestock farming as well as for the reserves.

The Party and the state carried out a great deal of work to cope with the difficulties created in foreign trade, to eliminate the anomalies in the import-export sector, 40 per cent of the volume of which had been with China previously. Consequently, important steps were taken to realize the turn the Party demanded in this case, boldly and skilfully breaking into the international markets on the basis of the principle «sell and buy without credits». Of course this was no easy task in the conditions of the blockade and the economic-financial crisis of the capitalist world.

In regard to the five-year plan as a whole, although some indices of this plan were not realized in various branches and sectors of the economy and certain industrial projects were not built within the target dates, due to the cutting off of

credits and other reasons, its main task, «the continuation of the socialist construction of the country at rapid rates» was fulfilled in general. The average increase of social product at two or three times the rate of increase of the population (realized throughout the 20 years, since 1960) was maintained. Industrial production increased at an average annual rate of 6.1 per cent, while the average annual agricultural production achieved during the 6th Five-year Plan was 22 per cent higher than the average production achieved during the 5th Five-year Plan.

The economic base of socialism was developed and strengthened in harmony with the development and strengthening of the material-technical base and the productive forces in general, and the socialist relations of production were further perfected.

The PLA has never allowed a gap to be created between the one and the other side of the socialist mode of production, or allowed conflicts to emerge from the contradictions (non-antagonistic) which exist and will always exist between the socialist relations of production and the productive forces. From one five-year plan to the other, along with the development of the productive forces, measures have been taken to develop and further perfect the relations of production in the fields of ownership, distribution, circulation, and management. Thus, by not standing still but always advancing in harmony with the development of the productive forces, the relations of production have served as a major driving force to carry forward the material-technical base of socialism, and socialist society in general.

The reduction of the size of the personal plot and the forming of collective herds of the personal livestock of the cooperativist families are among the most important measures taken by the Party during the 6th Five-year Plan to perfect the socialist relations of production.

The plot, as personal property, as a supplementary source of income for the cooperativist family, has undergone continual changes, parallel with the strengthening of the cooperatives. With the strengthening and development of the cooperativist property, with its gradual transformation into the property of the whole people, the personal plot loses the function and purpose for which it was created, becomes gradually less important until it totally disappears, when all the

needs of the peasants will be fulfilled from the common property.

The CC proceeded precisely from this orientation when it took the decision, in November 1980, to further reduce the personal plot of the cooperativist family, in order to eliminate the serious contradiction created between the personal plot and the cooperativist property in the course of the development of the latter. This measure serves to bring the personal plot, as personal property, closer to the collective property, and widens the conditions for its gradual transformation into the property of the whole people; links the individual interest of the peasant more closely with the general interest, in favour of the latter; assists the better fulfilment of the material needs of the cooperativist families; links the peasants more closely with the collective property and work, from both the economic and moral aspects.

Another measure taken by the Party has to do with improving the system of remuneration according to the work done. With this measure, remuneration is dependent not only or mainly on the quantity, but also on the quality and cost of production. These three indices are taken as the basis for paying all the working people of production.

However, the creation of a powerful material base, the accumulation of wide experience in production, management and organization to go on to the 7th Five-year Plan with great confidence, constitutes the most important achievement of the 6th Five-year Plan. New oil and gas fields and new mineral deposits were discovered, the existing oil-bearing regions were extended, studies were carried out and preparations made to set up new mineral enrichment factories, new electric-power stations, new plants, factories and departments for various industrial products and for a further concentration of agricultural production. Studies were carried out and preparations made for the solution of a series of problems related to the development of the productive forces in industry, construction, transport agriculture and the perfecting of the relations of production (development and strengthening of the socialist property, perfecting of distribution and circulation, improvement of the planned management of the economy).

The 7th Five-year Plan is the first five-year plan for the development of the economy and culture with no foreign material aid or credits whatsoever. The material resources and

total financial income for this five-year plan are estimated to be greater than for any other five-year plan including the foreign credits used.

Strengthening the Defence Potential of the Homeland

The situation created made it essential to devote the greatest attention to fulfilling all the tasks set by the Party for the defence of the Homeland.

The imperialist powers especially the USA and the Soviet Union would try to exploit this situation for expansionist and predatory aims, in the context of their strategic plans in the Balkans and Europe. The superpowers not only covet Albania on account of its strategic position in the Adriatic and the Mediterranean, but also want to liquidate socialism here and the complete national independence of our country, which serve to inspire the revolutionary forces and freedom-loving peoples of the world.

The 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, which took up the question of the further strengthening of the country's defence in the existing situation, instructed, «We must be fully prepared to cope with any situation. This is precisely what we are doing. Therefore, we must cherish no illusions on account of the relatively quiet situation currently prevailing around the borders of our country, but must always be vigilant and prepare ourselves to defend the Homeland from an external aggression even in the conditions most unfavourable to us, anticipating the most difficult variant, as the military line of the Party lays down.»*

The Plenum pointed out that the change that had to be made on the question of defence, following the defeat of the enemy group headed by B. Balluku, «has been completed, according to the requirements of the line of the Party». Very great progress had been made. The combat readiness of the army and the whole people to cope with an enemy armed aggression from any direction and at any time was at a high level.

On the basis of the conclusions and directives of the Plenum, in line with the previous directives of the Party, especially its 7th Congress, on defence, the attention of the organs and organizations of the Party, both in the army and

* Report of the Political Bureau presented to the 5th Plenum of the CC of the PLA. June 26, 1978. CPA.

outside it, was especially focussed on certain fundamental questions.

The experience of more than thirty years since Liberation had shown that the defence of a country depends on its internal situation. Every imperialist or social-imperialist power without exception has its own specific strategic schemes for aggressions and occupations in one or the other country, one or the other zone or region, and one or the other situation. However, these plans are realized only when the situation in the country which is attacked and occupied is weak from the political, economic, moral and military aspects.

Therefore, one main aspect on which the Party focussed its attention was to ensure greater clarity and deeper understanding of the decisive role of the internal factor, the struggle for the all-round strengthening of the internal situation, for the complete preparation of the army and the whole armed people for defence to the highest possible level.

This does not imply any underestimation of the external factor, the powerful support of the progressive and freedom-loving forces of the world and the international Marxist-Leninist movement, which is given to socialist Albania and will become even stronger in case of an imperialist-revisionist aggression against it. But this external support can be really effective only when the internal situation of the country is sound and stable, when the internal factor is at the necessary level.

The definition which the Party makes of the defence of the Homeland as the duty above all duties, has assumed a deeper, fuller and more concrete meaning thanks to the work to put into practice the ideas and decisions of the 7th Congress, the instructions of the CC and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The history has proved that everything created and won with sweat and blood must be defended with sweat and blood.

The struggle to win freedom and independence. to build socialism, is inseparable from the struggle to defend them. In fact, these are two aspects of a single struggle.

In connection with this, the Party combated any trace of the narrow concept of defence, which reduced it only to drilling and other military problems, a concept which had been cultivated by the traitors B. Balluku and company for their hostile aims. It became even more clear to all that the better the economic plans are fulfilled, the sounder the social-

ist social order, the stronger the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party-people unity and the better the people are prepared from the political ideological, cultural, educational and technical aspect, the stronger is the defence of the country.

At the same time, the Party implanted more deeply in the minds of the working people that the Homeland is defended with arms on the basis of the military art of people's war. If this art is not mastered and the weapons and military equipment not used to perfection, the aggressor is not defeated. In regard to this, the Party carried out a great deal of work to ensure a deeper understanding of the requirements of the people's war, and the study and mastery of the art of this war in a creative spirit.

The further strengthening of the links and collaboration between the party organizations in civilian life and in the army, between the organs of state power, enterprises, agricultural cooperatives and the commands of units and detachments, helped to combine the military tasks closely and organically with the economic, political, ideological, social and cultural tasks as component parts of a single question.

Thanks to the realization of the unified leadership of defence problems by the Party and the continuous care of all for defence, a series of problems in connection with training, fortification, the provision of modern military equipment, the combat readiness of all the arms and defence structures and the whole soldier people, were satisfactorily solved and unprecedented achievements were realized.

This progress proves the correctness of the decisions and measures taken by the Party for the constant strengthening and revolutionization of the armed forces and the preparation for defence in general.

The Improvement of Scientific Management and Organization. The Further Development of Scientific-Research Work

The Party seriously took up the question of the management and scientific organization of work, the improvement of which it described as «one of the most decisive links» to ensure the fulfilment of tasks in the economy, defence and other fields. It linked the achievement of this goal with the deepening of scientific-research activity.

The socio-economic and cultural development of the coun-

try had reached a very high level. A complex multi-branched economy had been built, but its intensive development could not go ahead if it were not based solidly on the advanced methods of science, technique and technology and without knowledge and the application of the laws of science. The socialist relations of production had developed, and had to be developed further in keeping with the development of the productive forces. Inseparably linked with the development of the relations of production, great changes had been made in the socialist consciousness of the masses, in their psychology in regard to work, property, and way of life, and these changes had to be carried forward continuously. Besides these factors, Albania was building its complete socialist society encircled by the capitalist-revisionist world and without any economic credits or aid from abroad.

It was precisely these objective conditions which required the perfecting of the scientific management and organization of work and the deepening of scientific-research activity. In such conditions, things cannot be run by empirical methods, with obsolete artisan concepts and practices. Culture, extensive knowledge, profound studies, and firm scientific discipline are required everywhere.

The 7th and 8th Plenums of the CC (January and June 1980), which complement each other, took up these important questions.

On the basis of the instructions of the Central Committee an all-round struggle was waged to raise the work of the Party and the state to a higher scientific level.

To this end, great attention was devoted to the elimination of manifestations of subjectivism and voluntarism and to basing the work of management and organization more solidly on the laws of dialectical and historical materialism and Marxist-Leninist political economy, on the objective economic laws of socialist society, and the laws of natural sciences. These are iron laws, teaches the Party, and non-recognition or non-application of them is fraught with grave consequences which become extremely dangerous to socialist society.

The Party demanded, in particular, that everyone pay greater heed to certain laws of production. The plan is not only total production, but also productivity, cost, quality, assortment, accumulation, export, and so on. It is essential that all of these are realized in all items otherwise irregularities,

which may become irreparable, occur. On the basis of the laws of socialist production, the greater part of the increase of social product should come from the increase in the productivity of labour and not from the increase in the number of working people; production for society should increase more rapidly than production for the individual; the productivity of labour should increase more rapidly than the real per capita income. Only in this way can extended socialist reproduction, the continuous raising of the well-being of the people, and the rapid development of the socialist construction, be assured. While demanding implemention of these laws in the specific conditions of the socialist construction of the country, the Party drew attention to the need to provide a fuller and better solution to the problems of the rational use of living labour and the saving of material values, financial problems, securing local resources of accumulation, the effectiveness of social production, the fullest possible utilization of the existing productive capacities, the increase of productivity and reduction of costs, the profitability of enterprises, the employment of the new forces created year by year, etc.

The scientific management of production starts from scientific planning. The necessity for the further improvement of the method of planning on the basis of the experience accumulated on this major question, for the improvement of the planning work by eliminating the manifestations of planning only total production and by increasingly planning in concrete products, by more accurately reflecting and materializing in the plan the ties of cooperation and collaboration between the branches and sectors of the economy on a national scale, between the districts, between the enterprises and the cooperatives, as well as by ensuring a better harmonization of the economic, technical and financial indices of the plan, was brought out by life itself.

In particular the Party insisted on complete unity between the plan and its fulfilment, as well as on the fulfilment of every task in each link in the chain of the unified state plan.

The unified state plan requires a unified state management of the economy on the basis of democratic centralism. The organization of the economy according to branches and sectors, the type of production and districts cannot infringe this unified management. On the basis of this instruction of the Party, the manifestations which harmed the unified state management of

the economy, such as failure to implement certain laws, regulations and rules to the letter, and erroneous practices of looking at matters from the angle of the narrow interests of the central department, sector, district enterprise and cooperative were combated in order to ensure a sound, synchronized and continuous collaboration, co-ordination and cooperation. The Council of Ministers was charged with the task of realizing the unified state management better on a national scale.

To improve the scientific management and organization of work, the Party gave great importance to ensuring broader participation by the working masses in this question, on the basis of thoroughly convincing them that the line and directives of the Party and the state plans were correct and that the targets could be achieved. It emerged from practice that many targets of the plan were not completely fulfilled in one or the other enterprise or cooperative because the masses had not been made properly aware of those targets. This was the reason for many manifestations of breaches of discipline at work, damage and misuse of the common property, and carelessness. In connection with this, instructions were given and measures taken for better and more fruitful ideo-political work, accompanied with technical-economic and organizational measures. Manifestations of solving problems from above only were criticized, and the struggle from above was linked better with the struggle of the organized masses themselves from below as an indispensable condition for a scientific management of work and the fulfilment of targets. This also necessitated the improvement of the work of the social organizations as powerful levers of the Party to convince people and to mobilize them on the basis of this conviction to carry out the directives, laws and tasks.

The scientific management and organization of work requrres, among other things, that every party organ and organization, every link of the state administrative system, every working collective, every communist and cadre must carry out the task with which he is charged with the highest sense of responsibility, initiative, competence and skill. The Party has always criticized manifestations of waiting for instructions from above before setting to work to carry out the tasks, and manifestations of leaving the work and responsibility to others, and, in the existing conditions, it criticized them even more forcibly. «Everyone must perform his task with devotion and competence,» pointed out Comrade Enver Hoxha, «and not

some work and some sit idle in the shade.»* However the Party did not fail to criticize those leading cadres who strive to do all the work themselves, who get themselves a little involved in everything instead of setting everyone in motion to carry out his task and accept responsibility for his work, as well as those party committees and executive committees of the districts that try to solve the problems at the base entirely from above, by dispatching team after team, by setting up all kinds of staffs, instead of trying to assist the people at the base to solve them themselves by demanding that the elected organs and people, the existing organisms and the mass organizations are fully activized, and making every basic organization of the Party carry out its leading role to the full.

The further revolutionization of the check-up on the implementation of decisions, directives and tasks served to improve the management and organization of work. While demanding strengthening of the check-up, the Party made it even clearer that the number is not so important as the kind of check-up exercised: is it a revolutionary check-up which reveals the shortcomings and weaknesses and rouses the communists, cadres and the working people in uncompromising struggle against them for the fulfilment of the tasks, or a bureaucratic and liberal check-up which takes up trifling matters and does not discover or alter anything? While the worker and peasant control was further perfected, the Central Committee of the Party forestalled misunderstandings and barred the way to wrong practices which threatened to replace the Party and state control with the worker and peasant control, by ensuring that the directive on the latter was applied more correctly.

In the context of improving the scientific management and organization of work, the Party gave a further impulse to the method of disseminating advanced experience, by putting this work on a more systematic and studied basis. To this end, schools for the dissemination of advanced experience were set up in the districts, enterprises and cooperatives, and some on a nation-wide scale.

The more extensive and profound development of science and scientific-research activity would serve the improvement of

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, January 15, 1980. CPA.

the scientific management and organization. «...There is not and there cannot be scientific management and organization without profound, all-sided studies, both with current and long-range objectives, without scientific generalizations and analyses,»* stressed Comrade Enver Hoxha.

The Central Committee of the Party took decisions and set concrete tasks for the development of scientific-research work.

For the technical and natural sciences it set the fundamental task of the development and deepening of the technical-scientific revolution, especially in favour of increasing production; the discovery and processing of raw materials, fuels and other materials; the creation of the greatest possible reserves of these materials; the continuous improvement of the technology of production; the protection, increase, enrichment and intensive utilization of the land, breed improvement and the increase of livestock production, etc.

The main objective set for the social sciences was that, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, they must develop creative revolutionary thinking, sum up the rich experience of the revolution, the socialist construction and defence, boldly tackle the major problems from life and provide scientific evidence on which the future course of the country's development on the road of socialism can be outlined. This means that they are orientated, first of all, toward current themes, toward the problems which require solution. The sciences which deal with the history, language and culture of the Albanian people, also, must concentrate on contemporary problems, instructed the Central Committee, but this does not mean that studies on the historical-cultural values of the people through the centuries should be neglected.

By decision of the Plenum of the CC, the Committee of Science and Technique was set up under the Council of Ministers, to ensure more perfect direction, organization and co-ordination of research activity and the scientific forces on a national scale.

The Central Committee instructed the party organs and organizations to give greater attention to science and scientific-research work, so that everybody will thoroughly understand and correctly appreciate the great benefit of this work to

* Enver Hoxha, Speech at the 7th Plenum of the CC of the PLA, January 15, 1980, CPA.

socialism and defence, so that the laws of science are applied everywhere, new methods and advanced technology are introduced in production on a wide scale, and the management and organization of work are raised to a high scientific level.

It instructed that the organs and organizations of the Party themselves should carry out studies in connection with the Party's work of leadership, education and organization. The work of the Party is science, and one of the most advanced sciences, teaches Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is the key to the solution of all problems, and the performance of all tasks. However it serves in this way only when it is carried out on a scientific basis. The studies on the various problems and aspects of this work help to prevent its transformation into routine, bureaucratic work and to give it ever greater power to convince, mobilize and transform.

4. IN DEFENCE OF MARXISM-LENINISM AND THE CAUSE OF THE REVOLUTION ON AN INTERNATIONAL LEVEL

In the concrete international circumstances the task of defending Marxism-Leninism assumed even greater importance. In order to suppress the revolution, to liquidate socialism, and put down the liberation movements of the peoples, the world counter-revolutionary forces — American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism, Chinese social-imperialism, all international imperialism and revisionism, made Marxism-Leninism the target of their attacks. All kinds of bourgeois-capitalist and revisionist theories and theses against Marxism-Leninism were written and spread, causing ideological and political confusion without precedent in the international revolutionary movement.

In these conditions, the PLA deemed it indispensable to further deepen the analysis, made by the 7th Congress, of the fundamental problems of the revolution and world development, of imperialism and modern revisionism in general, of Chinese revisionism, as a newly displayed revisionism in particular, as well as of all other trends of revisionism. This served the performance of its fundamental and permanent duty of defending Marxism-Leninism on an international level.

Marxist-Leninist Works of Great Theoretical and Practical Value

The question of further deepening and strengthening the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism on an international level has been analysed in many meetings and documents of the CC of the Party. However, a full, profoundly scientific, Marxist-Leninist analysis is embodied especially in Comrade Enver Hoxha's major Works, «**Imperialism and the Revolution», «Yugoslav 'Self-administration' — a Capitalist Theory and Practice», «Reflections on China», «With Stalin», «Eurocommunism Is Anticommunism» and «The Khrushchevites»**.

The global strategy of imperialism and modern revisionism, the aim of which is to destroy socialism and strangle the revolution everywhere in the world, is revealed in these works. This aim unites all the imperialist, revisionist and reactionary forces of the world against the international proletariat, against socialist countries, against revolutionary and progressive forces and against people's liberation movements.

These works also reveal the specific strategy of each imperialist superpower — the USA and the Soviet Union, as well as that of China (which has ambitions to become a superpower). These specific strategies may unite one superpower with another temporarily, at a particular juncture when their interests run together, but in most cases they set them in rivalry for world domination, from which the danger of a new world war arises.

In the works referred to, Comrade Enver Hoxha shows the causes of the birth and spread of modern revisionism, in general, and of each of its separate trends. Modern revisionism as a whole is a result of the external imperialist pressure on the socialist countries, on the working class in the capitalist countries and on the communist and workers' parties in general. It is, at the same time, a result of the internal pressure: in the socialist countries, from the bourgeois traditions, customs, concepts inherited from the past, the petty-bourgeois mentality in regard to property and work which linger on in the human consciousness for a long time, the so-called «bourgeois right» in distribution, the distinctions between mental and physical labour, between town and countryside, between qualified and unqualified work, etc; in the capitalist countries from the all-round economic, political, ideological, cultural pressure of

the local bourgeoisie. The combined influence of the external pressure and the internal pressure operates on the working masses and the parties of the working class. The temporary «boom» of capitalist production that followed the Second World War played a special role in the birth and development of revisionism. This «boom» resulted from the enormous increase during the war in the wealth of the American imperialists who mobilized all their colossal economic, financial and technical-scientific potential to revive West-European and Japanese capital and stimulate world capitalism and, relying on this potential, set in motion their gigantic bureaucratic state and military machine, all international reaction, for the realization of the global strategy of world imperialism.

These are the objective factors of the birth of revisionism. But these factors do not lead to revisionism automatically. They always operate through the subjective factor which plays a decisive role in the triumph of the revolution and socialism, or their defeat. From the subjective viewpoint, revisionism is a product of capitulation to the external imperialist pressure and the internal bourgeois pressure.

In Yugoslavia, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha in his works, the Titoite leadership of the CPY has long been a group of Trotskyites and revisionists, an agency of imperialism. During the Second World War it was worked upon by British imperialism and, since it did not have a Marxist-Leninist stand, actually became its ally. After the war it placed itself in the service of the USA, the chief of world imperialism, thus betraying the struggle and aspirations of the proletariat and peoples of Yugoslavia for national and social liberation.

«Self-administration» which was used first in the field of production, then throughout the entire political and economic order as an alleged «Marxist» form of socialism, is a complete negation of the teachings of Marxism-Leninism and the universal laws of the revolution and socialist construction. It is a cunning method to safeguard and develop the capitalist order and private ownership of the means of production, disguised as «property administered by the working people themselves.» The reality shows that there is no socialist political or socio-economic order in Yugoslavia, but a capitalist-revisionist order; that there is no rule by the working class but rule by the new bourgeoisie, in alliance with the old Yugoslav bourgeoisie; that Yugoslavia does not enjoy genuine national independence,

political independence, and even less economic independence, but is dependent on foreign capital, on imperialism; that self-administration has not brought and never can bring the solution of the national question, national oppression, and the old conflicts between nations and nationalities.

Imperialism has always used Yugoslav revisionism as an important weapon in the struggle against the revolution and socialism and the liberation movements of the peoples.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha explains in his works, it was the Khrushchevite revisionists who usurped power in the Soviet Union, who rendered world capitalism the greatest service in this struggle.

The Khrushchev group had long been working secretly for this purpose, but it was only after Stalin's death that it operated with full force against the Marxist-Leninist course of the Bolshevik Party, which had led to the triumph of the October Revolution and the construction of socialism, and replaced it with a new, revisionist, counter-revolutionary, social-imperialist course, liquidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and the whole socialist order and restoring capitalism. To this end, the Khrushchevite revisionists exploited the euphoria created over the triumph of the Soviet Union over fascism; the slackening of vigilance in the Communist Party; the shortcomings in the ideo-political work of the Party for the revolutionary education of the communists and working people; the development of bureaucracy in the Party and state apparatuses; the formalism in implementing the principles and norms of the Party; the creation of the dangerous concept that only the head, only the leadership knows, acts and solves everything, while the only duty of the rank-and-file of the Party and the working masses is to carry out instructions; the backwardness in the relations of production, in comparison with the productive forces, the bourgeois degeneration of leading cadres and the top intelligentsia, etc.

With many facts and convincing arguments Comrade Enver Hoxha defends the figure and revolutionary work of J. Stalin, refuting all the slanders concocted against him by the Khrushchevites with the aim of liquidating Marxism-Leninism and socialism. He stresses once again the unalterable stand of the PLA that the establishment of the truth about the figure and historic work of Stalin is a major question of

principle and an important task in the struggle against modern revisionism.

The counter-revolutionary take-over in the Soviet Union directly influenced the spread of revisionism in most communist parties and the transformation of them into revisionist parties, and the transformation of the majority of the socialist countries into bourgeois-revisionist countries.

Among the first communist parties to welcome the Khrushchevite revisionist course of the 20th Congress of the CPSU were the Italian Communist Party, the French Communist Party, the British Communist Party and then the Spanish Communist Party. This was no accident. In those parties the terrain had long been prepared to enable them to embrace the Khrushchevite ideas and practices and carry them further ahead. The bourgeois ideological and organizational degeneration of these parties had begun earlier. Under pressure of world imperialism and the local bourgeoisie, with the influx of American capital into Europe and with the creation of a greater worker aristocracy in their countries, explains Comrade Enver Hoxha, the programs of those parties were more and more reduced to minimal programs of democratic reforms, while the idea of the revolution and socialism was left in abeyance. The great strategy of the revolutionary transformation of society gave way to the minor strategy of day-to-day problems. The latter was absolutized, became their general political line and was raised to a theory, which, after the 20th Congress of the CPSU, assumed its complete development, emerging under the title of «Eurocommunism». The Eurocommunists were at one with the old social-democracy in theory and practice and they merged into a single counter-revolutionary trend in the service of the bourgeoisie.

The «democratic socialism» as the social order of a «supra-class» state, which the Eurocommunists advocate and which has to be the outcome of a completely peaceful course, not by destroying the old apparatus, but on the contrary, utilizing it, is nothing but the present bourgeois state. As Comrade Enver Hoxha says, they want to do some touching-up of this state, so that the aging European bourgeoisie, with one foot in the grave, looks like a blooming young bride, full of vigour and life! Eurocommunism is revisionism with the gloves off — it comes out openly, not only against Stalin but also against Lenin and Leninism.

In the above-mentioned works, Comrade Enver Hoxha makes a thorough analysis of Chinese revisionism.

Chinese revisionism displayed itself openly in the early 70's, but it was not born then, much less after Mao Zedong's death. It has its ideo-theoretical roots in the so-called «Mao Zedong thought» which began to take shape especially after 1935, when Mao Zedong came to the head of the party. It was presented, at first, as the «Chinese variant of Marxism-Leninism», whereas later as «Marxism-Leninism of our days», or «the highest phase of Marxism-Leninism»!

«Mao Zedong thought» is radically different from Marxism-Leninism, explains Comrade Enver Hoxha. It is an amalgam of views, in which ideas and theses borrowed from Marxism are mixed up with Confucian, Buddhist, anarchic, Trotskyite, Titoite, Khrushchevite, and Eurocommunist ideas and theses and with marked doses of nationalism and racism.

It is precisely this mixture of all kinds of idealist, pragmatic, and revisionist philosophies which has made «Mao Zedong thought» a weapon of all the factional trends and lines in struggle or in temporary coexistence with one another in China.

That is why the CP of China never became a genuine proletarian party in its ideology, policy, composition or organizational structure, and why the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China did not develop into a socialist revolution, did not lead to the establishment of a genuine dictatorship of the proletariat and did not set China on the road of genuine socialist development.

Comrade Enver Hoxha shows that Mao Zedong had gained a reputation as a great Marxist-Leninist and called himself a communist. But he was neither. He was only a revolutionary democrat who combined some elements of Marxist-Leninist philosophy with idealism, with bourgeois-revisionist philosophy and the old Chinese philosophy in an eclectic way.

One of the most characteristic forms in which Chinese revisionism is expressed as an ideology and policy is the theory of the «three worlds». Comrade Enver Hoxha exposes all. the efforts of the Chinese revisionist leaders to present this as a Marxist-Leninist theory. He proves with scientific arguments that it is an out-and-out counter-revolutionary theory, invented for the purpose of providing a «theoretical basis» for the strategy of transforming China into an imperialist superpower and

justifying its policy of alliance with the USA, Japan and Western Europe, and the aim of establishing its hegemony over the so-called «third world» countries.

Chinese revisionism follows the policy of alliance with American imperialism and all the international bourgeoisie in order to gain economic, military and political aid from them. The USA and the other developed capitalist powers proved ready to give China this aid, because its policy is a support for their strategic plans.

The various revisionist trends and modern revisionism, in general, have done and are still doing great harm to Marxism-Leninism and the cause of the revolution and socialism, but they are not and never will be able to liquidate Marxism-Leninism. Marxism-Leninism is alive and flourishing as an ideology and reality, says Comrade Enver Hoxha. Socialist Albania, the Marxist-Leninist parties, millions and millions of workers and peasants, all over the world, who are fighting for national liberation, democracy and socialism against imperialism, the bourgeoisie and local reaction, are proof of this.

Imperialism and revisionism are incapable of stopping the onward march of human society. In his book «Imperialism and the Revolution» and his other works, Comrade Enver Hoxha proves with facts that time is working for the proletariat, the revolutionary forces and the peoples and not for the bourgeoisie and imperialism, modern revisionism and reaction. The main trend of world development is the weakening and incessant disintegration of the capitalist system. Making an analysis of the development and specific features of present-day imperialism with the major contradictions which are eroding it, with the grave, incurable, all-round crisis that has it in its grip, he proves that Lenin's ideas of genius about imperialism, as the highest and final stage of capitalism, as moribund capitalism, as the eve of the socialist revolution, and about the present epoch, as the epoch of proletarian revolutions, the collapse of imperialism and capitalism and the triumph of socialism on a world scale, retain their full validity in our days. The revolution is the only road to social and national liberation.

At a time when the revolutionary situation, as an objective factor, has matured or is rapidly reaching maturity in many countries, while in other countries this process is developing and consequently, when the revolution and the national libera-

tion of the peoples are on the order of the day, points out Comrade Enver Hoxha, the necessity for the subjective factor, the revolutionary leadership, presents itself forcefully. The genuine Marxist-Leninist parties can provide this leadership.

To achieve the preparation of the subjective factor, the revolutionary leadership, however, the fog spread by capitalism and the modern revisionists about the revolution and socialism must be dispersed through a stern political and ideological struggle, their aims must be exposed, their manoeuvres, speculations, and all their counter-revolutionary, anti-communist activity must be defeated and the Marxist-Leninist teachings must be applied correctly and resolutely in conformity with the specific conditions of each country.

«Imperialism and the Revolution» and the other major works of Comrade Enver Hoxha are outstanding ideological events in the life of the PLA. They have great theoretical and practical value. By putting these works in their hands, the Party equipped the communists and working people with new powerful weapons in the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, for the construction of socialism and the defence of the Homeland.

The great theoretical and practical value of these works on a national and international plane is shown by the development of events in the world, which testify to the correctness and far-sightedness of their theses and conclusions, as well as by the widespread international response to the publication of these works.

The PLA, Consistent Supporter of the Revolutionary Movement and the Marxist-Leninist Movement World-wide

The PLA has always defended Marxism-Leninism on the international plane, not only by defending the Marxist-Leninist principles against the attempts of bourgeois and revisionist enemies to liquidate them, but also by taking a Marxist-Leninist stand on world developments, in general, and on every international event, in particular, while exposing and combating the counter-revolutionary policy of the various imperialists and revisionists, and supporting the revolutionary movements, the liberation struggles of the peoples and the international Marxist-Leninist movement.

World development has always corroborated the principled views and stands, and the predictions of the PLA, while refuting the counter-revolutionary theories of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists which allege that the Marxist-Leninist theory about capitalism, the revolution, socialism has become outdated. It proves the thoroughly scientific character and the permanent validity of the Marxist-Leninist teachings. This further strengthens the conviction of the Party that it is on the right road, increases its strength in the struggle against the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, the revolution, socialism and the peoples, increases its sense of responsibility in fulfilling its internationalist duty of giving the revolutionary, progressive, Marxist-Leninist forces all over the world its aid and support and expressing its solidarity with them.

When the revolution broke out in Iran, in January-February 1979, the PLA assessed it as a just liberation struggle, an anti-imperialist democratic revolution. The Iranian people overthrew the blood-thirsty monarchic regime of the Shah and, at the same time, dealt a heavy blow to American imperialism of which that regime had been a tool, thus scoring a historic victory. This victory is a lesson for all the revolutionary forces and for the other peoples.

Therefore, the Party hailed and unreservedly supported the victory of the Iranian people, regardless of the fact that it is opposed to the religious philosophy of Khomeini, the leader of the revolution. It has always supported all the efforts of the Iranian revolutionary forces to defend the victory against internal reaction, and against American imperialism, Soviet social-imperialism and all external reaction.

The PLA strongly condemned the aggression of the Chinese social-imperialists against Vietnam in February 1979, just as it condemns all their aggressive and subversive activity in South-east Asia. This aggression and the military interference of social-imperialist China in Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos and elsewhere, exposes its hegemonic and expansionist policy.

While condemning and exposing the aggressive acts of the American imperialists in Iran and those of the Chinese social-imperialists in Indo-China, the PLA has also exposed the deceptive demagogic stands of the Soviet social-imperialists who want to pass themselves off as supporters of the Iranian people and allies of the Vietnamese, Cambodian and Lao peoples. It has pointed out clearly that the support and aid which

the revisionist Soviet Union offers these peoples are fraught with great dangers for their independence and national sovereignty, and are nothing but an embodiment of the American-Soviet-Chinese rivalry for hegemony and domination in Asia.

The clearest expression of this rivalry, in general, and the expansionist-hegemonic policy of the Soviet Union, in particular, is the military occupation of Afghanistan in December 1979, a typical fascist-imperialist occupation, just like the occupation of Czechoslovakia in August 1968. No excuse fabricated by the Soviet social-imperialists can justify their grave crime against the independence and national sovereignty of the Afghan people. The PLA resolutely condemned the social-imperialist Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. It considers the struggle of the Afghan people against the occupiers a just struggle. At the same time, it exposes the efforts of the American imperialists, the Chinese social-imperialists and the other reactionaries to exploit the liberation struggle of the Afghan people in their favour.

The Iraqi-Iranian armed conflict and the disturbances in Poland, which broke out in 1980, are consequences of the inter-imperialist rivalry.

The stand of the PLA is that the Iraqi-Iranian conflict was incited and organized by the two superpowers, in the first place by American imperialism, as one of the means to liquidate the Iranian revolution.

The main cause of the profound and general disturbances, which brought about a real catastrophe in revisionist Poland, is the grave economic-financial and political crisis that has gripped that country, which is dependent on Soviet social-imperialism and up to the neck in debt.

Thus, the prediction made by the PLA (10 years ago on the occasion of the strikes, demonstrations and clashes in the streets of Polish cities, which led to the fall of Gomulka) that no kind of aid, either from the East or the West, can pull Poland out of the mire, has proved true.

The Polish revisionists and their Moscow patrons did not know how to manoeuvre in that grave situation of crisis, to save the rotten bourgeois-revisionist order and the domination of the social-imperialist Soviet Union in Poland. They dismissed Gierek and a number of his collaborators, blaming them for the situation; they make concession after concession, but

also threaten the use of arms and intervention by the Soviet army; they change the governments one after another; beg for more aid and big credits from all sides, etc. Still they are unable to extract the country from its state of chaos and anarchy.

The PLA is of the opinion that only the Polish working class can save Poland, but not on that wrong course on which the representatives of reaction, the agents of the monopoly bourgeoisie of the West and the Vatican, have set it. Judging every movement from the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint, the PLA has clearly expressed its revolutionary stand on the recent events in Poland. The strikes and the economic and political demands of the workers, which are the essence of these disturbances, are not serving the revolution. They are being exploited by the Polish pro-Western reaction to carry out a counter-revolution within a counter-revolution. Their organizers and leaders want to replace the pro-Soviet regime of oppression and exploitation with another, pro-Western, just as ferocious and hostile to the Polish working class and people.

The only way out from the grave crisis is the road of the proletarian revolution, guided by a genuine Marxist-Leninist communist party, which must lead to the liquidation of the revisionist-capitalist class domination of the country and any external imperialist domination, either Russian or Western.

The PLA has always linked the struggle for the defence of Marxism-Leninism on a world scale closely with the question of the development and strengthening of the international communist movement, a detachment of which it is itself.

Following the great revisionist betrayal, this movement is on the way to revival on Marxist-Leninist foundations. With the open emergence of Chinese revisionism, which has played a very negative, disruptive and impeding role in this revival, since 1976 this movement has entered a new phase of sorting itself out and development on a sound proletarian basis.

Putting into practice the directive of its 7th Congress, the PLA, together with the other Marxist-Leninist parties, has striven with all its might to assist the revolutionary revival of the international communist movement.

As the various Marxist-Leninist parties themselves admit, the materials of the 7th Congress of the PLA and the major

works of Comrade Enver Hoxha published since that Congress, have been of particular assistance in this direction.

However, collaboration with the Marxist-Leninist parties on questions of strategy and tactics and the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, have been the main way to help the growth and revolutionary strengthening of the international Marxist-Leninist communist movement. Proceeding from the essential need to consolidate the unity of this movement, the PLA has steadily strengthened this collaboration, has tried to maintain regular contact with the sister parties, consulting them and exchanging opinions and experience with them on questions of common interest. Its representatives have taken part in special revolutionary activities organized by different parties.

Meanwhile, it has supported every initiative of the different parties to strengthen the bonds and collaboration between them. It thinks that the establishment of regular contacts and the strengthening of bilateral and regional collaboration, along with the consolidation of the Marxist-Leninist parties as the vanguard of the working class of their own countries, will prepare the necessary conditions to go on to a higher stage of collaboration, such as the organization of broader meetings of Marxist-Leninists.

The PLA follows with great attention the efforts which the sister Marxist-Leninist parties make to build up their ideological and organizational strength.

They have worked out and are elaborating ever more profoundly a revolutionary strategy and tactics and a correct political line which responds to the interests and desires of the broad popular masses and the revolutionary solution of the problems and tasks facing them in the struggle to destroy the bourgeois order and foreign imperialist domination.

The PLA supports the struggle which the Marxist-Leninist parties are waging for the implementation of their correct line, adhering to the great Leninist principle that revolutionary action, which links the Party with the masses, convinces them of the correctness of its line and makes it the line of the masses, plays a decisive role in this question.

The Marxist-Leninist parties are strengthening themselves especially in the struggle against modern revisionism. Day by day, the members of these parties are becoming more deeply conscious of the idea that the establishment of a clear-

cut demarcation line between the Marxist-Leninists and revisionists of all hues and uncompromising struggle against every revisionist trend, whether Khrushchevite, Titoite, Maoist, or Eurocommunist are of vital importance for the revolutionary party of the working class and the cause of the revolution and socialism.

In the rising tide of the struggle with class enemies the Marxist-Leninist parties have also made great progress in strengthening themselves organizationally on the basis of the principles and norms of the revolutionary party of the working class, which are radically different from those of social-democratic and revisionist parties. They are mastering and ever better applying the revolutionary methods and forms of work in the difficult conditions of illegality, under continuous blows from the bourgeois state and the revisionists, while at the same time utilizing all the possibilities for legal revolutionary activity.

The Marxist-Leninist parties have made steady progress in strengthening their proletarian social composition, appreciating that this is a main factor in making themselves the genuine vanguard of the working class and capable of withstanding the dangers of being split and transformed into bourgeois-revisionist parties.

The PLA gives all possible aid to the Marxist-Leninist sister parties to help strengthen them ideologically and organizationally, considering such aid as its great internationalist duty. Comrade Enver Hoxha says, «This aid is by no means interference in the internal affairs of other states or export of revolution...»* The PLA has always been against any interference in the internal affairs of other parties or other countries.

On the other hand, the PLA considers the support which the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries everywhere in the world give it as great assistance in its struggle for the complete construction of socialist society. The Marxist-Leninists and revolutionaries «see that the Party of Labour of Albania defends Marxism-Leninism when the others attack it, that it defends the principles of proletarian internationalism when the various revisionists have thrown these principles overboard. They

* Enver Hoxha, Report to the 7th Congress of the PLA, p. 242, Eng. ed.

see that in its stands, the Party of Labour of Albania not only proceeds from the interests of its own country, but also expresses and represents very great interests, near and dear to the entire proletariat, the interests of genuine socialism, the interests of all those who base themselves on and are guided by Marxism-Leninism for the revolutionary transformation of the world.»*

* Enver Hoxha, «Imperialism and the Revolution», p. 455, Eng. ed.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The History of the Party of Labour of Albania contains a great wealth of experience of the struggle for the creative and resolute application of Marxism-Leninism to ensure national and social liberation and build socialism.

Summing up this experience the following main general conclusions emerge:

1. — The Party of Labour of Albania was founded by the Albanian communists, headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, on the basis of the communist and worker movement in the country.

It arose as a historical necessity to lead the struggle for the national and social liberation of the people.

The PLA was formed by the amalgamation of the Albanian communist groups in a revolutionary working class party on the basis of the organizational and ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism. The amalgamation was achieved in the common struggle of communists of various groups against the enemies of the people, against pseudo-Marxist political trends and organizations, against alien viewpoints in the ranks of the groups themselves, by putting the general interests of the communist movement above the narrow interests of the groups. The amalgamation was cemented with the working out and acceptance of a single general line constructed on scientific Marxist-Leninist foundations.

The PLA was formed in the conditions of a backward agricultural country. The creation of the Marxist-Leninist Party of the Albanian working class was not hindered by the fact

that this class was small in numbers, scattered, unformed as an industrial proletariat, and had not achieved a high level of organizational and political maturity. Besides the working class movement, the movement of the school youth served as a powerful support for the formation of the Party. The secondary school youth and the majority of the Albanian university students were among the first to embrace communist ideas and stood in the forefront of the anti-fascist democratic movement. Under the leadership of the communists, supported and inspired by the working class, they became the bearers of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and militant patriotism among the masses of the people, thus playing an important role in the founding of the Party and the propagation of its revolutionary line.

The PLA was the first party of the Albanian working class and has always remained its only party.

2. — The triumph of the people's revolution and the construction of the economic base of socialism were achieved under the leadership of the working class. The complete construction of socialist society, likewise, is being carried out under its leadership.

The Albanian working class carried out this historic mission by means of the **Party of Labour of Albania**, a proletarian revolutionary party from the viewpoint of the theory which guides it, the organizational principles upon which it is built, and its political program.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always preserved intact its proletarian character and has faithfully realized the leadership of the working class at all stages and in all fields of the life of the country.

The Party has educated the leading cadres and all the communists, even those who do not come from the working class, with the proletarian ideology, with the spirit of loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and socialism.

By means of its own Party, the Albanian working class has been able to overcome all the obstacles to carrying out its leading role which resulted from the backward agricultural and semi-feudal situation of the country, from its still incomplete development as a class, from the low ideological, technical and cultural level in the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War and in the first post-Liberation years.

In the period of the construction of socialism it has increased in numbers, has been formed as a new industrial working class, developed from the technical and cultural points of view, gained great political and ideological tempering and maturity and achieved a high level of organization. This has further strengthened its role as the leader of the entire life of the country and the organizer of the construction of socialism and communism.

With the radical changes in the class structure, with the growth and tempering of the working class, the Party has been increased and strengthened with the finest members from the ranks of this class. Since the year 1970, members from the working class have comprised the biggest group in the total membership of the Party.

3. — The PLA has been able to play the leading role in the revolution and the socialist construction of the country because it has worked out and consistently applied a revolutionary general line.

This line has always responded to the political, economic, social and cultural demands of the masses, to the fundamental interests of the people and the Homeland, and to the interests of socialism on both the national and international levels.

In working out its political line, the PLA has always been guided by the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the objective laws of the revolution and socialism from which these principles derive. It has applied the Marxist-Leninist principles in a creative way; to this end it has based itself firmly on analysis of the concrete social conditions of the country and the ratio of class forces within the country. It has also learned and profited from the experience of the sister parties and the international communist movement, but it has not copied this experience or used it mechanically.

It has always been clear that the Marxist-Leninist principles and the revolutionary experience of the other sister communist parties cannot provide it with its own complete, political ready-made line. To work out this line, it is necessary for the party of the working class to rely on its own great experience which is gained in revolutionary practice. For this reason, at the beginning of each historical stage, the PLA has been able to lay only the basis of its own general line, and

has enriched and completed it later in the practice of the revolution and the socialist construction.

It is in revolutionary practice also that the correctness of the political line of the Party has been verified. In order to keep this line always correct and revolutionary, the PLA has never hesitated to make corrections on all occasions when the objective national and international conditions have changed, when specific decisions have been proved incorrect by practice, when life has shown that forms and methods borrowed from abroad have been inappropriate to the national reality. It has corrected mistakes in good time and not allowed them to become consolidated and incurable, and has not permitted the development of opposite lines and anti-party trends.

The working out and the application of the line of the Party have always been characterized by adherence to proletarian principles. In defining and accomplishing any task and solving any problem, in all its stands and actions, the Party has viewed and judged the various phenomena and events from the proletarian class standpoint.

Its adherence to proletarian principles has been the main factor that has enabled the PLA to define the objective and programmatic tasks of each stage of the revolution correctly, to avoid falling into opportunism, sectarianism, pragmatism and subjectivism, to grasp more readily which is the key issue in a series of problems, to always have its perspective clear, to find its bearings better in the complicated internal and external circumstances, to foil the interference of the various revisionists in its internal affairs, to work out and apply its own, independent, Marxist-Leninist internal and foreign policy.

4. — The policy of self-reliance, which the Party has applied continuously and persistently ever since its founding, in particular is an expression of its adherence to proletarian principles.

This revolutionary policy has its roots in the great Marxist-Leninist principle that the internal factor is the determining one, while the external factor is auxiliary.

Guided by this policy of the Party, the Albanian people did not beg freedom and independence from imperialist rulers and internal enemies, nor did they wait for others from abroad to bring them these things. Likewise, they have never made the construction of socialist society, the development

of the economy and culture, or the defence of the victories of the revolution, dependent on foreign aid.

The principle of self-reliance found its embodiment during the Anti-fascist National Liberation War in the slogan of the Party. «Freedom is not donated, but is won with bloodshed and sacrifice!» After the war, it was expressed in the determination of the people to build socialism in any circumstances and under any conditions, by mobilizing all the internal human, material and financial forces, means and resources.

The experience of the revolutionary struggle of the Albanian people, led by the Party, proves that the resolute implementation of the policy of self-reliance ensures true political and economic independence and the construction of socialist society on solid foundations and protects the independence of the country and the socialist system from the many dangers which threaten them.

While relying on its own forces and considering the internal factor as the decisive one, the Party has never underestimated the external factor, the support of the proletariat and all the progressive and freedom-loving forces in the world. This support has been always powerful both during the National Liberation War and after Liberation. It is because of the principled policy it follows, the heroic struggle of the Albanian people for freedom, independence and socialism, and their determination to defend them, that Albania has won the support of the revolutionary forces abroad. The more a people are capable of winning and defending freedom and independence, and building socialism with their own forces, the greater is the support from the revolutionary, progressive and freedom-loving forces abroad.

5. — The PLA has always been able to apply its correct political line, because this line has been embraced by the masses of the people, has become their line, and the masses, together with the Party and under its leadership, have striven with all their might to put in into practice.

This has been achieved because the masses have been convinced of the correctness of the line of the Party and its ability to apply this line.

In convincing the masses, in making them fully understand that the line of the Party responds to their demands and interests, in establishing strong and durable links with them

and in mobilizing them in struggle and work, the practical revolutionary activity of the Party and of the masses of the people under the leadership of the Party has played a decisive role.

A reliable weapon in this activity has been the concrete, tangible, clear and militant agitation and propaganda, the wide-raging, differentiated, political and ideological work in many forms.

Parallel with the work of agitation and propaganda, the Party has always followed the principle: words must be matched with deeds. The educational and explanatory work of the Party has always been associated with its revolutionary action, with the personal example of the communists. This has brought about that the masses have become convinced of the correctness of the political line of the Party from their own experience.

For every decision it has taken and in every step of its activity, the Party has consulted the masses, has encouraged the criticism and the free expression of the opinion of the masses, has listened carefully to their demands and proposals, has always kept in mind the role of the people as the makers of history, the great principle that the revolution is the work of the masses, that socialism is built and defended by the masses, while the Party of the working class makes them conscious.

The links between the Party and the masses have been built on sound organizational foundations. Only links with the organized masses are true and durable links. The PLA has set up various social organizations of the masses as links which connect the Party with the masses, as powerful levers to put into practice the political line of the Party, to realize its revolutionary leadership. The programs and activity of these organizations have always been based on the policy of the Party.

A very important aspect of the revolutionary practice of the Party to maintain and to strengthen its links with the masses, to project the Party itself and ensure that it will not be destroyed by the attacks of the class enemies, is its courage and revolutionary stands in the face of the many difficulties it has encountered on its way. The Party has always prepared itself and the masses of the people to cope with the most difficult and complicated situations which inevitably arise in the course of the revolution. Consequently,

it has never been taken by surprise in the grave situations created by the enemies. In these situations, the Party has not lost it head, has not been seized by panic or fallen into pessimism or inaction, has not lost its faith in its own forces or those of the people. It has not been cast into despair because of the losses inflicted by the enemies' attacks. At all critical moments, the Party has acted with wisdom, maturity and courage, has told the masses the truth about the situation, has appealed to them, has relied firmly on them, and has always emerged triumphant.

In difficult situations the Party has manoeuvred with flexibility, but has never lost sight of its strategic objective and tasks.

In such situations the durability of the links of the Party with the people has been tested and these links have been further cemented.

6. — The PLA has ensured the uninterrupted development of the revolution.

This revolution has passed through three main stages: the anti-imperialist democratic stage of winning national independence and the establishment of the people's state power; the stage of the construction of the bases of socialism; the stage of the complete construction of socialist society, which is in progress.

The three stages have developed, not only without interruption, but also interwoven with one another. One stage has prepared the premises for the next stage.

In the course of the revolution in Albania there have been no big retreats or zigzags, because there have been no ebbs caused by objective conditions and because the PLA, the leader of the revolution, has always followed a correct Marxist-Leninist line.

Among the many political, economic and ideological tasks of the revolution at a given period, the PLA has brought to the fore one or the other fundamental task, according to the concrete social conditions and the problems which had to be solved, but it has always kept in mind that only the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields, in the entire mode of production and the superstructure, ensures the steady advance towards communist society.

The PLA has ensured the victory of the revolution, in the first place, through the revolutionary solution of three key issues: the uniting of the masses of the people in a single front around the Party; the organization of the armed uprising to overthrow the old state power, the creation of the people's armed forces and the all-round preparation of the people for the defence of the victories; the establishment and ceaseless perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

7. — The unity of the people around the Party is embodied in the Democratic Front (the direct continuation of the National Liberation Front).

By means of the Front, the Party succeeded in uniting the classes, strata, the separate groups and elements — allies of the working class, at the various stages of the revolution, in one big political organization. By means of the Front, it was made possible that none of these allies remained outside the influence of the proletarian policy and the leadership of the Party.

The Front provided the broadest political support for the Party and the people's state power.

The Democratic Front was established as, and always remained, a voluntary union of the masses of the people from below, and not a coalition of political parties.

At all stages, it has been based on the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry under the leadership of the working class. Its broadest base has been the working peasantry.

The Party of Labour of Albania has always been the sole leading force of the Front and the only political party in it.

In Albania there have been no real bourgeois political parties and none were formed even after the founding of the Communist Party of Albania. The CPA was not opposed to the setting up of other anti-fascist parties, or against collaboration with them in the cause of waging the war against the occupiers, had such parties been formed.

But it fought and destroyed such political organizations as Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti which were set up by the big landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie with the encouragement and support of the Italian and German occupiers, and which tried to destroy the Party and the Front and to prevent the triumph of the people's revolution. The Party also

wiped out the attempts which were made after the war by bourgeois and landowner elements, with the encouragement and support of the US and British imperialists, to create reactionary political parties as weapons for the overthrow of the people's state power.

The historical fact that, besides the PLA, there have been no other political parties in the country, has been very advantageous to the working class, the people, the revolution and socialism in Albania. This has assisted the Party to carry out its leading role as the party of the working class better and more easily in all the stages of the revolution.

The PLA's being the only political party in the country facilitated the exercise of socialist democracy for the masses of the working people after the triumph of the people's revolution.

The Party of Labour of Albania has expressed and defended the interests not only of the working class, but also of the working peasantry and all the Albanian people united in the Democratic Front, while viewing these interests from the angle of socialism.

The PLA has always regarded the unity of the people in the Front as a unity of classes, strata and people who are linked by common interests and aims for one or more definite historical stages. This unity was created and strengthened in the war for freedom, national independence and socialism, in the irreconcilable struggle against internal and external class enemies.

On the one hand, the Party has combated sectarian manifestations, cases of confusing elements of the people with the enemies, of assessing non-antagonistic contradictions as antagonistic, of lack of patience to work with those who are politically unclear, etc. On the other hand, it has combated manifestations of opportunism — cases of lack of vigilance towards the class enemy or the softening of the class struggle in the ranks of the Front, the tendencies of opportunist elements to fail to safeguard the complete ideological, political and organizational independence of the Party in the Front, or its role as the sole leadership in it.

This struggle has been essential to the continuous preservation and strengthening of the unity of the people in the Front.

8. — The revolution in Albania triumphed by means of the people's armed uprising and is defended by the armed people.

In the concrete conditions, this uprising could not be an immediate outburst. The development of the uprising was a whole process, which began with anti-fascist demonstrations and small fighting actions and was raised, step by step, to the general uprising of the people.

The organization of the armed uprising, aimed at raising the masses of the people in armed struggle, absolutely demanded the preparation of a people's national liberation army, which would be capable of defeating the enemy armed forces, destroying the state apparatus of the enemy, liberating the country from the occupiers, ensuring the establishment of the people's state power and becoming the defender of this state power. To fulfil such tasks it was absolutely necessary that this people's army should be organized as a regular people's army of the new Albanian state.

The armed uprising and the creation of the people's armed forces passed through three main stages:

In the first stage, the basis was laid for the general armed uprising and for the organization of the regular national liberation army. In this stage guerrilla units, regular partisan çetas and battalions and volunteer territorial self-defence units were set up, and the general moral-political preparation of the masses of the people for the armed uprising was carried out.

In the second stage, the war was turned into a general uprising of the people, the partisan çetas and battalions were organized in the centralized National Liberation Army, led by a general staff. The partisan brigades and groups were formed in this stage. The military administration in the rear was set up, too.

In the third stage, the people's general uprising led to the expulsion of the occupiers and the complete liberation of the country, to the wiping out of the reactionary organizations and armed forces, tools of the occupiers, to the complete destruction of the state apparatus of the occupiers and traitors. In this stage, the National Liberation Army as a whole was changed into the regular army of the Albanian people and the Albanian state of people's democracy.

The uprising found its inspiration and began in the cities. As it extended and grew stronger, the centre of gravity passed

to the countryside. The countryside became the main base of the uprising and the peasantry its main force. At the same time, the uprising as a whole was being extended and deepened in the cities, too.

The main form of the armed struggle was the partisan war. The partisan fighting actions were outstanding for their character of unceasing attacks, for their skilful use of manoeuvre with many rapid movements, for their use of surprise, for the great initiative of the commands at all levels, for their perfect exploitation of the terrain. The masterly use of the tactics of partisan warfare, the high morale of the fighters and the support and direct participation of the masses of people in the war neutralized and overcame the superiority of the enemy in numbers and, especially, in fighting equipment, ensured the preservation of the forces of the people's army, and a very high level of losses or the wiping out of its opponents.

The people's armed forces which, together with the insurgent people, ensured the victory of the revolution, served as a powerful and irreplaceable support for its triumphant and uninterrupted development in all fields, for the defence of their victories from the hostile aims and activities of the internal reactionary forces, the imperialists and the modern revisionists. The People's Army is one of the most important weapons of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The State Security organs are the vigilant eyes of this dictatorship.

With the consolidation and perfecting of the political power in the process of the socialist construction of the country, the armed forces improved their organization, armament and military equipment, their training and fighting and political capacities. The socialist state and the people have spared nothing for the unceasing strengthening and modernization of the people's armed forces.

The PLA has shown continuing concern for the strengthening and preservation of the profoundly popular character of the armed forces, of their links with the people, their revolutionary tempering and the leadership of the armed forces by the Party.

The regular armed forces are only a part of the armed people. The socialist Homeland is defended by the entire people who undergo military training for a people's war, the most reliable means to wipe out aggressors. The Party of Labour of

Albania has fully applied the Marxist-Leninist principle of arming the people and giving them military training, making sure that the broad masses of the people are both the builders and defenders of socialism.

9. — The people's power in Albania was born in the war lor national liberation as the dictatorship of the democratic revolutionary forces, whereas immediately after the liberation of the country it began to carry out the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was established by smashing the political power of the occupiers, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie to its very foundations. Before the country had been entirely liberated, the problem of the state power had been solved in favour of the revolutionary forces.

Evaluating the question of the political power as the fundamental problem of the revolution, the Party linked the war for national liberation closely with the seizure of power by the revolutionary masses of the people. Therefore, parallel with the extension and strengthening of the armed struggle, the people's power was built and strengthened on the ruins of the old state power. On its part, the new state power served as a reliable support for the people's armed uprising.

By launching the slogan «the national liberation councils — the only state power of the people in Albania,» the Party prepared the masses to completely destroy the state power of the occupiers and the traitors and to prevent the re-establishment of the old bourgeois-landowner state power. In this way the Party also ensured its undivided leadership in the new state power which it created. When the necessary conditions had been prepared, the Party immediately organized the formation of the new Albanian state of people's democracy with the revolutionary democratic government as the only government of the Albanian people, without waiting for the prior liberation of the entire country.

In accordance with the will of the broad masses of the people and not forgetting for one moment the perspective of the development of the national liberation revolution into the socialist revolution, the Party never shared the power with the bourgeoisie, but kept inviolate the leadership of the working class in the new political state power. It defeated the pressure which internal reaction and the US and British imperialists

exerted during the war and in the early post-Liberation years, to bring representatives of the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie into the leadership of the people's power. It also defeated the treacherous stands of the opportunist elements in its own leadership, who surrendered to the enemy pressure and agreed to share power with the bourgeoisie.

The basic organs of the dictatorship of the proletariat are the people's councils, the direct continuers of the national liberation councils.

The dictatorship of the proletariat served, and still serves, as the decisive weapon for the uninterrupted development of the socialist revolution in all fields and for the defence of its achievements. The socialist democracy, which has been continuously extended and consolidated, is realized by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is also the means of ensuring that the working class, the cooperativist peasantry and the working people exercise power, both through the representative state organs and directly, and take part actively and extensively in running the country. A very important means of the participation of the masses in running the country is the direct worker and peasant control, which is exercised over everybody and everything, over all the activity of the state and economic organs, the administrative apparatus and the cadres. Like the dictatorship of the proletariat, as a whole, this control is guided by the proletarian ideology and policy of the Party.

The foundation of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the alliance of the working class with the working peasantry, under the leadership of the working class. The Albanian peasantry has always looked on the dictatorship of the proletariat as its own state power, because this is the first and only state power which has fulfilled its age-old dreams and desires, which has ensured it liberty and the land, which has lifted it out of poverty and backwardness, and has guaranteed its rapid progress in all fields on the socialist road.

The PLA has fought consistently against any manifestation or tendency of opportunist elements for the liberalization of the state power, for turning it into «a democracy for all», as well as against the disease of bureaucracy.

This struggle has been essential to preserve the proletarian character of the people's state power, to avoid its becoming divorced from the masses of the people, and to prevent the

bourgeois-revisionist degeneration of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The PLA regards the struggle against bureaucracy and liberalism as an aspect of the class struggle. As such, it will continue for as long as the class struggle goes on.

The dictatorship of the proletariat is also a decisive weapon in the hands of the Party, the working class and the other working masses for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. The PLA follows the course of the preservation, strengthening and continuous perfecting of the dictatorship of the proletariat until classes have completely disappeared and any external danger to communist society has been wiped out.

10. — In the economic field the revolution has achieved two main objectives. First, the economic base of the landowners and the bourgeoisie has been eliminated, private ownership of the means of production has been wiped out and replaced with socialist social ownership, both in town and countryside. Second, the economic backwardness and the one-sided structure of the economy, which consisted mainly of small-scale agricultural production, has been liquidated, and a new, multi-branched structure has been built, consisting of large-scale industrial and agricultural production, relying mainly on the use of modern technique.

For the establishment of socialist relations of production, the Party did not wait for the productive forces, which had remained backward, to be developed to a high level. It built these relations (first in the cities and later in the countryside) before the construction of an adequate material-technical base had been completed. Parallel with the development of the productive forces, the Party has continuously perfected the socialist relations of production in all fields — ownership, distribution, circulation and the planned management of the economy, without allowing any great disparity to develop between them. Thus, the socialist relations of production have always served as a sound support and a powerful impulse for the development of the productive forces at rapid rates.

The remnants of feudal relations were wiped out by means of the Land Reform which expropriated the landowners without compensation and gave the land to the poor peasants. Since this reform was carried out under the conditions of the development of the socialist revolution, it also affected the capitalist relations in the countryside.

By means of nationalization, the big and medium capitalist property in the city was liquidated and replaced by socialist social property. The form of state capitalism was not used. The nationalization was carried out in a profoundly revolutionary way, based on expropriation without compensation.

The private property of the small-scale producers of the towns was changed into socialist property by means of the voluntary uniting of these producers in cooperatives of artisans which, in the long run, merged into state enterprises.

The private property of small-scale producers in the countryside was changed into cooperativist social property by means of the collectivization of agriculture. The collectivization was begun and completed without the prior nationalization of the land owned by the small producers and which, according to the law, they could not sell and buy, and without waiting for the prior industrialization of the country, but parallel with the rise and development of the new socialist industry. In the process of the collectivization of agriculture and the development of industry, the material-technical base of large-scale socialist production was created in the countryside, too, while the nationalization of the land was carried out de jure in the new Constitution of 1976.

The collectivization of agriculture was done on the basis of convincing the peasantry of the superiority of the socialist system of agriculture. With the help of the Party, it created this conviction from its own experience. The Party has always strictly applied the Leninist principle of the free will of the peasants to unite in cooperatives. The middle peasants, like the poor peasants, embraced the road of collectivization and entered the cooperatives en masse.

The only form which was used for the collectivization was the agricultural cooperative of production, based on social ownership of the means of production, work in common and the distribution of the product solely on the basis of the work done by each member of the cooperative.

The socialist industrialization of the country served as the main key to the development of the productive forces and the construction of a many-sided economy. Industrialization created real possibilities for the setting up and development of new branches of the economy, for the creation of an advanced, multi-branched agriculture and for its intensification.

In the socialist industrialization of the country, priority has always been given to the setting up and development of heavy industry. Consequently, the proportion of production of means of production has constantly increased. At the same time, special importance has been attached to the rapid development of light industry. The Party has also tried to ensure a harmonious development of industry and agriculture. Only with the support of both legs — industry and agriculture, can the construction of a strong, stable and independent economy and its rapid and uninterrupted development be assured.

The management of the economy and the socialist construction has been a democratic, centralized management on the basis of a unified, general state plan.

The new multi-branched socialist economy has been built and developed and the material-technical base created, relying mainly on the internal human and financial resources, natural assets and other means. The Albanian people themselves, under the leadership of the revolutionary Party of the working class, have built this economy.

In this way, the PLA, by means of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has ensured: the transition of the country from a backward, semi-feudal situation directly to socialism, bypassing the phase of developed capitalism; the rapid-rate development of the people's economy on the road to socialism; the economic independence of the country as an indispensable factor for the preservation of its political independence.

11. — The PLA has closely linked the build-up and development of the socialist economy with the development of the people's culture, ensuring the uninterrupted development of a real cultural revolution.

The Party has regarded the development of culture and the cultural revolution, on the one hand, as part of the program of the development of the productive forces, and on the other hand, as part of the ideological revolution.

From the former standpoint, by means of its policy, revolutionary activity and the socialist state, the Party has achieved: the elimination of the cultural backwardness inherited from the past; the transformation of education and culture from a privilege for a minority of the well-to-do into an asset of the broad masses of the people; the training of an army of cadres

and specialists of various profiles, with higher and secondary schooling, to fulfil all the needs of the economy, culture and state management; the educational and technical qualification of the masses of workers, farmers and office staff; the development of a profound technical-scientific revolution.

From the latter standpoint, the Party has established a progressive revolutionary educational system, science and culture with a proletarian, Marxist-Leninist content; it has trained cadres, specialists, workers and cooperativists with schooling, people of art and culture, loyal fighters in the service of the people, the revolution and communism.

The Albanian socialist culture embodies the harmonious combination of the national with the international, of the progressive tradition with the revolutionary new, while the proletarian ideology is always predominant in it.

12. — In working out its political line and in all its activity, the PLA has proceeded from the Marxist-Leninist principle that the class struggle is an objective law and the main motive force of society until classes disappear completely, in communism.

The consistent application of this principle has enabled the Party, at every stage of the revolution, to follow a correct line on the class struggle, as an organic part of its general line and an indispensable condition for the uninterrupted development of the revolution, for the triumph of socialism over capitalism, for the defence of this victory and the achievement of still greater ones.

The class struggle includes the struggle of the people for the liberation of the country from the Italian and German fascist imperialists to win national independence and defend this independence against any expansionist and predatory imperialist ambitions; the struggle to wipe out the political domination of the landowners and the bourgeoisie, to establish, safeguard and strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat: the struggle to liquidate the economic base of feudalism and capitalism and for the construction, strengthening and development of the economic base of socialism; the struggle to defeat any resistance or hostile activity of the exploiting classes and for the elimination of these classes; the struggle against the remnants of these classes; the struggle against new capitalist elements; the struggle against traitors to the Party, socialism and the people; the struggle against reactionary, patriarchal,

feudal and bourgeois concepts and outdated customs; the struggle against the petty-bourgeois psychology in regard to property, work and life style; the struggle against the ideological aggression from abroad and bourgeois and revisionist ideology in general; the struggle against the policy and activity of aggression, oppression and exploitation of the imperialists and social-imperialists; the struggle against modern revisionism and international reaction.

In order to follow a correct line in the class struggle, the definition of the main class enemies in one or other stage of the revolution is of great importance.

During the period of the Anti-fascist National Liberation War, the main enemies were the Italian and German fascists, therefore the main blow of the struggle was directed against them. In the conditions when the Party was pursuing the line of uniting the whole people in the National Liberation Front, without discrimination as to class and political conviction, it made many efforts to prevent the contradiction between the masses of the people and the landowners and the big bourgeoisie from being turned into a principal antagonistic contradiction. However, the landowners and the reactionary bourgeoisie, with their political organizations — Balli Kombëtar and Legaliteti, regarded the Communist Party and the National Liberation Front as the main enemy. They opened armed struggle against the Party and the Front and tried to destroy them by uniting in a single front with the occupiers. In these circumstances, the Party and the Front were forced to fight and totally destroy the organizations and armed forces of internal reaction by the use of revolutionary violence. Thus, the war against the occupiers was interwoven with the struggle against the main local exploiting classes, tools of the Italian fascist and German nazi enslavers. As a consequence, the National Liberation War led not only to the liberation of the Homeland from the foreign invaders, but also to the overthrow of the main exploiting classes of the country and stripping them entirely of political power.

During the period of socialist construction, the main class enemies have been: **inside the country** — the overthrown exploiting classes, and after their elimination, the remnants of these classes and the traitors; **outside the country** — imperialism, headed by the US imperialists, and later, the Soviet and Chinese social-imperialists.

The PLA has fought modern revisionism, the offspring and agency of imperialism, with special severity. The irreconcilable principled struggle which it waged from the start against the Yugoslav revisionists equipped it with great revolutionary experience and the keenness of eye to be able to recognize and to fight more effectively and with greater determination against the Khrushchevite revisionists, the Chinese revisionists and the other revisionist trends. International modern revisionism constitutes a savage enemy of the proletariat and the peoples, of the communist and liberation movement world-wide. The PLA considers the struggle against revisionism in the ideological and political fields as an essential condition for success in the fight against imperialism and social-imperialism, to ensure the ultimate victory of the socialist revolution in Albania and on a world scale.

In the course of waging and leading the class struggle correctly, in all the stages of the revolution, against internal and external enemies of the people and socialism, the PLA has gained a high level of vigilance and tempering as a revolutionary party of the working class.

13. — The PLA has always worked and fought as a detachment of the international communist and worker movement.

By ensuring the victory of the revolution and the successful construction of socialism in its own country, it has, at the same time, carried out its fundamental internationalist duty to the proletariat and the world proletarian revolution.

In the struggle for national and social liberation and the socialist construction of the country, the PLA has never isolated itself from the world revolutionary movement. On the contrary, it has always felt the need for the powerful support of this movement, has properly appreciated the importance of this support and has always relied on the help of the other Marxist-Leninist parties, the people's liberation movement, and especially on the assistance of the socialist countries, both in the war for national liberation and in the construction of socialism.

The PLA has educated the Albanian communists and the whole Albanian people in a profound spirit of proletarian internationalism.

The Great October Socialist Revolution has always been

close and dear to the hearts of the Party of Labour and the working people of Albania.

The lessons from the October Revolution, the experience of the Third International, in general, and of the Bolshevik Party, in particular, have served to guide the Party of Labour of Albania and the Albanian working people on their revolutionary course and inspired them in the fight for freedom, independence and socialism.

In the hearts of the communists and the entire people, the PLA has implanted the feeling of sincere and ardent love for the proletariat, the peoples and all the revolutionary forces of the world.

The Albanian Party and people have nurtured boundless love and loyalty for the first socialist state, created by V.I. Lenin and J.V. Stalin, which emerged from the October Revolution. This love and this loyalty have always been based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. When the Khrushchevite revisionists emerged at the head of the Soviet Communist Party and the Soviet state, the PLA declared principled, uncompromising war on them, while coming out in defence of the glorious road of the Bolshevik Party and the Soviet peoples, in defence of J.V. Stalin and the lessons of October, which were trampled underfoot by the revisionists, and this it regarded as its internationalist duty.

In the context of the struggle in defence of Marxism-Leninism and socialism on an international scale, the PLA defended the CP and PR of China at the most difficult moments they have experienced, undaunted that by so doing it would draw upon itself all the fury and fire of the US imperialists, the Soviet social-imperialists and modem revisionists. However, when the betrayal of the Chinese leaders, the bourgeois-revisionist character of their ideology and policy and their aim of turning China into a social-imperialist power became clear, the PLA did not hesitate to declare irreconcilable war on Chinese revisionism and social-imperialism, with the same determination as on Soviet revisionism and social-imperialism.

With the Marxist-Leninist parties and the socialist states, the PLA has always pursued a policy of establishing and consolidating fraternal relations of sincere collaboration and aid for one another, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, prole-

tarian internationalism, and the struggle against imperialism and revisionism.

The PLA has always expressed its solidarity with the revolutionary forces of the world. It has unreservedly supported the struggle of the world proletariat against capitalist oppression and exploitation, as well as the liberation struggle of the peoples against imperialism and reaction, regarding their struggle and victories as its own struggle and victories.

With its principled, determined and consistent struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism, the PLA has defended Marxism-Leninism as the only scientific theory of the revolution and the construction of socialist and communist society; it has defended the socialist camp and the international communist movement from the aims and attempts of the imperialists and revisionists to split them and wipe them out. Following the split and bourgeois degeneration caused by the modern revisionists in the socialist countries and the communist and workers' parties, the PLA held high the banner of proletarian internationalism, fighting for the revival of the international communist movement on a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist basis, without revisionists and traitors and in irreconcilable struggle against them. It hailed the formation of new Marxist-Leninist parties in the upsurge of the struggle with the revisionists and showed itself ready to collaborate with them, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and the independence of each party, for the achievement of this objective.

At the same time, the PLA has followed a policy of collaboration between the new Albanian state and non-socialist states, irrespective of their political and social systems.

In the relations of the Albanian socialist state with the other socialist or non-socialist states, the PLA has applied the revolutionary principle of respect for national sovereignty and has not permitted any external interference in its internal political, economic or military affairs.

14. — The application of the correct political line of the Party has been ensured by adhering to a correct organizational line, founded on the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms of the internal life of the revolutionary party of the working class.

The main characteristic of the internal life of the PLA is

the **revolutionary application** of the Marxist-Leninist organizational principles and norms.

In applying democratic centralism, which is the basic principle of the organizational structure of the Marxist-Leninist party, in a revolutionary manner, the PLA has always regarded the two aspects of this principle (centralism and democracy) as aspects complementing and not excluding each other. The integral combination of centralism with democracy in the internal life of the Party has protected it both from bureaucracy and from liberalism and has prevented it from turning into a bourgeois-revisionist party.

Collective leadership and iron discipline are two of the main elements ensuring the application of democratic centralism.

The revolutionary application of collective leadership has ensured that: the decisions of the leading organs and the party organizations are the result of the collective opinion which is always the most profound, mature and correct opinion; the collective leadership, which is the most reliable leadership, is not weakened; the leadership does not become the monopoly of certain individuals or workers of the apparatuses, something which would threaten the Party with loss of its proletarian character.

The revolutionary application of the discipline in the Party has ensured that no party member, whatever his function in the Party, the state power, the economy or elsewhere, is absolved from this discipline, that each member renders account in the basic organization of the Party or the leading organ on his work and behaviour, on the fulfilment to the letter of the requirements of the Party Constitution and the tasks he has been charged with, that he is profoundly conscious of his responsibility as a party member and a communist cadre, that the party member is always an exemplary vanguard fighter.

The revolutionary application of the Marxist-Leninist principles and norms in increasing the ranks of the Party with new members has been of decisive importance. The requirement of the Constitution that any working man or woman who accepts the program and Constitution of the Party and who works actively to put them into practice, who takes part and works in one of the party organizations, carries out all the decisions of the Party and regularly pays membership dues

can be a member of the PLA, as well as the orientation of the CC to give priority to the admission of workers to the Party — to increase its ranks with more working people from industrial and agricultural production, have never been applied mechanically or formally. While keeping in mind this requirement and orientation, the basic criterion for admission has always been the qualities of the communist as the person most pure morally, the most determined fighter for the cause of the people, the revolution and communism, proletarian in his thoughts and actions. This criterion has ensured that the very best of the best, the most progressive and determined revolutionaries are admitted to the Party. Anyone who joins the PLA understands clearly that membership of the Party does not ensure him more rights and privileges than the other working people, does not create conditions for his personal career, but on the contrary, increases his duties and calls for more work and sacrifices,

The PLA has always considered the example provided by the communist, as a vanguard fighter who matches his words with his deeds, who does not yield in the face of difficulties and obstacle, who is in the forefront of the struggle and work and is always just, honest, principled, progressive and courageous, as the main means by which to convince the masses of the correctness of its line, and to establish close links with them.

Just as it has been necessary for the Party to absorb fresh, healthy blood to ensure that it remains a proletarian party of revolutionary action, so it has been necessary also for it to purge itself of all those who have lost their qualities as vanguard fighters in the course of the revolutionary struggle. The Party has not allowed opportunist leniency, liberalism and sentimentality to influence the implementation of this law, as V. I. Lenin described such a purging of the party of the working class. At the same time, the Party has not permitted hasty decisions or sectarianism in this direction. Its steps have always been prudent.

15. — One of the most outstanding features of the PLA has been its monolithic ideological, organizational and political unity.

It has forged and safeguarded this unity in irreconcilable struggle against opportunism and sectarianism, against factions and all internal enemies of the Party.

After the defeat of the liquidationist Trotskyite trend in the first months of its existence, the views and activity of the anti-party groups and elements have never, at any time, succeeded in becoming anti-Marxist ideological trends within the ranks of the Party. This is because they have been discovered in time and combated from revolutionary positions, and because of the loyalty of the communists to Marxism-Leninism and the line of the Party.

To preserve its unity and the correctness of its general line, during the whole of its existence the PLA has waged a struggle on two fronts: against right opportunism and against sectarianism and dogmatism.

Until the spring of 1943 the main danger for the PLA was sectarianism. The roots of this danger were: the marked sectarian spirit which characterized the activity of the communist groups and which, with the uniting of the groups, had penetrated the ranks of the Party; the difficulty which the former members of the groups had in understanding the general line of the Party regarding the Anti-fascist National Liberation War.

From the spring of 1943 until the end of the war, as well as during the whole period following Liberation, the main danger for the PLA has been right opportunism.

During the National Liberation War the roots of right opportunism were: the pressure on the Party from the reactionary bourgeoisie outside the Front and the middle bourgeoisie inside the Front; the pressure of British-US imperialist reaction which aimed to prevent the victory of the revolutionary forces led by the Party.

After Liberation, the roots of opportunism were: the pressure on the Party from the remnants of the overthrown classes and the kulaks outside the Front; the pressure of the petty bourgeoisie, especially the masses of the peasantry inside the Front, over some problems of the economic policy of the Party in the countryside; imperialist pressure for the overthrow of the people's state power; the pressure of bourgeois and revisionist ideology from abroad; the pressure of old customs, reactionary ideologies, and the religious prejudices within the country.

Another source of the danger of opportunism during the whole existence of the Party has been the petty-bourgeois

origin of many of its members, the insufficient ideological training of a great number of communists.

Although sectarianism and dogmatism have not constituted any great danger to the line of the Party after Liberation manifestations of them have been apparent in the activity of some communists in various economic, political and ideological problems.

The manifestations of sectarianism have had their roots mainly in the narrow outlook and conceit of a number of communists of petty-bourgeois, peasant or artisan origin.

The source of manifestations of dogmatism has been in the borrowing of the experience of other countries without adapting it to the internal conditions and without a critical examination; in the insufficient theoretical preparation and the low educational level of a good number of the communists.

The struggle which the PLA has waged against opportunism, sectarianism and dogmatism, against all alien manifestations, against anti-party groups and elements, has always been a profoundly principled struggle permeated by Marxist-Leninist partisanship. In this struggle the Party has always displayed a prudent and moderate attitude towards those communists who have recognized their mistakes. At the same time, it has been stern and merciless with the enemies of Marxism-Leninism, with deserters and splitters of its unity.

The PLA has always seen the struggle against opportunism, sectarianism, against all alien manifestations within its ranks, as an aspect, a reflection of the class struggle being waged within the country. The Party considers the waging of the irreconcilable, principled struggle against opportunism, sectarianism and factions within its ranks as an essential condition for the preservation of its proletarian character and for the complete construction of socialist and communist society. This struggle will continue during the entire period of the existence of the Party, because for the whole period of the transition from socialism to communism and so long as capitalism has not been defeated on a world scale, the tendency to the birth of revisionism remains an objective danger.

16. — Since its founding, the PLA has continuously devoted the greatest care to the unity of its own leadership on Marxist-Leninist foundations.

This it has considered to be the primary, indispensable condition for ensuring the ideological and organizational unity of the whole Party, for working out a correct revolutionary line and putting it into practice.

In order to eliminate the PLA or to turn it into a bourgeois-revisionist party, the class enemies have always begun their destructive work with efforts to create opposing trends or to sow divisions within its leadership. But in the long run, these efforts have always been defeated as a result of the struggle against factionalism and against permitting the coexistence of opposing views, against opportunism and sectarianism. Whenever it has happened that various leaders have infringed the norms and principles of the Party, it has patiently helped them to correct themselves and put them back on the right road. But whenever it has been proved that this or that leader has capitulated in the face of difficulties or the pressure of the class enemies and has deviated from Marxism-Leninism, or, even worse, has turned into an agent of the bourgeoisie and the revisionists, then the Party has expelled him from the leadership without hesitation, regardless of his former merits.

What is important is that the struggle against anti-party elements and groups in the ranks of the Central Committee and the Party has always been a principled struggle; this struggle has never been allowed to degenerate into a struggle of individuals for power, as occurs in the revisionist parties. This struggle has not been waged only by the Central Committee and the Party, but by the entire people who have always had their say and helped the Party to expose and defeat the anti-Marxist views and activity of one or the other traitor or enemy group.

The leaders of the Party and the state have played a major role in achieving the victories in the people's revolution and the socialist construction. They have emerged from the ranks of the people, have been trained and tempered as political leaders and organizers of the masses in the revolutionary struggle. With their wisdom, self-sacrifice and consistent loyalty to the cause of the people and communism, with the aid and support of the Party and the masses of the people, they have won high authority, great experience of political leadership, and the love and esteem of the people.

Outstanding among the leaders is Comrade Enver Hoxha.

He is the founder of the PLA and has led it from the time it was formed through all the historical stages of the revolution. He has made the greatest contribution to working out its Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line. With his wisdom, determination, foresight and revolutionary courage, Comrade Enver Hoxha has ensured the consistent, revolutionary implementation of the Marxist-Leninist line and norms of the Party, has never allowed it to be diverted on to blind alleys and has brought it triumphant through all the difficult and complicated situations. In his works, Comrade Enver Hoxha has made a Marxist-Leninist theoretical summing-up of the revolutionary experience of the PLA, thus making an invaluable contribution to the treasury of Marxism-Leninism.

Enver Hoxha is the most beloved teacher and leader of the whole Albanian people, united in steel-like unity around the Party and its Central Committee.

* * *

The History of the Party of Labour of Albania reflects the linking and enrichment of the Marxist-Leninist theory with the practice of the revolutionary struggle of the Party of the working class and the masses of the working people in Albania. It is evidence of the colossal force of Marxism-Leninism to inspire, move and transform, when it is applied faithfully and in a creative manner by a revolutionary party of the working class. It proves that the faithful application of Marxism-Leninism in the conditions of each country leads to certain victory.

The great experience which the PLA has accumulated, the tempering and maturity which it has gained on its glorious course, assist it to continue on a correct Marxist-Leninist revolutionary line in the future and to lead the Albanian people to the final victory of socialism and communism.

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